

EARLY HISTORY
OF THE
VAISNAVA FAITH AND MOVEMENT
IN BENGAL

FROM SANSKRIT AND BENGALI SOURCES

BY

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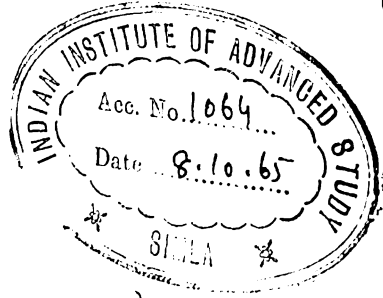
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PREFACE

to the First Edition

MUCH of the present work was written as early as 1930, and its publication was announced in the introduction to the author's edition of the *Padyāvalī* in 1934 ; but the pressure of other urgent engagements diverted the author from its revision and completion till 1940. In the meantime, parts of it were published, in the form of preliminary essays, in *Festschrift Moriz Winternitz*, *Kuppusvami Sastri Commemoration Volume*, *Indian Historical Quarterly* and *Indian Culture* during 1934-1937. In its final form, the work is much enlarged and revised in the light of more recent studies.

Although the term Bengal Vaiṣṇavism is not co-extensive with the religious system associated with the name of Caitanya and his adherents, the present work limits itself to a study of Caitanyaism, which is Vaiṣṇavism *par excellence* in Bengal. It is further limited to the *early* history of Caitanyaism, which comprises the earlier and perhaps more interesting phases covered by the activities and teachings of Caitanya and his immediate followers, and excludes its later developments and departures in the 17th and 18th centuries. But the concern in this work is more with the faith than with the movement, more with ideas and ideals than with incidents and practices. Most modern works on the subject enlarge not so much upon the *material* as upon the *personnel*, not so much upon the tenet and teaching as upon the life and legend of the protagonists of the faith. They derive their material chiefly from the Bengali source, which consists of Bengali biographical and devotional works and represents what may be conveniently called the Navadvīpa tradition ; but in course of time it seems to have eclipsed the more doctrinal and less inviting Sanskrit source, which embodies what may be distinguished as the Vṛndāvana tradition. While fully recognising the importance of the more attractive and accessible Bengali source and of the vivid tradition and background it supplies, one should

admit that this source alone is not sufficient for a comprehensive account of the dogmas and doctrines of Caitanyaism, even if it presents a lively picture of the atmosphere and appeal of the faith. The almost contemporaneous Sanskrit source, represented by the elaborate works of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīna, the Church Fathers of the faith, is perhaps more remote and recondite, and lacks the intimate personal element ; but it cannot be denied that it is an equally, if not more, important source which has not yet been properly utilised. It is true that Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's standard Bengali biography of Caitanya gives a good account of the religious ideology of Caitanyaism ; but written in Bengali as it is, it should be affiliated to the Sanskrit source, inasmuch as it derives its material, as well as inspiration (at least in doctrinal, if not in biographical matters), quite freely from the learned Sanskrit works of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīna, whose disciple the Kavirāja was and whose views he wanted to popularise. It is clear, therefore, that both the Bengali and Sanskrit sources, representing, as they do, two distinct traditions, should find their proper place in any adequate account of Caitanyaism. The present work makes a modest attempt to give, for the first time, a direct account of the content of the much neglected Sanskrit source, although the divergence between the mutually independent Navadvīpa and Vṛndāvana traditions is not thereby overlooked. As the presentation of religious ideas involves the necessity of interpretation, strict objectivity is almost unattainable ; but the author attempts an exposition of Caitanyaism by giving a direct summary and survey of all its earlier important works in the spheres of Rāsa-dāstra, theology and philosophy, ritualism, and literature. It is more important to know what the promulgators of the faith themselves have recorded than draw upon one's own devotional fancy, or read alien, as well as anachronistic, ideas into their standard works.

The author fully realises the difficulty of writing upon a religious movement which is not yet five hundred years old,

and about a religious faith which, within the limits of locality, is still living. The peculiar system of erotico-mystic devotion of Caitanyaism, set forth as it is in a vital background of myth, miracle, sentiment and speculation, and demanding a highly refined and almost superhuman capacity of emotional abandon and ecstasy, is not yet a superseded curiosity capable of exact academic appraisal. The writing of *Religionsgeschichte* in such a case has its own peculiar difficulties which should not be underrated. The author, therefore, makes no attempt at any critique or comparative valuation of the faith, but he merely summarises its fully recorded original dogmas and doctrines, and leaves them to speak for themselves. It should be clearly understood, however, that the subject is approached, not from the standpoint of a devotee, apologist or partisan of the faith, but in the spirit of historical and critical research, which aims at truth-finding but does not sacrifice sympathy and understanding. The author's opinions are his own, to which he is entitled as the considered result of his independent study, but there is no motive to offend, nor any for wilful distortion. He is willing to confess to an imperfect capacity, but his sincere desire to appreciate, in the light of modern standards of scholarship, should not be misjudged.

UNIVERSITY OF Dacca

AUGUST 1, 1943.

PREFACE

to the Second Edition

This work has been out of print for more than fifteen years, but no substantial change was required for this edition, except small additions and necessary corrections.

CALCUTTA

DECEMBER 15, 1961.

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM

I. THE HISTORICAL SETTING AND VAIṢṆAVA HERITAGE

The form of Vaiṣṇavism which is prevalent in Bengal is usually associated with the name of Caitanya, but Caitanya was not, strictly speaking, the originator of Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal, which counted for many centuries an important, if not a numerous, group of adherents in the country. Long before Caitanya, the melodious *Padāvallī* of Jayadeva in Sanskrit¹ and the songs of *Capḍidāsa* in Bengali² had also popularised the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult with their largesse of Vaiṣṇava devotional sentiments. Even if Caitanya's religious personality started a new movement or gave a new interpretation to an old faith, his affiliation to the whole trend of Vaiṣṇava tradition of the past cannot be doubted, and its influence on him must have been varied and abundant.

As a religious attitude, Bengal Vaiṣṇavism appears indeed as a fairly homogeneous result, but in reality it is a complex product. Its tradition is not only multiple but also polygenous. Two principal sources, however, can be broadly distinguished. On the one hand, it relates itself to the general

1 The contemporary Bengal anthology of *Śrīkṛṣṇa-dāsa* (1206 A.D.) entitled *Safalāśi-kṛpāmrta*, collects a large number of verses on Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, some of which have been freely reproduced by Rūpa Gosvāmī in his own anthology, *Padāvallī*.

2 Vidyāpati of Mithilā, who wrote considerably and learnedly in Sanskrit, was not peremptorily a Vaiṣṇava, but a Smārta Pañclopāśaka, who composed verses in Maithilī on Śiva and Gaṇeś, as well as on Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. But Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, since the time of Caitanya, to whom his Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa songs were a never-failing source of devotional inspiration, has claimed Vidyāpati as its own. Perhaps his Maithilī songs in their half-Bengali dress had been more popular in Bengal than in their place of origin, and had undoubtedly influenced the trend of popular Vaiṣṇava sentiments in Bengal.

history of Vaiṣṇavism in India : on the other, some of its peculiar dogmas and practices were developed by Caitanya and his disciples, giving it its distinctive character. To trace the general course of development of the Vaiṣṇava faith in India, which forms the distant historical background of Caitanyaism, is beyond the limited scope of the present work ; but we must distinguish two fundamental elements, which go to form the texture of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, as derived more or less from Vaiṣṇavism in general. The first and foremost of these is the general doctrine of Bhakti, or emotional service of love and devotion as a means of spiritual realisation ; but equally important is the Kṛpā cult, intimately connected with it, as forming the ground of this devotional attitude.

The term Bhakti, used in contradistinction to the terms Jñāna and Karmān, is employed by many a sect of modern Hinduism, but in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism it has its special connotation, which will be considered in its proper place. This special connotation is the result as much of historical development as of individual teaching and experience of particular saints and devotees ; but it would take us far astray if we are to trace here, even briefly, the various influences which shaped the idea of Bhakti in the different stages of its growth and brought it to its present connotation. Its origins are lost in far-off antiquity, and its spread over centuries of obscure religious, cultural and literary influences has made the stages of its growth erratic and undefined. Stretching into the early Vṛjṇism and Nārāyaṇīya worship of the *Mahābhārata*,¹ it loses itself in a complex body of myth, legend, superstition, belief, sentiment and philosophy ; but it emerges in a more or less definite form in the Bhāgavatism and Kṛpā-Vāṇudeva worship of the *Bhagavad-gītā*. On this basis it was system-

1 An account of the development of the concept of Bhakti in Vedic literature, as well as of Early Vṛjṇism and Nārāyaṇīya worship in the Great Epic, is given by Mrinal Das-Gupta in the *IHQ*, 1930-32. On Vāṇudeva-Kṛpā and the Bhāgavata faith see S. K. Das, *Aspects of Sanskrit Lit.*, Calcutta 1939, pp. 91 f.

etised and erected into a philosopheme in such late Bhakti-works as the *Nārada-Śaṅḍilya-sūtras*, and it continued as a doctrine till about the end of eighth century A.D., when the theory of spiritual non-dualism and world-illusion promulgated by the great Śaṅkarācārya and his followers appears to have imperilled its dualistic metaphysical foundation. This must have led to a vigorous revival of Vaiṣṇavism in the subsequent centuries ; and about the 12th century A.D. we have four Saṃpradāyas or schools of thought, into which the Vaiṣṇava movement divided itself. These are the well-known Śrī-, Brahma-, Rudra-, and Saṅkādī-Saṃpradāyas, associated respectively with the names of Rāmānuja, Madhva, Viṣṇu-svāmī (Vallabhaācārya)¹ and Nimbārka. Each of these schools developed its doctrines and religious practices, and wrote an extensive literature. As against the purely monistic teaching of non-duality (Advaita-vāda) of Śaṅkara, these schools expounded respectively what are conveniently known as theories of Qualified Non-duality (Viśiṣṭādvaita-vāda), Duality (Dvaita-vāda), Pure Non-duality (Śuddhādvaita-vāda) and Dualistic Non-duality (Dvaitādvaita-vāda). The details of these metaphysical theories must be sought elsewhere ; but it is clear that the essential difference between these schools of thought consists in the attitude which they respectively assume towards the absolute non-dualistic position of Śaṅkara. Śaṅkara's extreme idealistic monism, postulating the sole reality of an attributeless and unconditioned Brahman, devoid of all associations of personality, and permitting an illusive and provisional reality to the world and the individual, hardly leaves any scope for a dualistic conception of an individual soul's longing devotion for a personal deity. Though admitting of various degrees, the essential dualism, involved in a religious attitude of Bhakti, in making a distinction between the devotee and the deity and implying an emotional real-

1 The exact relation between the systems of Viṣṇu-svāmī and Vallabhaācārya is not clear, but the Rudra-saṃpradāya came to be represented practically by the Vallabhaācārya.

isation of a personal god in the individual consciousness, had to be reconciled with the absolute, impersonal and non-dualistic interpretation given of the *Vedānta-sūtra* by Śaṅkara. Each of these schools, therefore, wrote a fresh commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtra*, in which an attempt was made to establish a theory which would permit the individual exercise of love and piety in a world of reality, some of them maintaining a frankly dualistic position, and others expounding various degrees of qualified dualistic views.

Whatever justification is offered by these schools of its ultimate philosophical position, the subsequent history of Vaiṣṇavism as a religious persuasion follows the lines of worshipping God as a person (*Saguṇopāsanā*) and through symbols and manifestations (*Pratikopāsanā*). The faith is monotheistic, whether the object of adoration be Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, or one of the numerous incarnations of them ; but this loving adoration of a supreme personal god, to whose grace (*Prasāda*) the devotee must surrender himself (*Prapatti*), is often found not unaccompanied by a popular polytheistic reverence for "other gods"—Brahmā, Śiva and a million of godlings—who are classed as subordinate creatures and given well-defined powers and functions. The faith believed in a personal creator, in various theories of personal-impersonal creation (*Sṛṣṭi*) or emanation (*Vyūha*), in the energetic power (*Śakti*) and incarnation (*Avatāra*) of the divinity, in a peculiar eschatology which postulates various degrees or stages of liberation, in sin as antithetical to *Bhakti*, in the necessity of a spiritual guide (*Guru-vāda*), in the efficacy of Mantra or recitation of some form of the blessed name (*Nāman*), in the worship of symbols and manifestations (*Rūpa*), in the complete surrender to divine grace and compassion, and, above all, in the supremacy of a mystic and emotional form of adoration or communion over intellectual conviction adduced by mere knowledge. Different modes of worship and ritualism were developed by each of these schools ; different symbols and manifestations were preferred ; distinct sectarian

marks were worn : *Acta Sanctorum*, consisting of the legends of mythical and mediaeval saints, were elaborated ; but all the sects agreed in exalting Bhakti as the heart of worship, as the sole religious attitude of love and service towards a personal god.

Theoretically, the doctrines of most of the sects do not single out any particular incarnation of the incarnate supreme deity for special worship ; but, as the faith was personal in its ardour and concrete in expression, one or other of the incarnations was in actual practice preferred as the principal object of adoration. In spite of its inclusiveness and catholicity in this respect, the Rāmānuja sect, for instance, mostly prefers Śrī and Viṣṇu, or the Rāma-incarnation ; but in Northern India the other three sects, the Madhva, Vallabha and Nimbārka, are almost definite in their adoration of Kṛṣṇa, who was thus popularly installed as the centre of the Vaiṣṇava faith. Keen minds soon sought to utilise abstruse philosophies and appropriate them to the exaltation of the sectarian worship of Kṛṣṇa. The Kṛṣṇa of these sects, however, is very different from the Kṛṣṇa of the *Bhagavad-gītā*, and is yet identified with him. Though invested with an identity with the eternal Brahman, he yet retains his personal character as the youthful hero of wonderful feats and amorous exploits at Vṛndāvana. The Kṛṣṇa-legend was exalted with a wealth of devotional fancies, and all its mystical and emotional possibilities were worked out in detail.

In spite of much learned writing, the mediaeval expansion of the faith was essentially popular in character and appeal. After the epics and the philosophies came the popular Purāṇas, which set forth the Kṛṣṇa-legend against the exuberant and luscious background of myth, theology and mystical eroticism. They poetised and emotionalised the amorphous story, and thus came to occupy an important place in Vaiṣṇava sectarian literature. Sometimes they were even composed with an obvious sectarian purpose. Elaborate theologies arose out of them, and the earthly moment of the eternal

divine sport of Kṛṣṇa was interpreted in terms of symbol and allegory. The Kṛṣṇa-Gopī legend naturally came to play an important part. Even if Draupadī in the *Mahābhārata* invokes Kṛṣṇa as "dear to the Gopīs" (*gopī-jana-priya*) in a passage which is now proved to be an interpolation, the Great Epic hardly takes into account the Gopī-legend, which assumes importance in the later cult. It develops, however, in the supplementary *Harī-vaṃśa* and in the *Vijay-purāṇa*, and is embellished further in the *Padma* and the *Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇas*; but it comes to full bloom in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, whose chief purpose seems to be the glorification of Bhakti and Kṛṣṇa-mā, and which therefore came to be regarded as one of the supreme scriptures of mediaeval Vaiṣṇavism.

The *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* is indeed the one great Purāṇa which appears to have exercised an enormous influence on the development of Bhakti ideas in mediaeval times. No satisfactory theory of its date and origin has yet been advanced,¹ but there can be no doubt that its emergence marks a turning point in the history of the Vaiṣṇava faith, and that a whole series of sects, who take it as their leading scripture, appears in a sense to have been born out of this remarkable work. Contrasted with the *Harī-vaṃśa* and the *Vijay-purāṇa*, the *Bhāgavata* scarcely deals with the whole life of Kṛṣṇa but concentrates all its strength upon his boyhood and youth. With the youthful Kṛṣṇa at the centre, it weaves its peculiar theory and practice of intensely personal and passionate Bhakti, which is somewhat different from the speculative Bhakti of the *Bhagavad-gītā*. Although Rādhā is not mentioned, the Gopīs figure prominently in the romantic legend, and their dalliance with Kṛṣṇa is described in highly emotional and sensuous poetry. The utter self-abandonment of the Gopīs, the romantic love of the mistress

1 Farquhar's suggestion (*An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, Oxford 1920, p. 232) that the *Bhāgavata* originated in the Dehriya country and could not have been composed later than 900 A.D. deserves consideration.

for her lover, becomes the accepted symbol of the soul's longing for God; and the vivid realisation of the eternal sports of Kṛṣṇa in an imaginative Vṛndāvana is supposed to lead to a passionate love and devotion for the deity. The *Bhāgavata* thus introduces a type of erotic mysticism as the leading religious idea, and the importance of the work lies precisely in this. It asserts the rights of the emotional and the aesthetic in human nature, and appeals to the exceedingly familiar and authentic intensity of feelings and sentiments. It transfigures the mighty sex-impulse into a passionate religious emotion. The *Bhāgavata* is thus one of the most remarkable mediæval documents of mystical and passionate religious devotion, its eroticism and poetry bringing back warmth and colour into religious life. The essential truth of its glorification of Vṛndāvan-likṇ lies in this appeal for a more emotional religion and in its protest against the hard intellectuality of doctrines and dogmas.

But Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa's eternal consort in the Vṛndāvana-likṇ, appears to enter into the Vaiṣṇava emotionale at a much later date. We may leave aside the neo-Vaiṣṇava *Gopāla-rāpaṇi Upaniṣad*, as well as the apocryphal *Nārada-pañcarātra* (i. 12) and its original, the *Kapila-pañcarātra*, mentioned therein (ii. 6); for the admitted uncertainty of the dates of these works precludes any definite chronological conclusion. But we find that Rādhā is distinctly mentioned in connexion with Kṛṣṇa as early as the Prakrit *Sapta-śataka* of Hāla. Such stray references, however, do not prove much; and the name as well as the cult of Rādhā appears to be unknown in early Vaiṣṇava literature. She is unnamed in the earlier Purāṇas, although the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* refers to a favourite Gopī with whom Kṛṣṇa wanders and sports alone. She is extolled in the *Padma-purāṇa*, but it is in the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the *Brahma-vaivarta* that Rādhā reappears against the vivid background of rich and scarious imagery. Of the mediæval sects the Vallabhācāris and Nimbārkas appear to recognise Rādhā as an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa's energetic power (śakti) and his

spouse in the divine sport. In some sects joint worship is accorded to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, while in others¹ she is the object of independent worship and is sometimes exalted even over Kṛṣṇa, who figures under the title of Rādhā's Beloved (Rādhā-vallabha). As the highest fruition of devotion is the admission to the eternal sports of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, the dangerous tendency towards erotic mysticism markedly develops as a creed, and the highly erotic possibilities of such a belief are sometimes carried to a lamentable extreme.

2. PRE-CAITANYA VAIṢNAVISM IN BENGAL

It is difficult to say in what particular form Vaiṣṇavism existed in Bengal before Caitanya. A general diffusion of some form of Vaiṣṇavite worship may be presumed to have existed from the Gupta and Post-Gupta periods, but it probably took the form of general Bhāgavatism of the early type, losing itself in Viṣṇuism. The Gupta princes were styled *Parama-bhāgavatas*, and the chief object of worship was probably Viṣṇu, of whom Kṛṣṇa might have been regarded as one of the many incarnations. In the Susunia Rock inscription of Candravarman (circa 4th century A.D.) the prince appears as a worshipper of Cakrasvāmīn or Viṣṇu. This makes it probable that the mediaeval emotionalism of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* and its mystic adoration of Kṛṣṇa had not yet taken its root in Bengal. But it is believed that one of the figures recovered at the Paharpur excavation represents the united figure (*yugala-mūrti*) of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. It is definite, however, that in the Belava inscription of Bhojavarmān (circa 11th century A. D.), mention is made of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa not only as the *mahābhārata-sāradhāra*, but also as the *gopī-dāta-kellikāra* of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, although he is still an incarnation (*aṅga-ākrāśatāra*) and not the supreme deity himself. The official religion of the Pāla kings was

¹ E.g. the Rādhā-vallabha who resemble the Vallabhācārin but are counted as a sub-sect of the Nimbārka.

Buddhism, but they do not appear to have been hostile to other religions, and evidence is not wanting in the inscriptions of the period of erection of Viṣṇu temples. It seems probable that from this period some form of Vaiṣṇava Bhakti cult was developing; for it emerged in a finished literary form in the *Gita-govinda* of Jayadeva, who flourished under the Vaiṣṇavite Sena kings towards the end of the 12th century. Some are of opinion that the advent of the Karṇāṭas in Bengal with the Cedi prince Karṇadeva introduced the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* emotionalism, which had its most probable origin in Southern India; and it is noteworthy that the Sena kings themselves, who were in all probability Vaiṣṇavas, are described in their inscriptions as Karṇāṭa-kṣatriyas. There can be no doubt, however, that the first and the most important literary record of pre-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal is the passionate lyrical poem of Jayadeva, which must have been the source of inspiration of such later Bengali poems as the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtan* of Baṇu Capāḍīśa (circa end of the 14th century).¹

A Caitanyaite Vaiṣṇava would regard the *Gita-govinda* not merely as a poetical composition of great beauty, but also as a great religious work, and would seek to explain it in terms of his Bhakti Rasa-śāstra. But it must not be forgotten that Jayadeva's poem was composed nearly three hundred years before the appearance of Caitanya and before the promulgation of the Rasa-śāstra of Caitanyalism. It is hardly believable, therefore, that Jayadeva, like Rūpa Gosvāmin of the Caitanya sect, could have written it expressly for the illustration of any particular dogma or doctrine. As a poet of undoubted gifts, his chief object must have been to create a beautiful and finished work of great lyrical, pictorial and verbal splendour. His emotional temperament preferred an erotic theme, but of all erotic themes of mediaeval times the eternally fascinating love-story of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā was probably found the most absorbing. The love that Jayadeva

1 See introd. to *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtan*, ed. Vandyas Śāhinsya Paripad, Calcutta 1323 B.S. pp. 101. *INQ.* 1929, pp. 328-29.

depicts is indeed a reflex of the human emotion presented in a series of extremely brilliant and musical word-pictures, and the divine Kṛṣṇa and his consort are greatly humanised. As a musician, courtier and court-poet of Lakṣmaṇa-sena, Jayadeva must have been, as his poem itself testifies, entirely different in temperament and outlook from such devout and scholarly Gosvāmīns as Rūpa and Śaṅkara. Whatever may have been the original character of the work, there can be no doubt that the *Gīta govinda*, with its mystical emotions, was claimed by Caitanyaism as one of the sources of its religious inspiration. It is said that the Padāvallī of Jayadeva, like the Maithilī songs of Vidyāpati, had a great appeal for Caitanya himself. It is not surprising, therefore, that Caitanya's followers should try to transform Jayadeva, as well as Vidyāpati,¹ into a Vaiṣṇava of the orthodox type. But in all probability, Jayadeva, like Vidyāpati, was chiefly and essentially a poet. No doubt, he emphasises in his poem the praise and worship of Kṛṣṇa, but it is not unusual in older poetry to present poetic and even secular themes under the garb of religion. It is not our purpose to deny Jayadeva's Vaiṣṇava leanings, which are too obvious to be ignored, but we should like to emphasise the point that as a poet, it was probably not his concern to compose a religious treatise in accordance with any particular Vaiṣṇava dogmatics. It is undoubted that the erotic mysticism of his poem, which gives expression to fervent devotional longings in the intimate language of earthly passion, influenced similar tendencies of Caitanyaism, but it would not be historically correct to read later Vaiṣṇava Rasa-āṣṭra into his much earlier work, or judge it by the tenets and practices which came into existence some centuries later.

The prominence given to Rādhā in the *Gīta-govinda* makes

1 The question is discussed in Haraprasad Sastri's Introduction to his edition of Vidyāpati's *Kinnor-lalā* (Hrīṇakṣa Series, Calcutta B.S. 1331, in Bengali characters). See also S. K. De, *Nidān-sambandha*, Calcutta 1934, pp. 43-164.

it probable that the source of Jayadeva's inspiration could not have been the Kṛṣṇa-Gopī legend of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, which avoids all direct mention of Rādhā as Kṛṣṇa's consort, and which speaks of autumnal, and not vernal, Rāsa-līlā. The incident referred to in the opening verse of Jayadeva's poem, again, cannot be traced in the earlier Purāṇas, but it is supposed to refer to an episode described in the fifteenth chapter of the Kṛṣṇa-janma-khaṇḍa of the *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa*, in which the infant Kṛṣṇa, similarly entrusted by Nanda during the rains to Rādhā, sports with her on the banks of the Yamunā. This reference possesses some historical importance. We have already pointed out that the *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa*, much more than any other Purāṇa, presents Rādhā in a vivid background of great sensuous charm, and in no other Purāṇa the erotic possibilities of the theme have been so elaborately worked out. This Purāṇa is also singular in effecting a regular marriage between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, and thereby discountenancing the Paraklyā doctrine which came to prevail in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. But while the erotic Mādhurya aspect of Kṛṣṇa-worship is emphasised in this Purāṇa, the Aīdvarya aspect of this worship is also made prominent by legendary descriptions of Kṛṣṇa's greatness and power as the supreme deity. It is remarkable that almost similar tendencies are found in Jayadeva's poem. The opening Daśāvatāra Stotra, as well as the second Jaya-Jaya Deva-Hare Stotra, presents Kṛṣṇa in his Aīdvarya aspect, not as an Avatāra, but as the veritable supreme deity of many incarnations (*daśakṛtīkṛte kṛṣṇāya tubhyaṁ namaḥ*), omitting all reference to Rādhā but mentioning Śrī or Lakṣmī. As the poem proceeds, the Dhīrodhīta Nityaka becomes Dhīralalita, and all the erotic Mādhurya implications of the theme are developed to their fullest extent.

While these parallelisms are admitted, there is no proof of Jayadeva's direct indebtedness to the *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa*, and it is difficult to explain why Jayadeva should prefer its authority to that of the almost exclusively paramount

Vaiṣṇava scripture, the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*. The date of the *Brahmaivaivarta* is uncertain, but assuming the genuineness of the extant text, the *Kṛpā-jama-khaṇḍa* must be at least later than Śaṅkara and his school, to whom a distinct reference is made.¹ The suggestion that the whole of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Purāṇa is a Nimbārkaite interpolation² is hardly convincing. Of all the Vaiṣṇava schools the Nimbārka appear, no doubt, to give prominence to Rādhā in their thought and worship ; but there are chronological difficulties in assuming Nimbārkaite influence either on Jayadeva or on the Purāṇa. The date of Nimbārka has not yet been fixed with certainty, but if he lived some time after Rāmānuja,³ he would be almost contemporaneous with Jayadeva, and the theory of any influence by Nimbārka or by his sect on Jayadeva and his assumed source would be highly improbable. But the exaltation of Rādhā is a distinctive feature of the Purāṇa as well as of Jayadeva and of the Nimbāra sect. It is possible that Jayadeva derived and developed his erotic mysticism from the same source as Nimbārka himself ; and to the same obscure source probably the writer of the latter portion of the Purāṇa was indebted for his extremely sensuous treatment of the Rādhā-legend. Such emotional tendencies might have been wide-spread enough to have been thus widely and popularly utilised. In later times we find that the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* became the ultimate source of such emotionalism, and it ceased to be confined to Bengal, Mithilā and Southern India ; but the Rādhā-legend and the exuberant development of its erotic possibilities, which supplied inspiration alike to Jayadeva, Nimbārka and writers of such late Purāṇas as the *Brahmaivaivarta*, must be traced to a different and earlier unknown source.

1 *kṛṇḍīte ca samāste dūrvaśam nīdānam param/
acchidyate jñāna-khaṇḍe ca mahadbhīḥ samāradābhīḥ* //
(*Kṛpā-jama-khaṇḍa*, ed. Venkaṭeśvara Press, xiv, 18).

2 Farquhar, *op. cit.*, pp. 240, 271, 376.

3 R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism* etc., Strassburg 1913, p. 62.

The Caitanya movement in Bengal, no doubt, accepted the *Gita-govinda* as a source of inspiration, but it does not appear to have accepted the *Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa* as canonical. Its chief scripture was the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, on whose devotional poetry and legend it based its emotionalism. Its glorification of the Rādhā-legend need not of itself connect it with the *Brahma-vaivarta*, to which it seldom refers. Nor can any Nimbārka influence be traced directly in it. The influence of the Śrī-saṅgradhāya of Rāmāṇja is still less traceable in it; and the Vallabhācārya sect was almost contemporaneous and could not have immediately influenced it. There is, however, a tendency¹ to affiliate the Caitanya sect as a branch of the Mādhva Saṅgradhāya which is said to have been most influential in Bengal before Caitanya. But the evidence adduced in favour of this assumption is hardly satisfactory, and there is nothing to shew that there was any direct Mādhva influence on Caitanyaism in the earlier stages of its development. It has, however, been stated, without much justification, that Caitanya himself was brought up in Mādhva traditions, that his predecessor Advaita, as well as many of his influential relatives and associates, had close connexion with Madhvaism, that Mādhvavendra Puri, to whom is ascribed the credit of initiating a Bhakti movement in Bengal before Caitanya, was a Mādhva ascetic, and that Īvara Puri and Kesava Bhūratī, the Dīkṣā and Saṁnyāsa Gurus respectively of Caitanya, were ascetics of the Mādhva

1 As maintained by Dinakāśa Chandra Sen in his three works on Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, and repeated by Kennedy in his *Caitanya Movement* (Oxford University Press, 1925). Jīva Gosvāmī in his *Sarva-saṅgradhāya* directly disclaims connexion of the Bengal school with the views of all other Saṅgradhāyas (p. 149, ed. Vāṅmāyā Sāhitya Parīṣad). Anandān in his commentary on Prabhodhīnanda's *Caitanya-randhanī* claims that Caitanya himself and his followers were the founders of the Bengal Saṅgradhāya and owed nothing to the Gurus of any other Saṅgradhāya (*Śrīkṛṣṇa-rādhāya-madhya-prakāśaḥ saṅgradhāya-bhāgavata, saṅgradhāya-pravācikaḥ saṅgradhāya-eva, saṅgradhāyikā guruḥ na*). See S. K. De, *Nitya-mukunda*, Calcutta 1951, pp. 62-69.

order, to which Caitanya was thus initiated. But these statements lack corroboration in the early records of the sect.

While Mādhva himself is seldom cited, Mādhvācārya or affiliation to the Mādhva sect is never acknowledged in the several authoritative lives of Caitanya, nor in the canonical works of the six Gosvāmīs of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. It is asserted for the first time in Kavikarṇapūra's *Gaura-gopadda-dīpikā*¹, but this work was not written probably before 1576 A.D. Caitanya's Guru-paramparā is traced to it, with more legensity than accuracy, from Mādhva himself, through Mādhvendra and Īśvara Puri, in a list, which looks suspiciously similar to a list given by Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa which we shall mention presently. In his drama *Caitanya-candrodaya* (Act i), however, Kavikarṇapūra refers to Mādhvendra Puri, but not as a Mādhva ascetic; nor is there any reference to Mādhva or Mādhvācārya in this work, as well as in his earlier Sanskrit poem *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*. On the contrary, in the fifth Act of his drama, Caitanya is distinctly stated to have entered the monastic order of the Advaita-vādīna². The only other support of the theory of Mādhva affiliation is to be found in a list of Guru-paramparā³ given

1 This list is quoted with approval in the *Bhakti-ratnākar* (18th century), but the evidence of this work is late and unreliable. It could not, however, have been copied from Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa's list, but was probably derived from a common source.

2 Advaita asks: (v. 21) *kṛyāṁ bhāṁ rāṁcari bhārata yō'yaṁ ad-
vaita-bhāṁcari* *uṣṇasṭṛiṣṭaṁ tam adhṛta bhārata ātmanāṁ na tatyam* //,
to which Caitanya replies: *bho advaita smara kṛmā rāṁcari bhāṁcari
advaita-bhāṁcari* *bhāṁcari smaraṁ tatyāṁ ca yad tām rāṁcari bhāṁcari* //,
implying that Caitanya believed that his being an Advaita Sannyāsīna
was not inconsistent with his devotional attitude of Bhakti. Caitanya
is again reported to have said (viii—opening passage) that he was
not impressed by the Rāmānuja and the Mādhva sects whom he had
met in Southern India: *āyāṁ eva vāṁcari dṛṣṭā, n' pi nāṁcari-
gṛhṣṭāṁ eva; apara tatra-vāṁcari, it tathāvidhā eva; ātmanāṁ na
bhārata tatyāṁ smaraṁ*. And all this despite of Karṇapūra's own *Gaura-
gopadda* !

3 The Guru-paramparā is thus given (*Govinda-bhāṁcari*, introductory verses, ed. Syāmāli Govindā, Calcutta 1894; *Prasāda-ratnākar*,

at the commencement of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣa's *Govinda-bhāṣya* (on the *Vedānta-sūtra*) and in his *Prameya-raśnidraṭṭi*. As the time of some of these Mādhva Gurus is well-known, the historical accuracy of this list can be easily challenged,¹ and there can be no doubt that the list was made up for the occasion mainly from hearsay or imagination. Baladeva, a native of Orissa, belonged to the 18th century; and what tradition records about his pro-Mādhva tendencies is confirmed by his learned writings. Even if his *Govinda-bhāṣya* shows independence, he has entirely given himself up to Mādhvism in his *Prameya-raśnidraṭṭi*. We shall discuss below the reason for this change of attitude on the part of one of the most acute champions of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism; but whatever may have been the reason, there is no other direct claim for Mādhva affiliation in the authoritative works of Caitanya.

On the other hand, the indications are strong that Caitanya formally belonged to the Daśanāmi order of Śaṅkara Saṃnyāsins, even though the ultimate form which he gave to Vaiṣṇava Bhakti had nothing to do with Śaṅkara's extreme Advaita-vāda. Barring the two passages referred to above,

ed. Anil Kṛṣṇa Govind, 1927, p. 4): Mādhva (Ānandatīrtha)—Padmanābha—Nityānanda—Mādhava—Akṣobhya—Jagadīrtha—Hānāsindhu—Mahānidhi—Vidyānidhi—Rājendra—Jayaśarma—Parasūrama—Brahmayya—Vyāsatīrtha—Lakṣmīpati—Mādhvendra Purī—Īvara Purī—Caitanya.

1 The question has been discussed by Anur Chandra Ray in *Udhodhama*, Vol. 11, 137 B.S., pp. 244-53 and *Calcutta* 1336, pp. 136-138, and *Asian Research Society Journal*, April 1935; also by B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma in *Indian Culture* iv, 1937-38, pp. 429 f. To the arguments detailed in these articles regarding the correctness of the Mādhva list of succession, one may add that neither Mādhvendra Purī nor Īvara Purī is mentioned in the list of succession prepared by R. G. Bhandarkar (*Report*, 1883-84: from original lists procured from Mira), Belgam and Poona. Baladeva's list differs materially from this more authentic list.

2 His nine central principles of Vaiṣṇavism enunciated in this work are identical with the nine fundamental tenets of Mādhva. Baladeva's Guru Rādhāśrīnandana appears to have been considerably influenced by Mādhva in his *Vedānta-symantaka*.

order and did not approve of the Tattva-vādin : the raillery of Prakāśānanda, an Advaita ascetic, on Caitanya's avoidance of his fellow Māyāvādin ascetics and on his improper indulgence in singing and dancing¹; his direct disapproval of Mādhva doctrines²;—all these and other indications raise a legitimate doubt regarding the historical accuracy of Caitanya's alleged connexion with Mādhvism.

It appears probable, on the other hand, that Mādhavendra Puri and his disciple Jīvara Puri were Śaṅkarite Saṁnyāsins of the same type as Śrīdhara Svāmī,³ who in his great commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* attempted to combine the Advaita teachings of Śaṅkara with the emotionalism of the Bhāgavatas. Devotion to Nārāyaṇa or Kṛṣṇa was never considered inconsistent with one's belonging to the Śaṅkara Saṁpradāya, and many a Śaṅkarite ascetic has taught that the stage of Advaita realization can be reached through the devotional worship of a particular deity as a person or as a symbol. It is said that the tutelary deity of Śaṅkara himself was Śrīkṛṣṇa, while tradition alleges that his chief disciple Padmapāda, like Śrīdhara himself, was a worshipper of Nṛsiṃha. It would seem that about the time of Śrīdhara there must have grown a tendency of tempering the severe monistic idealism of Advaita Vedānta with the devotional worship of a personal god. Śrīdhara appears to give a definite expression to this tendency in his well known commentaries on the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, the *Bhagavad-gītā* and the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, in which he acknowledges Śaṅkara's teachings as authorita-

1 C-C Ādi, vii, 40-42. Vyādhīraṇa-dāsa retaliates by making Caitanya denounce Prakāśānanda in unmeasured language and afflict the uncompromising Vedāntist scholar with leprosy and damnation!

2 C-C Mādhy, ix, 154 f, esp. 276-7; also Kavīkaraṇḍīra's *Caitanya-candrodaya* cited above. But Caitanya, as reported by Kṛṇadāsa, entirely misunderstands the position of Mādhva (B. N. Kṛṣṇamūrti Sarma, *op. cit.*, p. 431).

3 As Śrīdhara refers to Vopadeva he could not have been earlier than 1300 A.D.

tive, but considers Bhakti as the best means of Advaita Mukti.¹ Whatever may be the value of this attempt at reconciling Jñāna and Bhakti, tradition alleges that Śrīdhara's interpretation caused a great sensation in his Saṃpradāya at Benares, but that it ultimately came to prevail through divine intervention. From his time a class of mystic-emotional Sāṃnyāsins seems to have grown up, who found nothing inconsistent in their practices of Bhakti with their belief in Advaita Vedānta. An Advaita Sāṃnyāsin of this type must have been Viṣṇu Puri of Tirhut, who is often mistakenly described as a Mādhava ascetic². Following the tradition of Śrīdhara, he composed a *Bhāgavata-bhakti-ratnāvalī* in which some of the finest passages of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* were selected and arranged in "thirteen strings" according to their subject-matter. One of the closing verses of this work apologises for any departure the compiler might have made from the writings of the great Śrīdhara³; and there can be no doubt about Śrīdhara's

1 The phrase *iva-saṃpradāya* at the beginning of his commentary need not be interpreted to mean Viṣṇurāmānand Saṃpradāya. Jiva Govindānand (*Tattva-saṃudāhṛta*, ed. Benares, p. 68) dogmatically asserts that Śrīdhara, whose opinion is accepted as authoritative in the Bengal school, was a true Vaiṣṇava who only tempered his Vaiṣṇavism with Advaita doctrines in such a way as to make it acceptable to the Advaita schools. But there is no evidence to support this statement. On the contrary, at the commencement of his commentary on the *Bhāgavad-gītā*, Śrīdhara distinctly acknowledges the views of the Bhāṣyakāra (i.e. Śaṅkara), and in many places refrains from further explanation by simply referring the reader to Śaṅkara's interpretation. Although Bhakti is his main theme, the Advaita trend of his writings is too obvious to be mistaken. See Amar Nath Ray in *Utkal-hansa*, Calcutta 1936, pp. 162-3.

2 Farquhar, *op. cit.*, pp. 229, 302, 375; Glanville, *Madhva's Philosophy des Viṣṇu-Glaube* (Bonn and Leipzig, 1923), p. 61; in the works of D. C. Sen cited above. Kavīkaraṇḍīra alleges in his *Guṇa-geṇoddeśa* genealogy that Viṣṇu Puri was a disciple of Jayadhva, mistakenly called Jayadharmā! But see Amar Nath Ray, in *Indian Culture*, p. 102 f.

3 *are śrīdhara-saṃvādāt-tilāhara mādādhikāraṃ yad bhavet |
taṁ kṛtūṃ sadbhya'rthataḥ sa-ratnā-labdhakāya me cōpaśam ||*

The colophon to the Dacca University manuscript, of the text,

influence on this work. Some of Viṣṇu Purī's original verses are cited in the *Padyāraṇ* of Rūpa Goswāmī, and no one can mistake their devotional fervour¹. Mādhavendra Purī and Jīvara Purī were probably devotional Śaṅkarites of the same type, and the descriptions given of their religious attitude in the earlier Bengali Vaiṣṇava works, which however never call them Mādhava ascetics, fully bear out their emotional predilections. Caitanya himself was probably initiated as a Sannyāsīn of this type, although his own religious experiences made him go a long way into the extreme emotional attitude of Bhakti, for which he is reported to have been ridiculed by the Sannyāsīns of Benares. We shall see presently that his belonging to a particular Sāṃpradāya hardly made any difference to his personal religious consciousness, that the movement he inaugurated had nothing to do with the strict

with its commentary *Kīrtimukhā*, which we have consulted, reads: *śrī śrī-puruṣottama-caraṇa-dravīda-lypā-mādhavendra-bhinda-prasavāntika-vīra-ka-taīrabhūkta-paramahansa-śrī-viṣṇupurī-grahita-śrī-bhāgavataṣṭāṭhā-śrī-labdhā-śrībhāṣitānandāśrī-līlāśrī* *sanatpurī*. Apparently Puruṣottama was his Guru and not Jayadvajā. An edition of the text with English translation has been published in the Sacred Books of the Hindus Series, Allahabad 1912. MSS noticed in *Aufrecht's Bodleian Catalogue*, no. 90; *Aufrecht's Florentine Manuscripts*, no. 236; *Mitra, Notices*, I, no. 422, p. 240; *Eggeling, India Office Catalogue*, vi, p. 1272-73. The colophon occurs with slight variations in *Mitra's* and *Eggeling's* MSS. *Aufrecht* (*Florentine Manuscripts*, p. 76) states that the work was composed at Benares in 1634 A.D. The source of his information is not known, but the editor of the Allahabad edition tells us that this date is given in a footnote to the edition of the work published at Calcutta. This date, however, is impossible, for it militates not only against the date 1592 (=Samsat 1652) of the copying of the India Office manuscript (*Eggeling, loc. cit.*), but also against the Bengali tradition that Viṣṇu Purī, who is mentioned by Kavīkarnapūra, was much earlier than Caitanya. This would dispose of the story of the meeting of Viṣṇu Purī and Caitanya, mentioned in the introduction to the Allahabad edition and in Carpenter's *Thiruv. in Medieval India* (London 1926, p. 422). On the date of the work see S. K. De in *Indian Culture*, v, 1938-39, pp. 197-99.

1 The *Padyāraṇ* also cites another ascetic devotee, named Yādavendra Purī of whom however nothing is known.

Advaita standpoint, and that he himself rose superior to sombre and passionless asceticism ; but it is highly probable that Kṛṣṇa Bhāratī (an ascetic apparently of Saṅkara's Bhāratī order),¹ who was his Saṁnyāsa Guru, and Īvara Purī, who was his Dīkṣā Guru, formally introduced him into this tradition of emotional Saṁnyāsa, which hardly stood in the way of his practice of extreme forms of emotional Bhakti. The roots, therefore, of the Bhakti movement, which Mādhavendra Purī is said to have started in Bengal and which Caitanya carried forward and definitely shaped, must be sought in such traditions as originated from Śrīdhara's great commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavatā*, which was accepted with much veneration by the Bengal school.² Caitanya himself is said to have possessed the highest admiration for Śrīdhara Svāmīn, and on one occasion he is said to have repudiated a commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavatā* by one Vallabha Bhaṭṭa on the ground that it departs from Śrīdhara Svāmīn's interpretations³.

1 Kṛṣṇa Bhāratī, who formally initiated Caitanya into the monastic order at Kāṭwa, near Burdwan, in Śaka 1431-1510 A.D. does not appear to have exercised any direct spiritual influence on Caitanya or his sect. He is said to have belonged to the village of Deodā in the district of Burdwan and born of Bengali Brahmin ancestry. According to the *Prma-vilāsa* (ch. xiii) Kṛṣṇa's former name was Kāśinātha Aśṛya, and his native place was Kuliyā in Navadvīpa. But he appears to have resided chiefly at Kāṭwa (Kāṭaka-nagara). In the *Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Itihāsa* (in Bengali) by Nityānanda Tattvavacaspai (2nd ed., Hooghly, 1333 B.S. = 1926 A.D.), a confusion is made (p. 132) between Kṛṣṇa Bhāratī and Kṛṣṇa Kāśinātha of the Nimbārka sect, of whom we shall speak later.

2 Santilata Govindācārya in his *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṭī* commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavatā* pays his homage to Śrīdhara in the Namaskṛīyā and speaks of his Bhakti interpretations of the work ; and Jīva Govindācārya has throughout accepted his interpretation, quoting his commentaries with approval (*śikṣanāmatā*, *śikṣādarśa*, *śikṣā vyākhyāna* etc.) about sixty times in his *Bhāgavat-saṁdarbhā*, thirty times in his *Paraśara-saṁdarbhā*, and more than seventy times in his *Bhakti-saṁdarbhā*.

3 With an obvious pun he stigmatised this new commentary as *Akrayā* because it renounces the *Svāmīn*.

It must also be pointed out that in doctrinal matters, Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, as set forth by Caitanya's Navadvīpa devotees or by the six Gosvāmīs, hardly shows any resemblance to Madhvaism. Madhvaism is more speculative than emotional, and displays a distinct metaphysical leaning towards the views of the Naiyāyikas and Sāṃkhyaas. The Mādhvas reject the erotic Rāsa-pāñcādhyāya of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, which is one of the sacred texts of the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas. In Mādhva devotion there is hardly a place for Rādhā, nor is the Vṛndāvana-likā of Kṛṣṇa an exclusive object of adoration. The name or the works of Madhva, or of his Saṃpradāya, are very seldom cited in the earlier standard works of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. Śaṅkara, in his *Pañcra-toparī* commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, has once or twice quoted the Madhva-bhāṣya, but it is not clear whether these passages were inserted by Jīva Gosvāmī, who made an abridgment of the work. Rūpa Gosvāmī also refers to the Bhāṣya of Madhvācārya in his *Laghu-Bhāgavatāmṛta* (ed. Murshidabad, p. 310). In his *Tattva-saṃdarbha*, Jīva refers with respect to Madhvācārya's Vaiṣṇava ideas (pp. 56-57), as well as to three Madhvācāryas, namely Vijayadhvaṇa, Brahmatīrtha and Vyāsātīrtha, and their works, from which he professes to derive some material,¹ but he

1 *Vijayadhvaṇa-brahmatīrtha-vyāsātīrtha-vāda-vadātīrtha-vāda-vadātīrtha-śrīmad-madhvācārya-saṃpradāya-bhāgavatīya-brahmatīrthabhāṣya-śāṅkarīya-saṃgrahāṇī* (p. 71). In his *Bhāṣya-saṃdarbha* (pp. 154, 454-5, 593, 690) and *Parameśvara-saṃdarbha* (p. 251), Jīva Gosvāmī cites Śruti texts as he finds them quoted in the Madhva-bhāṣya (*madhva-bhāṣya-pramāṇāt* *brahmi*); while the Madhva-bhāṣya itself is cited in the former *Saṃdarbha* (at pp. 181, 235). In his *Sarva-saṃvādinī* (p. 4), which also quotes some Madhva-bhāṣya-pramāṇa Śruti, he speaks of writing his six *Saṃdarbhas* after looking into old Vaiṣṇava works like those of Rāmānuja, Madhvācārya and Śrīdhara-mādhva; but he speaks of Madhvācārya (p. 12) as *tattva-vāda-bhāṣya-kṛt*, which *Tattva-vāda* Caitanya is said to have discredited at Uḍipi in his South Indian pilgrimage. These *Tattva-vāda*-gurus are cited twice (pp. 224, 17) in his *Kṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha* (ed. Prangopal Govardana) only for the purpose of refuting their peculiar views.

does not refer to them as Pūrva-gurus. It is only when we come to Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa that Mādhva-affiliation is distinctly and authoritatively claimed. It appears probable that in Baladeva's time differences of Vaiṣṇava opinion arose between the Bengal sect and other Vaiṣṇava sects at Vṛndāvana; and the question, which was hitherto of no importance, came to be mooted whether it was possible or desirable to affiliate the comparatively new Caitanya Saṁpradāya to the four recognised Vaiṣṇava Saṁpradāyas. The Bengal Vaiṣṇavas, for some reason or other,¹ thought it convenient to acknowledge themselves as Mādhvas. There is a tradition that at a conference of Vaiṣṇavas at the Galta Valley in Jaipur State, Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa made this acknowledgment on behalf of Bengal Vaiṣṇavas. Hitherto the Bengal school did not think it necessary to follow the example of other schools in the writing of a commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtra*; and its philosophical apologist, Jīva Gosvāmin, in his *Tattva-saṁdarbha*, declared that such a course was not necessary, for the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* itself was Vyāsa's own commentary on his authoritative *Vedānta-sūtra*. But now a necessity arose for writing a learned commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtra* for making the metaphysical position of the sect clear; and the task was accomplished, it is said, by Baladeva in his *Govinda-bhāṣya*. The verses describing the Mādhva Guru-paramparā, at the commencement of this *Bhāṣya*, as well as in Baladeva's *Prameya-raśnāvalī*, probably grew out of this circumstance. Mādhvism could not have proved congenial to the extremely emotional and erotic predilections of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, and it is very doubtful if it ever had any influence on the thought and practice of Caitanyaism; but now an authoritative declaration was made, which was hardly consistent with its earlier tradition and which hardly affected its essential doctrines in its suber-

1 It has been suggested that their common origin from the Rāmānand-Saṁpradāya was probably the reason for the rapprochement.

quest history. It will be clear from what has been said above that, in spite of this belated acknowledgment, the Bengal school, like other Vaiṣṇava schools, derived its original inspiration from the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* itself, which is undoubtedly the fountain-source of all the mediaeval Vaiṣṇava sects. The devotional interpretations of Śrīdhara were apparently accepted by a class of devotional Sāṃnyāsins, who first laid the foundations of a Vaiṣṇava Bhakti movement in Bengal on the ultimate basis of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*. Caitanya, himself a Sāṃnyāsi of this type, moulded this movement into an entirely new shape by his own practice and experience of Bhakti.

The apostle with whose name this early movement in Bengal is usually associated in the period immediately before Caitanya, is the emotional Śaṅkarite ascetic, Mādhavendra Puri, of whom we have spoken above. Among his disciples is counted not only Itvara Puri, but also Advaita who was Caitanya's precursor at Navadvīpa.¹ The *Vaiṣṇava-tantri* of Śaśītanu states that the Kalpataru of Kṛpā-Bhakti was germinated by Mādhavendra in three worlds (*lokeṣvāṅkurito yena kṛpā-bhakti-rasāṅghri-paṭ*); the *Caitanya bhāgavata* tells us that Mādhavendra was the *ādī-sūradhāra* of Bhakti-rasa in Bengal; the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa pays a similar compliment by speaking of him as the first sprout (*āṅkura*) of the Kalpataru of Bhakti; and Kavikarṇapūra in his *Gaura-gopoddeta-dīpikā* distinctly says that Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal, with its associations of Pṛīta, Preyas, Vatsala and Ujvala Rasas, owes its origin to Mādhavendra (*yad dharma'-yam pravartitāḥ*, p. 15). We have already spoken above of the tradition that Advaita before Caitanya was initiated into Bhakti by Mādhavendra. We are also told that Nityānanda

¹ Eleven other disciples of Mādhavendra Puri are mentioned by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja: Kotava Bhāratī, Paramānanda Puri, Brahmānanda Puri, Viṣṇu Puri, Kotava Puri, Kṛṣṇānanda Puri, Nṛsiṃha Tīrtha, Sukhānanda Puri, Rāṅga Puri, Rāmacandra Puri and Brahminānda Bhāratī. Other works add a few more!

met him in Southern India, that Puṇḍarikā Vidyānidhi was his disciple, and that Līvara Purī, one of Caitanya's Gurus, was an ascetic initiated by Mādhavendra. Caitanya himself never appears to have met Mādhavendra,¹ who must have died when he was in his childhood, but he always cherished a great reverence for Mādhavendra, as well as for his many disciples whom Caitanya is said to have met during his pilgrimage. At Purī, we are told, Caitanya used to recite with great emotion Mādhavendra's verse *ayi dīna-dayādra nātha* he, cited in the *Padyāvalī* 330. But the mystic emotionalism which Mādhavendra made current in Bengal could not have been Madhvaism. Unlike a Mādhva ascetic, Mādhavendra appears to have been a devotee of great emotional capacity, who must have, before Caitanya, imparted a new spirit to the sombre and forbidding aspects of asceticism, and who probably cared more for actual devotional fervour than for the teaching of dry doctrines. It is noteworthy that in the references to Mādhavendra mentioned above, stress is laid upon his teaching of Bhakti as a religious emotion or Rasa; and we also read, in the various accounts given of him in these works, about his ecstatic emotions and visions as striking features of his religious experience. He would go into mystic trances, we are told, even at the sight of dark-blue clouds which became to him a symbol of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa'. In all this he anticipated Caitanya himself and prepared the way for his advent. But he is said to have done more than this. Fifty years before the Bengal Gosvāmīs, he turned the thoughts of Bengal Vaiṣṇavas towards the sacred sites of Vṛndāvana, where he is said to have recovered an image of Gopālā-Kṛṣṇa and established a temple with two Bengali priests as custo-

1 Jaykrānda is singular in stating that Caitanya met Mādhavendra at Gaya, but he is also singular in stating that Viṣṇupādhana's Dīpā from Līvara Purī occurred at Raigir and not at Gaya!

2 पापवेन्दु पुरी कथा अक्षयकथन । वेपथरमानवाह इव अर्पेण न
(*Caitanya-Madhyama*, 141 viii).

dians¹. D. C. Sen,² chiefly on these grounds, conjectures him to have been a Bengali, but the evidence is slender and inconclusive.

But tradition is definite that Mādhavendra's disciple, Īvara Purī, meeting with whom at Gaya is said to have formed a turning point in Caitanya's life, was a Bengali. Īvara Purī, whose original name is not known, is said to have been born at Kumārabhāṭṭa (modern Halisahar, near Naihati) of Rāḍhīya Brahman family, his father's name having been Śyāmasundara Ācārya³. The *Bhakti-ratnākara* tells us (ch. xli) that he composed a *Śrīkṛṣṇa-ñilāṃṭa* in Sanskrit at the house of Gopīnātha Ācārya, brother-in-law of the great scholar Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma. This may or may not be the same work as *Rukmīṇī-svayamvara*, which is attributed to Īvara Purī by Rūpa Goṣvāmin and from which two verses are quoted in the *Ujjvala-ñilamāṇī*.⁴ It is probable that Īvara Purī came pretty often to Navadvīpa, and it is recorded (C-bh, Ādi. 1a) that on one of these occasions he tried to win Caitanya, then a proud and light-hearted young scholar, to devout life; but Caitanya's only response to the attempt was to pick flaws in the grammar of the Sanskrit texts quoted from Īvara Purī's *Śrīkṛṣṇa-ñilāṃṭa*. Later on at Gaya, Caitanya received Mantra-Dīkṣā from Īvara Purī and came back a changed man. In later years Caitanya spoke of him with great reverence; and on one occasion when Caitanya was passing by Kumārabhāṭṭa, he is reported to have said that the very dust of the place which saw the birth of Īvara Purī, was to him dearer than life or wealth.⁵ Īvara Purī, like

1 Kṛṣṇadāsa : *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Madhya iv, 48-104.

2 *Caitanya and His Companions* (Calcutta 1907), p. 207.

3 *Prema-ñīlāṃ*, ch. xxiii. As the authenticity of this chapter is not beyond question, these details may or may not be correct. It is curious that in the C-bh, Ādi 1a, Īvara Purī calls himself "a humble śūdra" (*śūdrāśramiṇa*)! Probably this is a term of humility.

4 Ed. Kāvyaśālā, pp. 272-284.

5 प्रभु भवे ईश्वरपुरीर जन्मस्थान । ईश्वरपुरीया केनार जीवन धन प्राप्य ॥
(*Caitanya-bhāgavata*, Ādi. 2v)

Mādhavendra, was also an emotional mystic, who used to go into trances on hearing the Kīrtana of Kṛṣṇa's name.¹

3. OTHER SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

From what has been said above there can be no doubt about the independent origin of the Bengal sect, like that of other Vaiṣṇava sects, from the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* tradition, and about its debt to the mystic emotionalism interpreted and established by a class of emotional Saṁnyāsīns from the time of Śṛidhara. But into the complex texture of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism were also woven ideas from various other non-Vaiṣṇava sources which coloured, to some extent, its inherited Vaiṣṇava tradition. Tenets and practices, left behind by decadent Buddhism and already deep-set in current Hinduism, must have gone far into the religious thoughts and practices of the time.² Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna, characterised by theories of self-fulfilment and consequent corrupt practices, developed early as an obvious protest against the rigours of the Mahāyāna discipline and its difficult ideal of self-denial. Allied with these were all the coarsening features of decadent Tantra, in both its Hindu and Buddhist guises, which were probably exotic in Bengal, but which had at this time a wild and luxuriant growth on its congenial soil. The teachings of the Vāmācārin (Left-handed) Tāntric schools, with their mystic exaltation of the female principle in the universe, and their emphasis upon the religious value of sexual passion and sexual use of women, formed an undesirable legacy of a great system, and exposed Vaiṣṇavism, with its high erotic possibilities, to considerable temptation. Milder but equally mystic cults, like the Sahajiyā and Nāthism (the former of which became strangely Vaiṣṇavised), had also dangerous erotic tendencies. They preached a doctrine of

1 C-MA, Add. ix.

2 This obscure subject still awaits detailed critical study. What is offered here is necessarily imperfect and tentative.

"naturalism" (*sahaja*) and self-realisation, which in actual practice meant an idealisation of the sensuous, the finding of salvation in and through the senses. Apart from their questionable ideas and mysterious rites, all these hybrid cults encouraged a mixture of mystical metaphysics, emotionalism and sensuality; and if we are to judge from contemporary Vaiṣṇava records, they had hardly any spiritual or aesthetic influence on the religious life of Bengal. Although Caitanya, himself an ascetic and a man of great personal purity, does not appear to have lent countenance to these strange ideas and practices, they yet created the environment into which the Vaiṣṇava tradition entered, and possibly had some general influence on its erotic dogmas.

But Tantra is a term which has been very loosely applied, and its later distorted forms have obscured its proper significance. Whether Buddhist, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva or Śākta, it implied in its essence a mystic worship of Śakti or Female Energy, exalted in conjunction with the Male Energy in the universe. Its origin is lost in obscurity, but it assumed various forms, and its doctrines spread not only to decadent Buddhism but also to the various sectarian systems of Hinduism. The Vaiṣṇava Pañcarātra system and the Kashmirian Śaiva Āgama are openly Tāntric. It also coloured the orthodox Smārta systems, and the great Raghunandana in his *Tantras* makes considerable use of Tāntric ideas. Kṛṣṇānanda Ācārya¹, author of *Tantra-sāra*² and great exponent of Tāntric doctrines in Bengal, is said to have been (like Raghunandana) a contemporary of Caitanya; and there can be hardly any doubt as to the wide-spread character of Tāntric teaching in Bengal. The Vaiṣṇavism of the time could scarcely escape its influence. Its bipolar system of thought and culture, for instance, must have considerably

1 From internal evidence this work is dated by P. K. Gode (*Gangadhat Jha Research Institute Journal*, I, pt. 2, 1944, p. 177-84) between 1500 to 1600 A.D., narrowed down to 1494 and 1530 A.D.

influenced and shaped the bipolar conception of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, which Bengal Vaiṣṇavism developed and which is certainly one of its distinguishing features. The Vaiṣṇava Śakti-tattva, the acceptance of Kāma-gāyatrī, and the idea of Rādhā as the Śakti or Energy of Kṛṣṇa point probably to Tāntric influence, both remote and direct. Quotations from Tantra works are scattered throughout the standard Vaiṣṇava treatises of Rūpa, Jīva and other authoritative theorists of the Bengal school. It is not surprising, therefore, that Rādhā figures in a Tāntric light in such later Vaiṣṇava Tantras as the *Nārada-pañcārātra*; and Rūpa Gosvāmin in his *Ujjvala-niṣamaṇi*¹ declares that Rādhā is already established in the Tantra (*tantra pratiphiṣṭā*) as the Hlādinī Mahāśakti of Kṛṣṇa.

In the midst of such conditions Caitanyaism was born. If we are to place any reliance on the picture of contemporary society given by the biographers of Caitanya, who lived not far from his time, there can be no doubt that there was a lamentable decadence of religious life and ideals in Bengal. The tyranny of an alien rule was aggravated by the greater social tyranny of dominant Brahmanism with its protective, but despotic, spirit. Minute rules and restrictions of an unchanging and stringent code of religious and social duties were prescribed, and the effort is best exemplified by the great, but narrowly conservative, work of Raghunandana who was probably an older contemporary of Caitanya. No doubt, the object of such social legislation was to secure stability of conduct, but it afforded little room for expansion and progress, and little escape from inevitable bondage and burden. On the other hand, even the exclusive Brahmanism in its instinct of self-preservation, had to relax itself so far as to adopt deities and countenance practices of strange origins, such as those associated with the local cults of

1 Ed. Kāṣyapāṇi, p. 61.

Manasā, Vāṭuḷ¹ and Dharma Ṭhākura. The degraded Sahajiyā and Nāthism, and various phases of decadent Buddhism and Tānticism, of which we have spoken above and over all of which the mantle of Hinduism was thrown, brought in superstitious rites and doubtful practices which weakened the inherited spirituality of Brahmanism as a religion. The *Caitanya-candrodaya* of Kavikarṇapūra speaks of false ascetics, terrible Kīpālikas and corrupt Tāntrikas; and references are made in other works to the general preference of unclean meat, drink and women. "Religion" laments Vyādhana-dāsa "was reduced to a mere form, and there was no faith in men." The times were such as needed a reformer and saviour.

The city of Navadvīpa (modern Nadīyā), which witnessed the birth, youth and early manhood of Caitanya, was at that time a famous seat of mediaeval Sanskrit learning; but the kind of learning it favoured is typified by its production of a highly scholastic system of New Logic, the *Navya Nyāya*². It was also the stronghold of orthodox Brahmanism, as well as of neo-Tānticism, and produced a stringent social dictator like Raghunandana, as well as a champion of obscure Tāntic rites like Kṛṣṇānanda. Its great reputation for Sanskrit scholarship and orthodoxy drew students from all parts of the country, but it created an arid and intellectual atmosphere, highly materialistic, narrow, proud and even sceptical.³

1 Identified by some with the Buddhist Vāṭavarī or Vajrovarī. Cf. *Caitanya-bhāgavata*, Adī ii, where the cults of Manasā, Vāṭuḷ etc. are mentioned. For an account of these popular cults from literary sources, see Anantaś Bhaṭṭacharya, *Mangala-līlāyer Itihāsa*, Calcutta 1940.—The Dharma cult, as Haraprasād Sastri has now simply demonstrated, with its doctrine of void (*śūnya-vāda*), came out of decadent Buddhism.

2 This scholastic atmosphere should be borne in mind if we were to understand the scholastic trend of the theology of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.

3 कुलकं सुविद्या नव सम्भावक मरे । मङ्गि देन नाम नाहि जावने संसार ।।
(*Caitanya-bhāgavata*, Adī vi.) Similar picture is drawn in Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanya-candrodaya*.

Vedāntism formed the topic of conversation of the cultured few, who looked down upon the emotional abandon of Bhakti as weak and vulgar,¹ but they are characterised by Karpapūra as pantheists who believed in no other gods than their own selves. The self-satisfied formalism of the orthodox Smṛta system, which prescribed religious merit and absolving efficacy to a somewhat mechanical observance of fixed duties and ceremonies, hardly encouraged any exhibition of personal devotional fervour, or any inner sensibility for morality or religion.²

But there existed in the city a devout Vaiṣṇava community although it was neither a numerous nor an important group. Dissatisfied with their unspiritual surroundings, this religious group used to meet in certain houses to hold religious discourses, to listen to the reading of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* and to satisfy their spiritual longings by an enthusiastic singing of the name, praises or exploits of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa. Even Caitanya's father Jagannātha Miśra, though a Vaidika-Brahman scholar, had devout Vaiṣṇava tendencies, and the family had probably been Vaiṣṇava for generations. His hospitable house is said to have entertained many a venerable Vaiṣṇava guest, who must have created some subconscious impression on Caitanya's mind in his boyhood and youth.

This small community must have been inspired and encouraged in its Vaiṣṇava tendencies by Mādhavendra Puri and his disciples; for we find that the most commanding figure of this group was a disciple of Mādhavendra, named Kamalīkṣa Bhāṣācārya, better known by his other name of

1 The Vaiṣṇava Kīrtana and emotionalism were scoffed at :
 दुर्मित्रेण कीर्तनं कल्पे परिहास ।...केह नक्षे हानयोग एहिना निवार ।
 जगन्नेर प्राय दुख कोन व्यवहार ॥ (op. cit., Add. Ia).

2 See the story of Rāhita who was turned out of Devānanda's house because on the reading of the *Bhāgavata* he sobbed and showed signs of devotional emotion (op. cit., Add. Ia).

Advaita Ācārya. He was an elderly Brahman scholar of Śāntipur who lived for the most part at Navadvīpa, and whose scholarly attainments, pious life and sincere devotion made him a natural leader of his group. He came of distinguished and learned ancestry, and his original home, like that of Caitanya's father, was in Sylhet¹. He was probably older than Caitanya, and an old friend of the family, whom Caitanya's mother accused of having led her two sons to asceticism. There can be no doubt that Advaita very early recognised the power and fell under the spell of Caitanya's rapturous devotion, and a close relationship sprang up between the pious old man and the young religious enthusiast. The *Prema-viḍāsa* (ch. i) tells us that at one time Advaita taught the older doctrine of Mukti (Jñāna) and deviated from the emotional creed of Vaiṣṇava Bhakti; and this seems probable from his very title Advaita Ācārya,² which apparently indicates his leanings towards non-dualistic

1 His father Kubera Tarka-pañcinana is said to have been a *dvaita*-prophet of Dīrgha-sāmba, Rājā of Līlā in Sylhet, who himself later on became a devout Vaiṣṇava under the name of Līlāṅkṛpādīta and wrote an account of the early life of Advaita. The story of Advaita's life is told in Bengali by Advaita's follower and disciple, Līlā Nāgara, in his *Advaita-prakāśa* (ed. Amrita Baner Patra Office, Calcutta, no date), which is said to have been composed in Śaka 1490-1568 A.D., when its author was an old man of over seventy. Līlā tells us that Līlāṅkṛpādīta wrote an account of Advaita's early life in a Sanskrit work, entitled *Bāṇa Rām-stotra* (published by Acyuta Charan Chaudhārī, with a Bengali metrical translation, B. S. 1322-1916 A.D.) on which Līlā's own work professes to draw considerably. One must confess to serious doubts regarding the genuineness of the printed texts of these two works, manuscripts of which are not forthcoming anywhere. By a critical examination of their contents, Bimanbhaṛī Majumdar (*Sri-Caitanya-carita Upaśāna*, Calcutta University 1939, pp. 433-463 and 473-480) makes out a good case that the works are modern fabrications.

2 Attempts have been made to interpret the title Advaita falsely, as signifying identity with Hari (i.e. Caitanya) or as meaning 'advaitya' or unique. See Amar Nath Ray in *Udhodhāna*, Agrahāyaṇa 1337 B.S., pp. 68-7.

Vedānta'. The *Caitanya-bhāgavata* describes him as the greatest teacher of Jñāna, Bhakti and Vairāgya (इयं मणिः चैराग्रेरुत्तमः सुखदः). The *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa also refers unmistakably to Advaita's leanings towards Jñāna-mārga, and speaks of occasions when his views did not receive entire approval of Caitanya himself (Ādi xii. 40 ; xvii. 67). It is highly probable that Advaita, following the tradition of Śrīdhara Svāmī and Mādhavendra Puri, believed in tempering intellectual Advaitaism with emotional Bhakti. But he seems to have very closely identified himself with the new movement, and influenced its course of development to such an extent that he came to be regarded in the later history of the sect as one of the five Tattvas or Realities of the new faith'. It is also recorded piously that Advaita was an Avatāra of Śiva and preceded Caitanya in his descent to

1 See, for instance, the report of his conversation with Nityānanda in C-C, Madhya xii, 191 f.; his Mañjū interpretation of *Yogo-vḍḍyāḥa* in Ādi, xii, 40 ; his explanation of Jñāna-mārga in Ādi, xvii, 67, etc. Tradition alleges that Advaita's two disciples, Kāmadēva Nigama of Orissa and Śaṅkara Deva, apparently of Avam, refused to renounce Vedāntism and accept the new faith, leaving their teacher and the country on account of this difference of opinion. But this is only a legend. Śaṅkara Deva is not explicitly mentioned in any Bengali Vaiṣṇava work. For a discussion of the question, see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 340 f.

2 It is remarkable, however, that the Vṛndāvana Gopālmis do not, in their authoritative Sanskrit works, explicitly recognise this doctrine, and seldom mention Advaita and Nityānanda. Only in the introductory verses to the *Vaiṣṇava-maṇḍa* (1578 A.D.), obeisance is made to Advaita and Nityānanda but there is nothing there to distinguish them from the other disciples and associates of Caitanya, mentioned along with them in a fairly long list. Recognition is found, however, in the works of Kavīkarnapūra (especially *Gaura-gopoddēśa*) and in the Bengali lives of Caitanya ; and the promotion to the exclusive dignity is that of popular growth in the Navadvīpa, rather than in the Vṛndāvana circle. Kavīkarnapūra, however, attributes the origin of the doctrine of Pañca-tattva to Śrīrūpa Dāmodara, the five Tattvas being Caitanya, Nityānanda, Advaita, Gadādhara and Śrīvāsa (Locana substitutes his own Guru Narāyaṇa Śaṅkara for Śrīvāsa). Advaita is mentioned in the first *Caitanyāṣṭaka* of Rūpa Gopālmis (verse 3).

the world, and that it was in response to Advaita's prayer and appeal that the descent of Caitanya took place¹. Whatever may be the value of this belief, there can be no doubt that in spite of his Vedāntic scholarship, Advaita was the precursor of the devotional Vaiṣṇava tendency which later on took definite shape as Caitanyaism; and the small band of devout men who gathered round him formed the nucleus and presented the incipient features which were to mark the course of the new movement. They prepared the way for Caitanya and welcomed him as their leader; and to his life and personality, therefore, which gathered together the prevalent religious forces, we must now turn our attention.

१. चहुँतेर कारखे चैतन्य अवतार । तेह प्रभु कहियाखैन कारखार ॥ (C-84, *Adi* ii; also *Madhya* v). This belief probably originated from the first worship of Caitanya as the Bhagavat by Advaita at Śrīvāsa's house, described by Muṇiri (*li* 9, 18), Kavikarṇapūra (*Kṛtya* vii, 30), Vṛndāvana-dāsa (*Madhya* vi), as well as from Advaita's first public declaration of the belief at Puri.

CHAPTER II THE ADVENT OF CAITANYA

I. MATERIALS FOR A STUDY OF CAITANYA'S LIFE

There is no dearth of materials for a study of Caitanya's life and personality. A fairly large number of lives in Sanskrit and in Bengali came into existence not many years after his death : and they supply valuable materials not only regarding the details of his career, but also about the circumstances attending upon the growth of the movement he initiated, its method, its extent and its contagion. They reproduce the atmosphere and depict in vivid outline the attractive figures of the leading actors in the scene. As some of these works are contemporary records, they embody personal impression and knowledge, and in this sense they are truly historical. But most of them already acknowledge the divinity of Caitanya and write from the devotional point of view¹. Biography is a distinctly Vaishnava contribution to Middle Bengali : and by creating it, the movement added a new genre to the literature of the country : but the prolix and exuberant metrical narratives are often presented in a distorted perspective by an imagination which is ready to go to the utmost limits, or want of limits, of fanatical devotion. The powerful impression made by a great personality inspired these men to give sincere expression to their human love and admiration, but the early deification of Caitanya made them accept as their model the myths and unrealities of their favourite Purāṇic stories. Miraculous legends and grotesquely absurd accounts about Caitanya appear to have rapidly grown up even during his life-time, and the pious credulity of these devout writers found no difficulty in reproducing them in all seriousness. Yet, beneath all this, we have a picture of great

1. 'सतीर्थे नोदा इह परम निगूह । विभासे पादने तर्के इव बहुर ॥

human interest and appeal ; and the purely devotional aspect of Caitanya's career is depicted with sincere and loving care, with all the attending details and circumstances¹.

MURĀRI-GUPTA

The earliest available work on Caitanya's life appears to be the Sanskrit *Śrī-kṛṣṇacaitanya-caritāṃśa*, or simply *Caitanya-caritāṃśa*, attributed to Murāri-gupta,² an older contemporary, fellow-student and associate of Caitanya. It purports to have been composed in response to the devout enquiries made of the author by Dāmodara Paṇḍita (not to be confused with Śvarūpa Dāmodara) who was a well-known follower and companion of Caitanya in his final years of residence at Puri. It is usually known as a *Kaṣṭhā* or a brief biographical account, but the printed text³ offers it as a

1 The best critical account of the materials for a study of Caitanya's life will be found in Bimanbikari Majumdar, *Śrī-Caitanya-caritē Upaniṣad* in Bengali, Calcutta University 1939.

2 References to Murāri-gupta are to be found in almost all the biographies of Caitanya, and some of them directly utilize his pioneer work. But details of his life are meagre. Originally belonging to Sybhet, he appears to have resided at Navadvīpa, and was probably a neighbour of Caitanya's father and a fellow-student of Caitanya at Gaṅgadhara's Tol (C-14, Adi vii). He belonged to the Vaidya caste and apparently practised as a physician. He seems to have had Vedic inclination before he became a devotee of Caitanya. He appears to have been originally, like Caitanya's father, a Rāma-worshipper ; and the *Rāmāyāṇa*, which he cited before Caitanya, is given in full in his biography at li. 7, 10-17. This circumstance might have led to his being regarded as an incarnation of Hanuman. He was also a man of extraordinary physical strength, and it is recorded that once during a Kīrtana oculary at Aridāma's courtyard he carried Caitanya on his shoulders and danced for hours together. His dates are unknown ; but he must have been older than Caitanya, and probably survived him. In spite of Murāri's reputation for Samānt scholarship, his work contains many instances of *lajpat* *lajpat* which cannot be explained merely as a feature of later Kāvya-style.

3 Published by Minna' Kani Ghosh, Amrita Bazar Patrika Office, 3rd Ed., Calcutta B.E. 1357 (= 1921 A.D.) in Bengali characters. The first ed. was published by Sramal Govrami in 1303, the second in

regular Sanskrit Kāvya, consisting of four sections (*prakrama*) and total of seventy-eight cantos, and versifying in a variety of metres practically the whole career of Caitanya. The concluding verse¹ in the printed text gives Śaka 1435=1513 A.D. as the date of composition; but since Caitanya became a Sannyāsī in Śaka 1431=1510 A.D. and returned to Bengal, for a short time, after a little over three years in Śaka 1435=1513 A.D., the biography should have recorded incidents of his life up to that date. In reality, however, the story is carried down to a greater part of his later life at Puri, down even to 1530 A.D.; it alludes to the Gambhīrā episode (iv. 24) and even to the death of Caitanya (i. 2, 12-14). The genuineness of the date or of the subsequent account, therefore, is open to serious doubt.

Whatever may be the value of the printed text, the existence of some biographical account by Murāri-gupta is beyond doubt, and it is probable that it dealt chiefly with the early years of Caitanya's life. The earliest Bengali biography of Vṛndāvana-dāsa omits all references to it; nor does Jayānanda mention it in his short list (p. 3) of previous lives of Caitanya. But writing only nine years after Caitanya's death (1542 A.D.), Kavikarṇapūra informs us that he based his own *Caitanya-caritāṃśa* Kāvya chiefly on Murāri's account (xx. 42). It is clear, however, that Murāri's work was utilised closely for Caitanya's early life, although after canto xi

[317] It is said to have been edited from two MSS, one from Dacca and another from Belurabhan; no account of the sources is given. The number of cantos in the four *Prakramas* is respectively: 16, 18, 18 and 36. The extremely incorrect form in which the text is printed, even in the third edition, precludes the allegation of fabrication or deliberate tampering with the text.

1 *carandata tatābhānta prakā-tripakā-varṣare /
dṛṣṭā-sta-saptamāṣa granthāyāṁ pūṇṇām gataḥ*]

The reference is apparently to Śaka era. This is the reading of the third edition of the work, published by Mīnaḥ Kanti Ghosh; but the first two editions read *prakā-tripakā-varṣare*, which gives us Śaka 1425, instead of Śaka 1435.

Kavikarṇapūra appears to have drawn from other sources. That the name of Murāri's work was also *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* is clear from the citation by this name in the *Gaura-gopā-deta-dīpikā* (II, 94),¹ another work of Kavikarṇapūra's. The much later, but the more authoritative, Bengali biography of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, written probably within ninety years of Caitanya's death, professes to utilise Murāri-gupta's work and describes it as a condensed account of all the exploits of Caitanya in his early life². Locana-dāsa, an earlier biographer, writing about the end of the 16th century, refers to the existence of a poetical life by Murāri-gupta from Caitanya's birth to boyhood (*জন্ম হইতে বাল্যক বরিত্ত*) and acknowledges his immense debt to that work.³

The present text devotes its three out of four sections (*prakrama*) to incidents occurring up to Caitanya's visit to Rāmakeli after the South Indian pilgrimage, i.e. roughly up to 1513 A.D., while the last section very briefly and rapidly sketches his Vṛndāvana pilgrimage and his final settlement at Puri. The second section ends exactly with the account of his Saṁnyāsa, which incident, in the usual reckoning, con-

1 Reference is made in this verse to a story, said to be related by Murāri-gupta, about Haridāsa's being an incarnation of a Muni-putra. The legend is actually told in the present text in I. 4. 9 f.

2 *চািত্যকীর্তনম্বে প্রসূর যতক বরিত্ত । সুজন্মে মুরারি গুপ্ত করিতা প্রবিত্ত ॥* *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Adh. xiii, 15. But elsewhere Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja says: *দামোদর স্বরূপ যার গুপ্ত মুরারি । মুকুন্দ মুকুন্দ লীলামুগ্ধ লিখিয়াছে বিস্তারি ॥* (Adh. xiii, 46). This may mean that Murāri-gupta dealt in detail with the chief incidents of Caitanya's life as a whole: but the mention of Dāmodara Svārūpa permits the interpretation that Murāri and Dāmodara, who knew intimately the earlier and later life respectively, gave a detailed account of the chief incidents of each phase.

3 Locana-dāsa actually translates in some places the account given in the present text, and mentions some points (e.g. Lakṣmī's having been in previous birth an Aṁbarī) exclusively stated by Murāri-gupta. Even from the last doubtful section of Murāri's work he utilises the Bīṭhkhana episode which is not mentioned in any other biography.

cludes his *Ādi-līlā* or early life. The genuineness of the fourth and last section (as possibly also of the third), therefore, is not altogether beyond question; and the presumption has been made that the concluding verse, which gives its date of composition, originally occurred, as it should, at the end of the second section, but was somehow retained even when the supplementary section or sections were added. The somewhat strange device of making Dāmodara Paṇḍita¹ the curious enquirer after Caitanya's life would be justifiable, only if his enquiries related to the earlier portion of that life: for Dāmodara, who was one of Caitanya's companions at Puri must have known more about the later phase of Caitanya's life than Murāri could have done from hearsay. But apart from the fact that Kavikarṇapūra generally knew the present text, even if he ignored the last section, it was undoubtedly known, almost in its entirety, to Locana-dāsa, who closely and directly makes use of it throughout, and specifically utilizes the Bibhīṣaṇa episode of the last section (iv. 21). It is also noteworthy that Narahari Cakravartin, in the 18th century, quotes from Murāri's work in his *Bhakti-rasāṅkara*, and the quotations are traceable in the present text; and it is also interesting that the last section (up to iv. 10—Vṛndāvana visit) was known to Narahari. The allegation, therefore, that the printed text is a modern fabrication cannot be very well maintained. The statement that the earlier part of Caitanya's life only was described by Murāri probably owes its origin to the fact that Murāri gives a more detailed account of the earlier phase of which he had direct knowledge, while the later phase is only hurriedly and vaguely given. The work may have been composed during Caitanya's life-time, but since it alludes to his passing away, it is probable that it came

¹ Jagadbandhu Bhadra (*Guṇa-pada-saṅgīti*), introd. p. 50) makes the not unnatural mistake of confusing Dāmodara Paṇḍita with Śrīrūpa Dāmodara.

into existence after his death (1533 A.D.), but before 1542 A.D. Murāri's biography begins with a deified picture of Caitanya as the incarnation (Yopāvatāra) of Viṣṇu (i. 4. 26-27 ; i. 5. 4 ; i. 12. 19 ; i. 1. 14 as Caturbhuja Viṣṇu) and gives credence to miraculous legends as a proof of his divinity. This common trait, as well as the uncertainty of the present text, impairs its importance as a strictly historical document. But if the entire work is genuine, it is extremely valuable as the earliest record written by a close associate ; and in spite of its pious attitude, it gives a vivid and somewhat human account, not too much overlaid with theology, of the Navadvīpa period of Caitanya's life, for which it is, with Vṛndāvana-dāsa's biography, the best and most authoritative source. But its value as a record of incidents has been greatly diminished by the more systematic biographies which followed and made considerable use, openly or otherwise, of its material.

SVARŪPA DĀMODARA

The account of Svarūpa Dāmodara, which is probably next in date, appears to be lost. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja refers¹

। रामोदर कविर काका बलुसारे (C-C, Madhya vol. 312) : प्रसुर
मन्वरोपसीता स्वरुप रामोदर । सुख करि प्रनिबलेन बन्धेर भितर ॥
(Ādi 333. 14) : रामोदर स्वरुप चार गुन मुरारि । सुख्य मुख्य सीतासुख
तिथिबाधे बिलारि ॥ (Ādi 333. 46) : कव्य बोझासि चार रघुनाथ
दास । एर कुरर काकाते ए सीता प्रकाश ॥ (Antya 337. 7), etc.

If Raghunātha-dāsa also wrote a Kadachī, as the last passage states, it is also lost. Possibly this was no independent work of Raghunātha's, but he helped his Guru Svarūpa Dāmodara in the compiling of the latter's Kadachī. Nothing of Raghunātha-dāsa's writing on Caitanya remains except his Caitanyāvalī and Gauṇāṅga-stavāla-līlā-pāṭha incorporated in his Śrīnīṇāṇī (altogether 20 stanzas) ; while we have only a few doctrinal verses in the Gauṇa-pañcādśī-dīpikā (13. 17, 149) ascribed to Svarūpa Dāmodara. There could not have been implied by the word Kadachī in Kṛṣṇadāsa's statement. Bīma-bihārī Majumdar (op. cit. p. 3311) denies that any biographical account could have been written by Svarūpa Dāmodara or Raghu-

to it as his chief source for the middle part and last years of Caitanya's life, and describes it as a *Kaṣṭhā*. This could not have been the actual name of the work which is said to have been composed in Sanskrit. The author appears to have been originally a Navadvīpa scholar,¹ named Puruṣottama Ācārya (C-bh. Antya x. 52), a Vedāntist who subsequently became a Sannyāsīn of the Daṣṭīn order under the name of Svartipa Dāmodara. Attaching himself to Caitanya as one of his most intimate and favourite disciples at Puri, he became thereafter an indispensable companion, keeping watchful care and regulating the life of the Master in detail.² Kavīkaraṇḍa, in his *Caitanya-candrodaya*,³ as well as Caitanya's other biographers, makes him, as he really was, a great figure in Caitanya's life at Puri; and the verse viii. 10 (*śeṭhoddhātū-*

nātha; but his arguments are not convincing. The worthless work which is sometimes printed from Bajraḥ at Svartipa Dāmodara's *Kaṣṭhā* cannot be seriously taken; it does not correspond to the descriptions given by Kṛṣṇadāsa, and contains wholesale appropriations even from Mīmāṃsā's work on the *Kāma-Utāra*; it is obviously a later Sahajiyā fabrication.

1 This is implied by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja (Madhya x. 101-2); but Murārī does not mention him as a Navadvīpa-associate of Caitanya, while there is nothing in the works of Kāvīkaraṇḍa, Vyādhīnandana and Raghunātha-dāsa to support the view that Svartipa Dāmodara was a native of Navadvīpa. On Puruṣottama Ācārya, see below, note 1.

2 Svartipa was one of the few faithful followers who possessed great influence upon Caitanya, and knew his mind (C-C. Madhya xiii. 122, 134-5 etc.). Caitanya himself paid a tribute to his scholarship and devotion when he laughingly confessed to young Raghunātha that Svartipa knew more about the *śāstra* than he himself did.

3 In his *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* Kāvya (xiii. 137-142) Kavīkaraṇḍa refers apparently to Svartipa Dāmodara as Puruṣottama Ācārya. For the citation of a verse ascribed to Puruṣottama Ācārya in some MSS of the *Padārtha*, see S. K. De's ed. of the work, no 83 (note) and p. 212. But it is remarkable that Kavīkaraṇḍa does not mention Svartipa Dāmodara's *Kaṣṭhā*, although he expressly acknowledges his indebtedness to Murārī's biographical account in his *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* Kāvya.

khedayā), which is put in Svarūpa's mouth in the drama, is said to be Svarūpa's own composition incorporated by Kavikarṇapūra.¹ He was well versed in Vaiṣṇava theology and practice, and had charge of young Raghunātha-dāsa's Vaiṣṇava training at Puri.² In Kavikarṇapūra's *Gauḥ-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā*, Svarūpa Dīmodara is credited with the doctrine of *Pañca-tattva*,³ which established Caitanya, Nityānanda, Advaita, Gadādhara and Śrīvāsa as the five Tattvas of the faith, and exalted Caitanya as Mahāprabhu and Nityānanda and Advaita as Prabhus. This would indicate Svarūpa's attitude, if not the whole of his theology. He is said to have been so deeply attached to Caitanya that he never survived the great shock of Caitanya's death; but from Raghunātha-dāsa's reference in the *Mukṣā-carita* (ff. 4), it is not unlikely that he passed his last days at Vṛndāvana and wrote his personal reminiscences there.

PARAMĀNANDA KAVIKARṆAPŪRA

After these comes the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* Mahākāvya in twenty cantos, composed nine years after Caitanya's death, by Paramānanda-sena, better known by his poetical title of

1 The verses 5-12, which open Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, are printed in some editions of the text as quotations from the so-called *Kāṇḍā* of Svarūpa Dīmodara (e.g. in Vaṅgeśvar ed., Mādhava Gaṇḍhya Majumdar ed. etc.): but in the Kāñḍ edition of the text this indication is omitted. The manuscripts of the text which we have consulted in the Decca University Library do not support this attribution to Svarūpa, as there is no such heading there as *svarūpa-paundralī-kāṇḍāṇḍam*. See S. K. De in *INQ.* 1933, pp. 99-100; Bimanbikari Majumdar, *op. cit.* p. 329, coming to the same conclusion after consulting five MSS of the work in the Vāṅghya Śāhitya Parīkṣā collection. It is probably an unjustifiable "padding" by zealous editors, of which instances are very frequent in the printed texts. The well-known verse *śrī-mādhavāy prapada-mahimā* is often, but wrongly, attributed to Svarūpa Dīmodara, probably because it embodies a doctrine ascribed to him.

2 The disciple acknowledges his debt in the opening verses of the *Mukṣā-carita*, where he refers to Svarūpa, along with Rūpa and Sanātana.

3 See above p. 32 note 1.

Kavikarṇapūra, who also wrote many years later a drama in ten acts on the same theme, entitled *Caitanya candrodaya*. The author was the son of Śivānanda-sena, an elderly disciple of Caitanya,¹ who used to organise and lead the annual exodus of Caitanya's followers to Puri. He belonged to the Vaidya caste, and his youngest son Paramānanda was born at Kāñcālipāṭī (Kāñcanapattī), near Nalhati, a few years before Caitanya's death. Śivānanda had poetical tendencies, and some of his Bengali songs are to be found in the Vaiṣṇava anthology, *Paḍa-kalpataru*, as well as in the modern compilation, *Gaura-pada-taraṅgiṇī* (six Padas on Caitanya); his son appears to have inherited his father's literary gifts at an early age. When he was a boy of seven he is said to have accompanied his father to Puri, where he saw Caitanya; and the touch of the Master's feet is said to have inspired the precocious child to utter the following Sanskrit verse in the difficult Āryā metre, which praised Kṛpā as the ear-ornament of the Gopī, and earned for him the title, given by Caitanya himself of Kavi-karṇapūra or "ear-ornament of poets":²

śravasoh kuralayam akṣor aṅjanam uraso mahendra-maṇi-
dāma/
vrndāvana-ramaṇīndrāṃ maṇḍanam akhilāṃ harir jayati//

1 Kavikarṇapūra speaks about his father as one of the chief disciples of the Master (*pāṇḍitgṛha mahāprabhu*) in his *Gaura-pada-dīpa-dīpikā*, ū. 4 and 177. Śivānanda is regarded as occupying a high position among Caitanya's disciples: see Murārī, iv, 17, 6; *Vrndāvana-dāsa*, Antya v and ix; Jayānanda, p. 142; Kṛpādīpa Kavīśa, Antya L 12-28; a, 139; ut, 11 and 44; xvi, 60 etc. Both in his drama and his poem, Karṇapūra mentions Śivānanda many times and records that during his return to Bengal Caitanya paid a visit to Śivānanda's house. There is also a significant passage in the drama in which Śivānanda is represented as bringing his son (apparently Kavikarṇapūra himself) before Caitanya at Puri.

2 His other name given by Caitanya is said to have been Purī-dāsa, which occurs in the colophon to the printed text of his *Gaura-pada-dīpa*; but on this alleged name see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84. In his work Kavikarṇapūra he never uses this name of Purī-dāsa. An *Āryā-taraka*, now lost, is ascribed to him; this Āryā-

'Victorious is Kṛpā, who is the blue water-lily in the two cars, collyrium in the two eyes, the great rope of sapphire on the breast, (in fact) the entire adornment, of the young women of Vṛndāvana !'

Whatever value this story of an infant prodigy may possess, it is probable that it originated from the fact of his extraordinarily precocious literary gifts. His earliest sustained poetical effort appears to be his Sanskrit *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* Kāvya,¹ in which he declares himself as a "child" (*jitā*). One of the concluding verses² gives its date of composition as *Āṣāḍha*, Śaka 1464 = June-July, 1542 A. D. If we accept 1524 A. D. as the date of his birth,³ he would then be about eighteen when the work was completed. For a youth the poem is indeed a marvellous achievement of precocious gifts. The work consists of 20 Sargas and over 1900 verses in a variety of Sanskrit metres (excepting *Āryā*), and gives a poetical but complete

verse may have formed its opening. Namahriyā. The verse is, however, given in Kavāṭṭapūra's *Alambita-tantrika* (Kīrti vi) as an example of the poetic figure *Māla-rūpa*.

1 Ed. Radhakrishnan Press, Benares-Munshabad 1984, in Bengali characters with a Bengali translation. In *Gaura-govindāśaṣṭak*, the name of Kṛṣṇa's Gaura occurs as Arinītha.

[illegible]

1. Identifikasi Masalah
 2. Pengumpulan Data
 3. Penyusunan Laporan
 4. Pengujian
 5. Penyempurnaan
 6. Pengulangan
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relief, as well as a more effective and efficient relief effort.

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3) This usually accepted date is given by Rajendralala Mitra in his *Bibl. Ind. ed. of Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (Preface, p. vi). This would make Kṛṣṇapūra about nine years old at the time of Caitanya's passing away, and would not conflict with Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's account of Kṛṣṇapūra's visit to Puri in a MS of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇapūra. However, in the Dacca University Library (no. 2389) the scribe, one Viṣṇudāsa, calling himself a servant of Rūpa Govindin, records the tradition that Kṛṣṇapūra was only sixteen when he composed this work (*caitanya-caritāmṛta-vibhakti-kāraḥ śiṣya-vibhakti-kāraḥ vivartamāṇaḥ Kṛṣṇapūraḥ*). This tradition would agree more with the poet's self-description as a "child" and put his birth-date at 1326 A.D. His visit to Puri in his seventh year would then have occurred in the very year in which Caitanya passed away. But, of course, this does not entirely remove the difficulties of exact dating.

account of forty-seven years (*caturvīṃśatā saptaśāṣṭhāḥ āhvan-ānāḥ kramēṇa*)¹ of Caitanya's life. The author himself admits that he based his work chiefly on the account of Murāri, who knew Caitanya in his boyhood and youth; and as it was composed nine years after Caitanya's death, the standard Bengali biographies had not yet been written. The latter part of the life, however, is independent of Murāri's account, but it is rather meagrely treated. Like the preceding work, *Karṇa-pūra*'s poem devotes its strength chiefly upon the poetical and devotional possibilities of the theme, indulging in frequent flights (in the regular long draws *Kāvya*-style) of poetical descriptions, and presenting Caitanya as the blessed Saviour and incarnation of Kṛṣṇa, as well as the hero of a religious *Kāvya*. The author conceives himself as a poet and devotional writer rather than as a sober historian. His drama, *Caitanya-candrodaya*,² a more mature work composed in 1572

1 This enumeration does not really conflict with Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's mention of forty-eight years, for the actual number of years covered by Caitanya's life appears to have been forty-seven years and a few months. See B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-23 for a discussion of the question.

2 Ed. *Kāvya-mālā* 87, NSP, Bombay 1917. The date of composition is given in one of concluding verses, which however has been differently interpreted, making a difference of seven years. The verse (*śloka caturvīṃśatā-kare ravi-rāḍi-yukte/gauro harir dhareṇi-maṇḍala dvivāḍi/ tasyaiva catur-maṇḍa-baḍi saṁśaya-āṅga-graṇtho'yaṁ śrīnāthāya kāmāyāya valitā*) says that Caitanya was born in Śaka 1407, and that the drama, which deals with his life, was composed in Śaka 1494-1572 A.D. (*tasyaiva* referring to unqualified *catur-vīṃśat-kare* *śloka*); but some interpret the verse so as to give Śaka 1501-1579 A.D. as the date of composition (taking *saṁśaya* to refer to *caturvīṃśat-kare* *śloka* qualified by the phrase *ravi-rāḍi-yukte*). As the drama is quoted in Kavikarmapūra's *Gaura-gopoddhāra-dīpikā* which is expressly dated 1576 A. D., the date 1572 is more likely than 1579. There is nothing to throw doubt on the genuineness of this verse; but Bimambhāṣī Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-94, brushes aside this explicit date and maintains, chiefly from what he considers to be internal evidence, that the drama was composed before 1540 A.D.

A. D. at the command of Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa,¹ is conceived in the same strain, and introduces allegorical (e. g. Mañirī, Bhakti, Adharma, Virāga, etc.) and even mythical figures (e. g. Nārada, Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa, etc.), somewhat after the manner of the well-known *Prabodha-candrodaya*, which must have been its model. If *Kavikarṇāpūra* does not strictly follow Murāri's account in this work, and departs in many details from his earlier poem, it is perhaps due to his more mature and fuller knowledge and judgment, as well as to his desire to enlarge in the drama upon the later phase of Caitanya's life, as much as his immature poem was largely devoted (after Murāri-guṇia) to its earlier phase. The work, however, is a regular drama in ten acts, as the other is a regular poem in twenty cantos. As sober historical documents both these works, which are obviously literary and devotional in form and treatment, are not of much value, but they give us an interesting glimpse into the atmosphere of Caitanyanism, and record some traditions which the poet's father, Śivāsanda, who is a figure in this drama, might have handed down.²

1 One must, however, recognise the difficulty of this reference, for most historians are of opinion that Pratāparudra was dead by 1540 A.D. This is one of the strong reasons which leads B. Majumdar to hold that the drama was composed before 1540, that is, even before the poem, which is dated 1542 A.D.

2 The *Gaura-pada-dīpa-dīpa* (ed. Murshidabad, Radhakrishnan Press, 1912) is usually regarded as Kṛṣṇānanda's third work. Its date of composition, however, is uncertain, as the concluding verse which gives the date has different readings in different manuscripts. The MSS noticed in Haraprasad Sastri's *Nities*, II, no. 60 (pp. 49-50) and in Aufrecht's *Library Catalogue* no. 721, as well as the printed text, read *śrī nitya-grāha-mīte manamāya yātī* (A.D. 1498-1576 A.D.); but the India Office MS (Eggington's *Catalogue*, IV, no. 2510) reads *śrī nitya-grāha-mīte manamāya yātī* (A.D. 1466-1544 A.D.). The work gives an elaborate account of the previous incarnations of Caitanya's disciples as associates of Kṛṣṇa in the Vraṇḍavana-108,—an extreme logical development of the Vaiṣṇava theory of incarnation, which regards not only Caitanya as Kṛṣṇa, but also his followers as Kṛṣṇa's associates and beloved ones. It is true that hints of such a system are already found in Kāvīkarnāpūra's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*.

VRNDĀVANA-DĀSA

These Sanskrit works became the starting point of a series of biographies of Caitanya in Bengali, which absorbed and in course of time eclipsed the Sanskrit originals. The earliest, and by far the most important, of these Bengali accounts, with

Kāvya, composed in 1543 A.D., for it mentions Nityānanda as an incarnation of Balarāma, Advaita as that of Śiva and Rāhīka as that of Nārada; but the mature theological elaboration of the dogma, such as the present work offers, could not have been worked out so early as 1544 A.D. It is also possible that the idea of the work was suggested by Rūpa Govindāśa's description of the Gāyaṇ of Kṛṣṇa, for which Caitanyite parallels had to be found, in his *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-govaddhā-dīpikā* (about 1530 A.D.). The date 1576, given by the majority of MSS. appears therefore more suitable for this alleged work of Kāṇṇāpūra. Doubts have been expressed regarding its genuineness; but it is quoted in the 18th century by Nārāyaṇ Cakravartin in his *Bhakti-rasādhara*. See B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-100 for a discussion of the question; but interpolations into the text may be suspected. As an instance, one may point out that this work expressly affiliates the Caitanya Saṁpradāya to the Mādhva, but Kāṇṇāpūra's drama testifies to Caitanya's dislike of Mādhva doctrine and his being an Advaita Saṁpradāyin. In style and treatment the work is pedestrian, and its theology is clearly of later development; it is difficult to say if it is really a genuine work of Kāṇṇāpūra's. Kāṇṇāpūra's other Sanskrit works are: (i) *Ānanda-vraṇḍāna-campū*, a voluminous Campū in Sanskrit prose and verse in 22 Skandhas, on the childhood and youth of Kṛṣṇa (ed. in the *Pūṇī* Old Series, vol. ix and x, New Series, vol. i-iii. Only 9 Skandhas. ed. Maṇmohan Dāsa, Hooghly, 1919, with comm. of Vīṭṭaśikha Cakravartin, and a Bengali translation. In Bengali characters). The Skandha I is entitled *Bhagavat-śikha-tarva-raṭṭa-rūpa*, describing Vrṇḍāvana; Skandha ii-iii *Bālyā-śikha-ṭarva-rūpa*, dealing with childhood, and Skandha viii-xiii *Kāṭava-śikha-ṭarva-rūpa*, treating of the early youth of Kṛṣṇa; (ii) *Alakṣya-lāṇṇāśikha* (ed. Mādhvāśikha, Rādhānāṇa Press, 1907; also ed. Vāṇḍāna Research Society, Rājshahi, 1923-34), a regular work on Saṇḍarīa Poetics, of which illustrative verses are mostly in praise of Kṛṣṇa. A short description of this work will be found in S. K. De, *Saṇḍarīa Poetics*, 2nd ed. Calcutta 1960, p. 254-55; (iii) *Kṛṣṇāśikha-lāṇṇāśikha* (ed. Haridāsa Dāsa, in Bengali characters. Haridāsa Kuar, Navadvīpa 1941), a small Kāvya in six Prākāśas, dealing with the Astakāśikha Līlā of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and belonging, by its theme to the same type of composition as the

respect to the early part of Caitanya's life, is the *Caitanya-bhāgavata*, composed by Vṛndāvana-dāsa at the command of Nityānanda.¹ Its date is uncertain² but it was probably writ-

Gṛantha-sāhitya of Kṛṇādīna Kavirāja and *Kṛṣṇa-bhāvanāmṛta* of Vīraśaṭha Cakravartin. The work is often wrongly ascribed to Bilvamangala (see *Kṛṣṇa-bhāvanāmṛta*, ed. S. K. De, Dacca 1934, p. xx, footnote 21.—The *Camakāṇḍa-candrikā*, a small Kāvya in four Kāvīhalas and 225 verses, on Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-kīlā, is sometimes assigned to Kavīkarnāpūra (Rajendralala Mitra, *Notices*, vi, no. 2150, pp. 212-13), but it belongs most probably to Vīraśaṭha Cakravartin. In the printed edition of this text, however, based on three MSS (ed. Haridas Das, in Bengali characters, with a Bengali translation, Nava-dīpa 1937), no manuscript indication or proof of authorship is found. In the India Office MS of the work (Eggeling, vii, p. 1463, no. 3482/1177e) the author's name is missing. Several other works are ascribed to him, but their genuineness is doubtful. The *Varṇa-prakāśa*, a dictionary of vocables containing the same consonants, composed for Rājādīna, son of Amara-maṇḍikya of Tippera (= Tipperah), is probably by some other Kavīkarnāpūra, as the MS noticed in the India Office Catalogue (Eggeling, no. 3107, li, p. 293) contains no reference or homage to Caitanya. A *Śṛṅga-kṛṣṇa-gopadīya-dīpikā* is also ascribed to him in the *Pandit*, ix, 105. Of the *Jyoti-kāśaka* mentioned above, no information is available.—An account of the literary works of Kavīkarnāpūra will be found below in Ch. vii.

1 निखानमन्त्रद्वयेर चाक्षा परि विरेः सुखसाज निशि चापि कुपा अनुसारे ॥

The work has been published very often in Bengal but none of the editions can be regarded as critical. MSS are abundant, and the work deserves to be critically re-edited. The most convenient editions are those by Śiva Candra Śāstrabhaṅga (Calcutta 1901) and the Ananta Ratan Patrikāś Office (Calcutta 1936). Also ed. Gauḍīya Mādhava Maṭha with notes and indices, Atul Kṛṣṇa Govarṇa's edition contains an index, while the verses are consecutively numbered in the Gauḍīya Mādhava Maṭha edition.

2 Various dates are given: Ramagati Nitya-ratna (*Baṅgabhāṣya O Sahitya-nirṇaya*, Prastāva) gives Aka 1470 - 1547 A.D.; Jagadbandhu Bhadra (*Gaura-pada-saṅgṛhī*, introduction p. 130) gives 1457 (= 1535 A.D.) which is absurd, because, if it were so, then this important biography would have been referred to in Kavīkarnāpūra's *Samukt Caitanya-candrikā*. Dāśarṇi Chandra Sen in his various works gives the dates 1535 and 1573 A.D.; but the authority for these conjectures is not known. The work must have been completed some time before Kṛṇādīna Kavirāja undertook the laborious compilation of his

ten not more than fifteen years after Caitanya's death, at a time when Nityānanda was still alive. It is divided into three *Khaṇḍas*, viz. *Ādi* (ending with Caitanya's visit to Gayā), *Madhya* (ending with his *Saṁnyāsa*) and *Antya* (dealing with the remainder of his life), and contains a total of fifty-two chapters. The Caitanya-legends must have grown in the meantime, and the process of deification must have been complete. Vṛndāvana himself does not appear to have seen Caitanya. Brought up in the orthodox tradition, Vṛndāvana-dāsa, whose own birth is shrouded by a supernatural story,¹

own monumental biography of Caitanya, in which the debt to Vṛndāvana's work is fully acknowledged. Locana-dāsa also mentions it; and in the list of previous authorities Jayānanda places it at the head of the (Bengalī) accounts of Caitanya. As both these writers composed their respective works probably in the last quarter of the 16th century, it is likely that Vṛndāvana's work was completed much before 1575 A.D., especially as Vṛndāvana-dāsa is already mentioned as *Vedavyāsa* in Kṛṣṇa-piṇḍa's *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa* composed in 1576 A.D. On the other hand, Kṛṣṇa-piṇḍa does not, as we have already stated, mention nor utilize Vṛndāvana's work in his *Caitanya-caritaṁta* Kāvya composed in 1542 A.D. It is not unlikely, as Bhanubhārat Majumdar demonstrates from internal evidence (p. 183 ff.) that it may have been composed between 1546 and 1590 A.D. (at about 1560). If, as Majumdar shows, Vṛndāvana-dāsa was born in 1518 A.D., his age at the time of composition, was presumably between 28 and 32. It is probable that Vṛndāvana knew Muṛṛī's work.

1 Vṛndāvana is said to have been the posthumous son of Nārāyaṇī, born 18 months after the death of her husband, Vaidyaśāka Cakravartin of Kumārābhāṭṭa. But there is nothing in the earlier texts themselves to support this statement. Vṛndāvana himself nowhere mentions the name of his father which is found only in a spurious chapter of the *Prma-vilāsa*. Muṛṛī-guṇḍa mentions Nārāyaṇī as *madhura-dyaṇī* and *a-bhāṛṇā*; but Kṛṣṇa-dāsa Kavirāja simply says: गारावली वैद्यनेर उच्छिष्टमात्मनः । तौर गर्भे जन्मिला भविष्य सुखात्मक ॥ (Ādi vilāsa, 41). The older contemporary writers, who must have known Nārāyaṇī, thus maintain a discreet silence, although Kavirāṣṇa-piṇḍa speaks of her with esteem, and mentions her as a *paritara* of Gaurāṅga-pāda. There must have been some strong reasons to shroud the birth of Vṛndāvana-dāsa in mystery and miraculous legends. Nārāyaṇī was the daughter of one of the three brothers of Arjūna, at whose house in Navadvīpa

readily accepts all supernatural stories about Caitanya, and strives to figure him with divine adoration. Deriving his inspiration chiefly from the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, he finds a record of Kṛṣṇa's boyhood in Caitanya's early life, and the Caitanya and his followers used to meet in the earlier stages of the movement. When Nityānand was a child of four she obtained the Newāṅga of Caitanya (Caitanya-bh, Madhya II), and devout Vaiṣṇavas believed with Kṛṣṇadāsa that Vṛndāvana came into the world by partaking of the food left by the Master. Vṛndāvana himself regrets that he had no opportunity of witnessing Caitanya-bh. This may mean that either he was too young to witness Navadvīpa-bh, or was not born during Caitanya's life-time. If he was not born at all during Caitanya's life-time, then it is difficult to explain the statement that Vṛndāvana was born out of Nityānand's partaking of the *acchāra* of Caitanya. There is also another difficulty. Vṛndāvana tells us that he was directed by Nityānanda to write Caitanya's biography. If, as we are told, Nityānanda survived Caitanya only by eight years, it is inconceivable that he should have commissioned a boy of less than eight years to take such a responsibility. It is also said that Nityānand, like her son, was a faithful disciple of Nityānanda, who residing at that time at Kṛṣṇa's house and not knowing that she was then a widow, blessed her with the boon of motherhood. At any rate, the scandal which caused is said to have caused some inconvenience (see *Guṇa-vāda-tarāṅga*, introd. p. 128), and Nityānand had to appear before the Kazi of Navadvīpa to defend her character. A miracle happened, and the Kazi was convinced. But this legend is absurd and unauthoritative. Nityānand had, however, to leave her uncle's house with her infant son, and take shelter at the house of one Vāṇakṛṣṇa-dāsa at Māṅglaṅkī, near Navadvīpa. Vṛndāvana praises Vāṇakṛṣṇa-dāsa in high terms (Antya 4), and we are also told that Nityānanda used to live near by at Bāṅglaṅkī. In later years Vṛndāvana is said to have resided at Deodā in the district of Burdwan. The exact date of his birth is not known; but he tells us that either he was not born or was too young during Caitanya's Navadvīpa-bh (इहं वारिषि जन्म ना इहं लब्धे । इहनाम बन्धुः से इहं वदामि ॥ referring to the Navadvīpa-bh, Adī 3 : इहं वारिषि जन्म लब्धं ना इहं । इहं महा महीश्वरं देखिते ना पाइल ॥ Madhya 1). It is said that he was born about Śaka 1459 = 1537 A.D. and died in Śaka 1541 = 1619 A.D. at the great age of 82. Another date of birth, 1507, is sometimes given. These dates are unlikely and at best uncertain, and no reliance can be placed on them, as they are not given by any old writer. Of other dates, however, 1518 A.D. given by B. Majumdar (op.

book was considered to have been so successful from this point of view that the venerable Gosvāmīna of Vṛndāvana, for whose seal of approval it was submitted, are said to have changed its original name of *Caitanya-maṅgala* into *Caitanya-bhāgavata* !¹ The name itself is indicative of its general outlook, as well as of its sanctity ; but apart from its obviously enthusiastic devotional spirit, the book became the most valuable and authoritative record of the earlier part of Caitanya's life at Navadvīpa, on which it practically spends all its strength. Having been the grandson of a brother of Śrīvāsa,

(cf. p. 179) appears to be more plausible ; for, as we have seen above, it would have been impossible for Nityānanda to have directed Vṛndāvanādīna to write Caitanya's biography if he was born in 1537 A.D. He appears as an enthusiastic partisan of Nityānanda, at whose instance he wrote his work, and the details of whose life occupy a great deal of his attention. Even Kṛpadīna Kavirāja remarks upon this trait (निष्ठानन्द-
कीर्तनार्थमेतद्ग्रन्थः । चैतन्यैव दीपसंज्ञा रक्षितं वाक्येन ॥ *Adi viii.*

48). Very frequently in his work, Vṛndāvana refers in a somewhat impatient and immoderate language to those who speak ill of Nityānanda, and his vigorous invective itself indicates the existence of some amount of ill-feeling in the sect against Nityānanda. Vṛndāvana appears to indicate that at the time of his writing, which could not have been very early but which was probably ten to fifteen years after Caitanya's death, the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas were already split into several sects, paying homage to Advaita, Gadādhara and Nityānanda, or believing in the Gaura-Nityānanda doctrine which Vṛndāvana himself discredits. Several other works are attributed to Vṛndāvana, but their genuineness is not beyond question.

1 The story is told in *Prameyāṅga* xix, but is at best doubtful (see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.* p. 179). To Kṛpadīna the work was still known as *Caitanya-maṅgala*, but Locanādīna refers to it as *Caitanya-bhāgavata*. The Vaiṣṇava hagiology knows Vṛndāvanā as an incarnation of Vyāsa, author of *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*. Probably this originated from eulogistic references to him by Kṛpadīna and others as "the Vyāsa of Caitanya-carta" (चैतन्यपरिच्छेदो व्यास इन्द्राक्ष इव *Adi viii.*, 82). The designation "Maṅgala" clearly indicates the influence of Middle Bengali Maṅgala Kāvya on this new type of literature created by Vaiṣṇavism. The preponderance of myth and supernaturalism is thus intelligible as a common trait.

whose historic courtyard was the early centre of the movement, Vyṇḍāvana-dāsa was in full possession of all the Nava-dvīpa legends and traditions. He may have utilised Murāri's account,¹ but his chief source must have been what he heard from Nityānanda : and he puts special emphasis on incidents of Caitanya's life connected with Nityānanda. This somewhat impairs his independent judgment. His acceptance of the Purāṇic attitude and his belief in the established identity of Caitanya and Kṛṣṇa confirm and encourage his unhistorical imagination. Nevertheless, he does not, as Kṛṣṇadāsa does, concern himself much with abstruse theology. By his simple narrative and picturesque presentation of men and things, which makes his work deservedly popular, he forcefully reproduces the devotional atmosphere and gives a vivid picture of the men who played an important part in the movement in its earlier stages.

KṚṢṆADĀSA KAVIRĀJA

The rather inadequate treatment of the closing years of Caitanya's life by Vyṇḍāvana-dāsa was remedied by the next Bengali biography, entitled also *Caitanya-caritāṃśa*,² of

1 B. Majumdar, *op. cit.* pp. 201 f. Vyṇḍāvana did not himself witness any of the incidents of Caitanya's life, but writes from what he heard from Bhaktas: *তাড়া দিছি যাড়া গুনিয়াছি যাক্ষপানে* (Adi 1). Gadādhara's words may also have been, as he tells us, one of his sayings: *যদাঘর ধৌমুখেই কবা কিছু দিছি* : (Antya 2). B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 195 considers the *Caitanya-bhāgavata* to have been left incomplete, but offers no ground for his opinion.

2 This popular work has been printed very often in Bengal, but none of the editions can be regarded as critical or even entirely reliable. Discrepancies in reading etc. are found on a comparison with original MSS which we consulted in the Dacca University Library and elsewhere. An edition with full critical apparatus, based on reliable MSS, is still desirable. The most noteworthy publications of this work are those by the Vaṅgavāsi Press; by the Gauḍīya Mādhva Matha (Calcutta 1927; with indices etc. and commentaries in Bengali); by Govindana at Kālāḍ (with a Sanskrit commentary and notes, Kālāḍ 1898), the last giving a comparatively reliable text.

Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. In the narrative portion it makes considerable use of the previous works of Muralī, Dāmodara, Svārūpa, Kavikarṇapūra and Vṛndāvana-dāsa,¹ and professes to have been composed with the express permission of the latter.² Perhaps it also depends upon the personal reminiscences of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīna, at whose inspiration it was undertaken as a supplement to Vṛndāvana's work. Like the *Caitanya-bhāgavata*, it is divided into three parts, covering sixty-two chapters. The Ādi, Madhya and Antya Līlā deal respectively with the three stages of Caitanya's life, namely, the early life ending with his Sannyāsa, the six years of pilgrimage, and the last eighteen years spent in residence at Puri. As the early life of Caitanya till his Sannyāsa has been fairly fully treated by Vṛndāvana-dāsa in thirty-two chapters, Kṛṣṇadāsa devotes only five short chapters to it (Ādi xiii-xviii), but the remainder of the life, to which Vṛndāvana gives only ten chapters, takes up forty-five chapters of the *Caritāmṛta*.

In literary merit the work, with its epic length, prolixity and prosiness, is much inferior to its prototype. The style is

1. बालोदर लक्ष्म चार गुण मुरारि ।
मुख्य लोलाक्ष लिखिवाहे विहारि ॥
लेहि अनुसारे लिखि लोलाक्षमण ।
विहारि वशिष्ठाक्षेन तादा राम इन्द्राक्ष ॥
ग्रन्थविहार मने जाविला ये ये स्वाने ।
लेह लेह स्वाने पिबु करिष व्याख्यान ॥
प्रभु लोलाक्ष विंद बैल व्याख्यान ।
लोर मुहूर्तपि पिबु करिष वर्षेच ॥

(C-C, Ādi xlii, 46-50). Indebtedness to Karṇapūra, though not acknowledged, is clear.

2. वैद्यवल्लीमान व्यास दास इन्द्राक्ष ।
लोर व्याख्यान करी लोर उच्छिष्ट-वर्षेच ॥

(C-C, Madhya I; also Ādi vii, 39-40, 82).

terse but not very elegant or attractive, and the versification poor and faulty. The author cares little for the picturesque, poetic or human possibilities of the theme ; and his long residence outside Bengal, as well as his greater familiarity with languages other than Bengali, is perhaps responsible for its quaint and laboured diction. But it is a profoundly laborious and learned work, and is by far the most authoritative biography of Caitanya. It should, however, be remembered that it is not a *Carita*, but a *Caritāmṛta*, written more from the devotional than from the historical point of view. Although the work, like the other works on Caitanya's life, was written within a century of his passing away, the Caitanya myths and legends, originating from Navadvīpa and gradually expanding, must have now completed the process of deification. Kṛṣṇadāsa does not hesitate to accept them fully, but even elaborates and adds to them ; sometimes his devotional fancy goes to the extreme limits of credulity and the colours are too thickly laid. This is indeed a common trait, but Kṛṣṇadāsa achieves something more than this. The Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīna had come and occupied an important position in the meantime, and they supplied the necessary learned theological justification to the naïve popular adoration. The picture of a life, devoid of striking external incidents but rich in impassioned religious consciousness, is marvellously well drawn ; but every thing is coloured by the Rāsa-dāsa and theology of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīna. The *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* is indeed a great work in Middle Bengali, but its greatness consists not so much in the literary skill or narrative interest with which the story of a great life is told, as in the profound scholasticism with which it presents and exemplifies the entire theology of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism (as propounded by the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīna) in the life of the Master. If the Gosvāmīna took the life of Kṛṣṇa as their theme, Kṛṣṇadāsa exemplifies all the implications of their exposition in the life of Caitanya. But the work goes a step further. Its speciality lies in figuring Caitanya not only as an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa

(and later on of Rādhā), but also as a passionate devotee who was at the same time a scholastic theologian of the devotional school. The author, himself a scholar and devotee leading a celebrate old age at Vṛndāvana in company with the learned Govindas,¹ was trained as their disciple in the exact school

1 Not much authentic information is available about the details of Kṛṣṇadāsa's life. His Vaiṣṇava modesty apparently prevents him from speaking about himself. The names of his parents, as well as his caste, are uncertain, -but he is said to have been the son of Bhagīratha and Senandā. He was born at Jhamaṭpur, near Katwa, in the district of Burdwan. His father might have been a Vaidya by caste and profession, but Kṛṣṇadāsa became an orphan in childhood. He appears to have left home in early youth; and, inspired by Nityānanda in a dream (C-C, Adī 1), he went to Vṛndāvana and lived a devout and scholarly life there till his death. His original name is not known, for Kṛṣṇadāsa must have born his name on initiation. He acknowledges the Govindas of Vṛndāvana as his Śikṣā-gurus (Adī I, 37), and makes a special obeisance to Rūpa and Raghunātha at the end of almost every chapter of his book. The *Prma-vilāsa* tells us that Raghunātha-dāsa initiated him into ascetic life. With their learned theological writings he shows complete familiarity. Aufrecht makes the curious mistake of making him a son of Raghunātha Bhāṭṭa, but this is entirely wrong. He was more of a Sanskrit than Bengali scholar, and wrote also several works in Sanskrit, of which the following are notable: (i) *Govinda-Bhāṣya*, a Kāvya in 23 cantos on the anucara of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa (ed. with a Bengali tr. and in Bengali characters by Sachinandan Govami, printed at Vṛndavana, 1908). It was written after an indication of Rūpa Govindas (xliii, 94) and deals with the *Ashtādhyāyā* (beginning from morning to the end of the night) of Kṛṣṇa. On this work, see below under ch. vii. In this work also, a reverential mention is made of the Govindas, including Raghunātha-dāsa and Raghunātha Bhāṭṭa, to whom the Kāvya is sometimes wrongly attributed (see *J.A.*, Nov. 1928). In his *Maṭāṭ-cāritra*, which in its turn is quoted in Rūpa's *Ujjvala-niṣaṇṇa* (p. 261), Raghunātha calls Kṛṣṇadāsa *deva-bhāṣṇi*; it is likely, therefore, that the *Govinda-Bhāṣya* was an early work, composed some time before these two works of Rūpa and Raghunātha. The work was translated into Bengali verse by Yadanandana-dāsa. (ii) *Śrīrūpa-raṅgaḍa* commentary on Līlāṅka's *Śrīkṛṣṇa-raṅgaḍa* (ed. in Bengali characters, along with the text and a Bengali verse tr. by Yadanandana-dāsa, at Murshidabad. Radharaman Press, 1925; re-edited by S. K. De in his edition of *Kṛṣṇa-raṅgaḍa* in

of Vaiṣṇava theology. As his work itself indicates by its imposing array of Sanskrit quotations¹ and by its frequent intrusion of abstruse theological matter, which impair its purely biographical interest, Kṛṣṇadāsa was well read in the scholarly and authoritative works of Rūpa, Sanātana and other theologians of the cult. He does not even hesitate at the risk of anachronism and absurdity to put their subtle scholastic views in the mouth of Caitanya himself. The work itself was begun, as Kṛṣṇadāsa tells us, at the special request (Ādi viii. 50-62) of the Vaiṣṇavas of Vṛndāvana,² at a time

Deraulgarh characters, Dacca 1935—which see for details of the commentary).

1 For a full list of the works actually cited by name, prepared from a MS of the work (no. 207, dated Śaka 1672) existing in the Dacca University Library, by Subodh Chandra Banerji, Keeper of these MSS, see *INQ.* 1933, pp. 100-102. The printed editions do not distinguish between actually cited works and those anonymously cited, but sometimes the editors themselves supply as a heading the names, by chapter and verse, of the works which the manuscript quote anonymously.—The work is calculated to contain roughly 15,000 couplets. The Gauḍīya Mādhva Maṭha ed. calculates total number of couplets to be 11,315.

2 It is doubtful if the six Goṣvāmīas were alive at the time of the writing of the work. In his *Govinda-mādhya*, the author speaks of the personal interest of four Goṣvāmīas (Rūpa, Raghunātha-dāsa, Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa and Jīva), but here no such direct acknowledgment is found, although the Goṣvāmīas are reverentially mentioned as his śikṣā-gurus (Ādi I. 37). On the other hand, Kṛṣṇadāsa (Ādi viii. 57-58) informs us that he undertook his *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* at the direction and request of Haridāsa (a Pre-ṭhya of Gadādhara), Govinda (a disciple of Kāṇḍivara), Yādevācārya (a friend of Rūpa), Śivānanda Cakravartin (according to one reading of the text, a disciple of Advaita), Caitanyadāsa (a disciple of Bhāṅgarbha), Mukunda Cakravartin, Kṛṣṇadāsa (with the epithet Prema) and other Vaiṣṇavas then living at Vṛndāvana.—a list which omits all reference to the six Goṣvāmīas and suggests that they were probably not alive when the work was completed.—In spite of his scholasticism, Kṛṣṇadāsa's devout attitude and mystic inclination are quite conspicuous throughout the work. While in theology he draws entirely upon the Vṛndāvana Goṣvāmīas, in biographical matters he borrows a great deal from his predecessors; but his imagination is too prone to be strictly historical, and too inclined to be imbued with common sense. Himself

importance to the work. Hitherto all learned theological treatises of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism were written in Sanskrit ; and the idea probably occurred to popularise the treatise in the vernacular in a recognised standard work, so that they would not be confined to the learned few.¹ The choice of Kṛṣṇadāsa for this propagandist purpose was fully justified, and the work he produced at once took its place among the most authoritative texts of the sect. It is more than a biography. It is a remarkable mediaeval document of mature theological scholarship, which is by no means easy or elegant to read, and which perhaps presents Caitanya and his simple impassioned faith in a distorted perspective ; but from the specialist point of view, it is a work of rare merit and gives a complete exposition of the scholastic theological presuppositions of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. If Vṛndāvana-dāsa's inspiration came chiefly from the orthodox circle of Navadvīpa,² Kṛṣṇa-

correct. But unfortunately the difference of reading makes a difference of 34 years. From internal evidence, however, it appears that the latest work cited in it (C-C, Madhya I, 144 : Anya iv, 230) is Jīva Gosvamin's *Gopīka-campā*, which was not completed till Saka 1514 (= 1592 A.D.), the *Pūrvārtha* of the work being dated Saka 1510 (= 1588 A.D.). See below, ch. iii and vii. Kṛṣṇadāsa, therefore, could not have completed his work in 1581 A.D. The date Saka 1537=1615 A.D., therefore, appears to be more likely. See S. K. De in *JHQ*, 1933, pp. 96-99.

1 The story is recorded that the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīna, who initiated the work, became afraid of its publication, lest its merit and completeness in doctrinal matters should eclipse their own standard Sanskrit works !

2 We use the term 'Navadvīpa circle' in a general and extended sense, for the Navadvīpa followers of Caitanya came from Śrīhaṭṭa and other places, and covered a large tract of Bengal ; but the inspiration came from Navadvīpa and centred round the earlier phase of Caitanya's life which occurred at that place. Murāri, Kavīkarpāṇḍita, Locana and Jayloanda, as well as the composers of *Padas* on Caitanya, represent this group, along with Vṛndāvana-dāsa. They have their own theology, but it is somewhat different from that of the Vṛndāvana-Gosvāmīna and Kṛṣṇadāsa. The works of the Gosvāmīna and the Navadvīpa devotees were, however, composed at about the same time, although the Navadvīpa tradition probably originated earlier than the other.

dāsa's inspiration came from the scholastic Govindas of Vṛndāvana ; and each in his own way throws interesting light on different aspects of the faith and the movement. The two works of Vṛndāvana-dāsa and Kṛṣṇadāsa, therefore, are in a sense complementary to each other as representing two distinct traditions.

LOCANA-DĀSA AND JAYĀNANDA

Of the remaining smaller biographies of Caitanya, two or three are well known. The *Caitanya-maṅgala*¹ of Locana-dāsa, son of Kamalākara-dāsa and Sadāśaṇḍī of Kogriṇa, which refers to the work of Vṛndāvana-dāsa² but not to that

1 Ed. Radharaman Preta, Murshidabad 1918 ; also ed. Mrinal Kanti Ghosh, Amrita Bazar Pratikā Office, Calcutta 1930. Also ed. Gauḍīya Mādhya Māṭha, Calcutta (with notes and indices).

2 The work was written, as the author himself informs us, at the instance of his Guru, Narahari Saṅkār of Śrīkhaṇḍa, an associate of Caitanya himself ; and one of its objects appears to be to record particulars about Narahari, whose name was left out by Vṛndāvana-dāsa. Locana freely acknowledges his debt to Murārī's Sanskrit work. No influence of Vṛndāvana-dāsa or Kavīkaraṇḍa is perceptible. From what he tells us about himself (Śeṣa-khaṇḍa), Locana (or rather Trilocana) belonged to the Vaidya caste, and was the son of Kamalākara and Sadāśaṇḍī of Kogriṇa in the district of Burdwan. His exact dates are not known. His Guru Narahari composed Bengali songs in which he symbolised his religious longings in the form of womanly love, such as the Gopīs in the *Bhāgavata* felt towards Kṛṣṇa, but he imputed a distinct, but unjustifiable, erotic colouring even to the Caitanya legend. This Nigama-bhāva of Caitanya is deprecated by Vṛndāvana-dāsa (*Adi* xiii), and it might have been one of the causes which gave rise to the alleged difference of opinion between Vṛndāvana and Narahari. Hence Locana, who accepted his Guru's views, was inspired to write a fresh biography from a different point of view. In their Bengali songs, both Narahari and Locana make this erotic tendency even more prominent. Regarding works cited by or known to Locana, see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 251f. The argument that Locana's work was composed before *Gaura-govoddhā* (1576 A.D.) is not conclusive, for its omission or hesitation to refer to the doctrine of Avatāra in the *Sūtra-khaṇḍa* proves nothing.

of Kṛṣṇadāsa, was composed probably towards the last quarter of the 16th century. It is divided into three, or rather four, Khaṇḍas, namely, Sūtra, Ādi, Madhya, and Śeṣa : but there is no definite division of chapters. The work, however, is more poetical than historical. Its author was also a well-known composer of Bengali Vaiṣṇava songs, and the undoubted lyrical qualities of his biography are evidenced by the use made of it by professional Vaiṣṇava singers. It presents the ascetic Caitanya in a more romantic light, but it is in many places a professed free translation of Muṛāri-guṇḍa's Sanskrit work : and as a record of incidents, it does not add very materially to the information contained in the biographies, mentioned above, especially with regard to the devotional phase of Caitanya's life at Puri. Just as Vṛndāvana enlarges upon incidents connected with Nityānanda, so Locana-dāsa glorifies his Guru Narahari Saṅkār into one of the five Tattvas of Caitanyaism, proves his intimacy with Caitanya, and accepts his Gaura-Nāgara doctrine.

On the other hand, Jayānanda's work, also entitled *Caitanya-mahagāṇā*, is in many respects more interesting, being independent of Vaiṣṇava orthodoxy, from which it does not appear to have received much recognition. Unlike the other works, which accept the conventional division of Caitanya's life into Ādi, Madhya and Antya Līlās, this biography is divided into nine parts or Khaṇḍas, entitled respectively, Ādi, Nadiyā, Vairāgya, Saṁnyāsa, Utkala, Tīrtha, Prakāśa, Vijaya and Uttara Khaṇḍas. Although the author, who was the son of a follower of Caitanya's,¹ yields to the general

1 The work was published by Nagendra Nath Basu and Kalidas Nath from the Vāṅgīya Sāhitya Parīṣad, Calcutta, in 1905. A comparison of this text, however, with an incomplete MS. of the work existing in the Dacca University collection shows material differences of reading : and a fresh critical edition of the work is much to be desired, especially as the VSP edition is already out of print. Jayānanda, son of Subaddhi Mītra and Rodani, was a Vandyaghaṭīya Brahman by caste. Subaddhi

tendency of accepting a large number of miraculous legends and fables, there is yet much in it (e. g. the manner of Caitanya's death over which a veil of mystery is drawn by the pious of his followers) which does not follow the beaten track, and gives us a few facts or traditions not recorded elsewhere. The work appears to have been written at the instance of Gadādhara Paṇḍita (a favourite Navadvīpa companion of Caitanya), whose disciple the author must have been. Jayānanda knew Vṛndāvana-dāsa's work, but he does not always accept the orthodox views. He tells us that his work was composed in the form and manner of a Pālī-gāthā, in which extraneous Purāṇa matters were not out of place, nor strict historical accuracy a necessary requisite. He does not appear to have a clear idea, for instance, of Caitanya's pilgrimages, nor any personal or authentic knowledge of important men and incidents. Even the new information that he supplies should not be taken without examination.¹ The date of composition of Jayānanda's work is not known, but in its opening list of previous biographies² it mentions

is mentioned by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in the genealogy chapter of Caitanya's disciples (Adi 21: he appears to have been a disciple of Gadādhara. The name Jayānanda is to have been given by Caitanya himself on an occasion when he came to Subuddhi's house (p. 140) at the village of Āmlītpurā in Burdwan, at a time when Jayānanda was a child in the lap of his mother. Jayānanda's dates are uncertain, but he must have been born before Śaka 1436 (=1514 A.D.) when the visit of Caitanya mentioned above is conjectured to have occurred. He must have been alive during the latter part of Caitanya's career. His work is supposed to have been composed between Śakas 1490 and 1492 (=1558 and 1570 A.D.).

1 For a discussion of Jayānanda's omissions, errors and additions, see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-249.

2 The existence of some other works on Caitanya is proved by this list. Jayānanda mentions (p. 3): (i) a Caitanya-carita in verse (probably in Sanskrit as well as a Caitanyāṣṭakā (p. 125) and a Caitanya-sahasra-nāma in 100 verses (also probably in Sanskrit) by Vāsudeva Śāstrabhaṇḍa, of whom we shall speak later. (ii) A series of poems or songs (कविवर्युजोसो गौरीसुखमये) by Gaurī-dāsa Paṇḍita, probably

Vṛndāvana-dāsa's work but not that of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. It is probable, therefore, that it was composed towards the last quarter of the 16th century, and was thus almost contemporaneous with Locana's work of the same name.

GOVINDA-DĀSA

There is another interesting work, which records only two years or so of Caitanya's life, but which is refreshing for its somewhat unconventional outlook, although this has apparently banned it from orthodox as well as learned estimation. This is the so-called *Kaṇḍa* of Govinda-dāsa Karmakāra, son of Śyāmādhāra of Kāñcana-nagara (in Burdwan) and Mādhavi. It is said that he was a blacksmith by occupation, left home owing to a quarrel with his wife Śaṣimukhi and became a personal servant of Caitanya a little before the time of the latter's Saṁnyāsa. He states that he kept private notes of what he saw (*कदा कदा रात्रि चरि मन्त्रोक्ते*) especially during the time he accompanied Caitanya in his South and West Indian pilgrimage. The work, which was first published by Jaygopala Goswami of Śāntipur in 1895 and reprinted in 1926 by Dinesh Chandra Sen from the University of Calcutta, has gained some notoriety from the somewhat heated controversy it has started on the question of its genuineness and authorship.¹ The question has been rendered difficult, not so much

in Bengali. (iii) *Gaurāṇḍya-gīta* by Paramānanda-guṇa, said to have been an abridgement (*saṁkṣepa*) of Gaurī-dāsa's work, (iv) *Caitanya-mangala* song (*सुखविषयम्*) by Gopāla-vara. Besides these mention is also made by Jayānanda of Vṛndāvana-dāsa's biography in three parts. It is noteworthy that Jayānanda does not refer to the Sanskrit accounts of Muṛārī-guṇa and Svayāṁpa Dīnamodara.

1 For an exposition of the two sides of the question, see respectively Dinesh Chandra Sen's introduction and Nitai Kanti Ghosh's *Govinda-dāsa's Kaṇḍa-brahma* (Calcutta 1937) with his introduction to the revised ed. of the *Gaura-pada-saṁgraha*, to which further arguments are added by B. V. Das-guṇa's *Govindadāsa's Kaṇḍa: a Black Forgery* (Dacca 1938). For a review of the question see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.* pp. 413f.

by the refusal of orthodox recognition for its unconventional contents and its unorthodox picture of Caitanya, but by the fact that, though no particular motive for the alleged forgery is suggested, the original manuscript or manuscripts have disappeared, that no other manuscript is forthcoming, and that the printed text has undoubtedly been modified and modernised¹ (probably, as suggested, by the well intentioned but entirely misdirected zeal of its first editor) and presents an appearance of modernity. The probability of interpolation is also not excluded; as a matter of fact there are some passages which have almost identical phrasing with those in Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's work, and look suspiciously like direct incorporation.² It is difficult to pronounce a definite judgment, but it seems probable that some of the matter it contains is old; and this internal evidence itself, in the absence of other proofs, makes the genuineness of the general substance of the work extremely plausible. The other extant biographies of Caitanya are indeed vague and meagre in information regarding his South and West Indian pilgrimage, which³ was possibly not so well known from direct evidence; but this work supplies a fairly large amount of hitherto unknown details,⁴ which appear to have been drawn from direct evidence or experience. It certainly contains much new, but plausible, information, which has the characteristic of not being inspired by devotional propagandism, but which was probably the result of vivid personal knowledge. The work is incomplete and contains a record of barely two years' wanderings in the South and West of India, and its genuineness or otherwise would not very seriously affect the general story of Caitanya's

1 Even such modern words as *खानाबत्ता* (from Portuguese) and *रेल्वे* (from English) occur!—Surely the work as a whole cannot be taken as casual notes of an uneducated man.

2 In spite of ludicrous geographical errors, pointed out by sceptical critics, such as *हसनपुरा*, a modern town named after a Madras Civil Servant, George Russell!

life ; but it certainly gives a most human picture of one who has been so often and so grotesquely¹ deified, and presents a plain and vivid narrative by a sincere lover of the Master, who was dominated neither by learned dogmatics nor by excessive fanatical devotion.

THE COMPOSERS OF BENGALI PADAS ON CAITANYA

In this connexion it is necessary to refer to a group of composers of Bengali Padas or short devotional songs bearing on some aspects of the Navadvīpa life of Caitanya. They have been collected together in a modern compilation, entitled *Gaura-pada-rarāṅgīnī*,² by Jagadbandhu Bhadra, but some of them will also be found quoted in the *Bhakti-ratnākara*, as well as in older Bengali Vaiṣṇava anthologies like the *Pada-kalpataru*³ of Vaiṣṇava-dāsa. Some of the composers were contemporaries⁴ who must have actually seen and felt what they described. From one of the Padas of Narahari

1 Apart from miracles, see, for instance, the story of Caitanya's appearance, all on fours and carrying a pot in his teeth, and his being hailed by Muṇḍi-guṇḍa as the veritable incarnation of the Great Boar! Also his Nṛsiṃha-Āveta and Balarāma-rūpa, described by Kavikarṇapūra and others! It is noteworthy, however, that there are passages placed in the mouth of Caitanya, even in the orthodox devout biography of Kṛṣṇadāsa, in which Caitanya disclaims all such pretensions of an Avatāra. It should be observed that, according to the report of his biographers, Caitanya did not mind divine honours before his Saṅghyaśa and actually allowed himself to be worshipped as such ; but after his Saṅghyaśa he expressly deprecated such praise and worship on many occasions.

2 Ed. Vāṅgīya Sāhitya Parīṣad, Calcutta 1902 ; 2nd ed. by Mrinal Kant Ghosh, *ibid.* Calcutta 1933.

3 Ed. Satis Chandra Ray, Vāṅgīya Sāhitya Parīṣad, 5 pp. Calcutta B. E. 1322-1338 (= 1915-1931).

4 Such as Narahari Śaṅkār Ṭhākura, the three brothers Vāṇḍava, Govinda and Mādhava Ghosa, Śivānanda-sena (Kavikarṇapūra's father), Kṛṣṇānanda-vaṣu, Paruṣānanda-guṇḍa (referred to by Jayānanda, p. 3), Gaṇḍīdāsa, Candrasekhara, Vapṛṇādaśa, etc.

Sarkār Thākūr¹ we learn that some of the composers actually witnessed the Navadvīpa life of Caitanya and wanted to record their impression in the vernacular (*bhāṣā*) for the inducement of those who would write his biography, implying thereby that these Padas were mostly composed before any life of Caitanya in Bengali had come into existence. As such, they certainly possess an historical importance. They do not profess to deal with external incidents, nor give any systematic survey of the Navadvīpa life, but they sometimes allude to small incidents which are not mentioned elsewhere ; and, what is more important, they give an actually witnessed and necessarily vivid picture of certain aspects of Caitanya's emotional life of devotion as it appeared to the loving eyes of the faithful devotees. In these Padas, as in the lives of Caitanya which derive their inspiration from the Navadvīpa circle, and to which they have a natural affinity, no abstruse theology obscures the simple and passionate faith ; to them Caitanya is not an image of their supreme deity, but the deity himself incarnated,—not a means, but an end in itself. It is clear that the elaborate theological ideas, which inculcated the worship of the supreme Kṛṣṇa Bhagavat, as imaged by Caitanya's life of devotion, rather than the worship of Caitanya himself as the highest object of adoration, had not yet been imported and familiarised by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Śrīnivāsa Ācārya and others from the works of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins. The Padas, thus, supplement in their own way the account of Navadvīpa life given by Murāri, Kavikarṇapūra, Locana and Jayānanda.

१ वीरसीताररसने हम्हा वर हव मने भाषाव लिखिवा कव राखि । मुद
अति अथम लिखिते वा भाति कम केमव करिया ठाहा खिनि ॥ ए मन्व
लिखिते ने एखनो जन्मे नाह से जन्मिले विरम्य चाहे बहु । भाषाव रचना
हेते बुझिने मोघ लख्ये को वाग्धा पुरायेन पहुँ ॥...किन्तु किन्तु कव लिखि
यदि इहा केव देखि प्रथम करये प्रमुखीता । नरहरि पाये ह्वव बुझिने
अनेर बुझ मन्व-गावे हरखिने किला ॥ (*Geeta-pada*, 2nd ed., vol p. 8).

Of the contemporary Padas on Caitanya, those ascribed to Narahari Sarkār of Śrīkhaṇḍa and Vāṇudeva Ohṇa of Kulāl (Burdwan) are the most interesting. Of the former we have a hundred and of the latter one hundred and thirty-seven Padas, some of which are undoubtedly spurious.¹ Vāṇudeva, with his two brothers Govinda and Mādhava,² appears to have joined the Saṅkīrtana party at Navadvīpa immediately after Caitanya's return from Gayā (C-C, Ādi x. 113). He wrote systematic Padas on various incidents ranging from the birth to the Saṁnyāsa of Caitanya; they were known to Locana-dāsa (p. 34) and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja (C-C, Ādi xi. 16), and were probably utilised by the other biographers. Like most of the biographers, Vāṇudeva paints Caitanya as a devout person even from his birth; and, like Narahari and some other Pada-writers,³ he believes in the Rādhā-bhāva of the Caitanya incarnation—a doctrine, which is found indeed in the Stotras of the Gosvāmīs and in the Rāmānanda Rāya episode described by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, but which must have been a dogma of an earlier Navadvīpa origin. The speciality of Narahari's Padas consists in his exposition of the Nāgara-bhāva ascribed to Caitanya,⁴ which attitude

1 See B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34, 37-40.

2 They were also composers of similar Padas, the *Gaura-pada*-*torāṅga* assigning to them seven and five Padas respectively. Vāṇudeva expresses his indebtedness to Narahari: श्रीनरहर ठाकुरेर पदाष्टकवाने । पद्य प्रकाशित बलि इहल बने ॥ Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja eulogises Vāṇudeva thus: वाष्पुवैष गोले करे प्रभुर बघनि । कार राधाच इवे बाहुर धरखे ॥

3 E.g. Narahari: गौराङ्ग देखिना पाके । बाबेर बाबेरी राधा राधा बलि हाके ॥ Vāṇudeva: कारे मोर मोरा द्विजबलि । राधा राधा बलि करे मोटाव धरखी ॥ Śivānanda-śara: राधा राधा बलि पैहु पदे सुरक्षिया । शिवानन्द करि पैहुन भाव न बुझिया ॥

4 These devotees conceive themselves as Nāgarīs in love with Caitanya as a Nāgara, who is described as such. The women of Navadvīpa are described as having fallen in love with the young Caitanya at sight. This is of course modelled on the *Gopī*-legend of

Vṛndāvana-dāsa condemns in unqualified terms. Vṛndāvana, therefore, omits Narahari altogether from his account, while Narahari's disciple Locana-dāsa, seeking to remedy this defect by giving prominence to Narahari in his own life of Caitanya, accepts the doctrine and pays a tribute to his Guru by making him one of the five Tattvas of Caitanyaism (replacing Śrīvāsa). But it is noteworthy that no other biography of Caitanya eulogises Narahari, who must have been older in age, and as such a highly distinguished Parikara of Caitanya in his Navadvīpa-īḍā.¹

Kṛpā. There are about 200 Padas to this effect in the *Gaura-pada-saṅgraha*.

1 Other later Bengali (metrical) Vaiṣṇava works, like the *Prme-vilāsa* (ed. Radharaman Press, Murshidabad 1911) of Nityānanda-dāsa (in 24 chapters, the authenticity of the last four of which is not beyond doubt), and the *Bhakti-randhara* and *Narotama-vilāsa* (ed. Radharaman Press, Murshidabad 1925; also ed. Gauḍīya Mādhva Maṭha, Calcutta with notes and indices) of Narahari Cakravartin (in 15 and 12 chapters respectively, composed towards the beginning of the 18th century), contain some references to Caitanya's life; but they relate chiefly to the later history of the sect, and their evidence regarding the earlier phase of the movement must be taken with extreme caution (on the historicity of the *Prme-vilāsa*, see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 506-515). Similar remarks apply to the *Kṛpānanda*, ascribed to Yāmunandana-dāsa (ed. Radharaman Press, Murshidabad 1926) and supposed to be dated Śaka 1529 = 1607 A.D. (!), as well as the *Aṇḍa-valī* of Maṇohara-dāsa, dated 1697 A.D. (ed. Amrita Bazar Patrika Office 1898). Of all these, the *Bhakti-randhara*, in spite of its uncritical attitude, is perhaps the most important.—In modern times, several useful lives of Caitanya have been written by devout Vaiṣṇavas in English and Bengali, but they are often too enthusiastic to be critical or trustworthy. Dināś Chandra Sen's account in his regular histories of Bengali literature (in English and in Bengali), as well as his three works on Bengali Vaiṣṇavism (*Vaiṣṇava Literature of Bengal*, 1917; *Caitanya and His Companions*, 1917; and *Caitanya and His Age*, 1922, all published by the University of Calcutta), contain much varied, but rather unsorted, information, and often err on the side of uncritical enthusiasm. Mention must also be made of the informative pioneer work of Jagadānanda Bhadra in the extensive introduction to his *Gaura-pada-saṅgraha* (published by the Vāṅgīya Śikṣitya Parīṣad, Calcutta 1902; 2nd ed. by Mṛinal Kanti Ghosh

2. LIFE AND PERSONALITY OF CAITANYA

The story of Caitanya's life has thus been told so often and so well that it is not necessary for us to enlarge upon the details. It is a life which is not so rich in striking external incidents as in impassioned religious consciousness, over which his devout biographers love to linger ; but passing over the scenes of ecstasy, madness and miracles, which swell the bulk of his extant authoritative lives in Sanskrit and Bengali, the story can be briefly and plainly told. The abundant fancies, no doubt, envelop the few facts, but even in the orthodox pictures, a forceful religious personality emerges which is not lacking in human interest and appeal.

Caitanya's name before initiation into the monastic order was Viṭvaṃbhara. He was the son of Jagannātha Miṭra and

1935), from which Dinesh Chandra Sen appears to draw, rather uncritically, much of his material about Caitanya's followers. But Bhadra's work suffers from extreme credulity for legend and hearsay, and as such it is hardly a trustworthy guide. The same remark applies, more or less, to the extensive introduction to Satish Chandra Ray's *Paṇḍa-lal-paṭarā*, pt. v., cited above. Other Bengali modern accounts of the movement, such as Murari Lal Adhikari's *Paṇḍava Digdarśanī* or Madhusudana Vachaspati's *Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇava Itihāsa*, record orthodox traditions, but they are hardly critical and reliable works. The alphabetical dictionary of Vaiṣṇava lives (*Bṛhat Vaiṣṇava Carita-bhāṣā*, Calcutta 1924, Pt. I) compiled by Amulyadhas Ray Bhattacharya, is a praiseworthy and painstaking attempt, which deserves mention for its copious references to original sources, but unfortunately it does not discriminate between genuine and spurious works, and is left incomplete. Although based chiefly on Dinesh Chandra Sen's works for its information, Melville T. Kennedy's *Caitanya Movement* (Oxford University Press, 1925), apart from its obvious Christian bias, is perhaps the most sensible and popularly written account available in English. Bumanibhārat Majumdar's *Śrī-Caitanya-caritaḥ Upādāna*, already mentioned above, does not expressly deal with Caitanya's life, but it examines the materials furnished by the existing records and furnishes a great deal of information on the early aspects of the movement and generally on Caitanya's life ; it also gives a brief account of Assamese and Odishā sources.

his wife Śacī, and was born at Navadvīpa in February 1486 (Phālguna Purnamāṣī, Śaka 1407) before or during an eclipse of the full moon,¹ in the midst of universal taking of God's name (*horibho!*), usual on such occasions. His father Jagannātha Mītra was a pious and scholarly Brahman of Vaiṣṇava faith and disposition and was probably a Rāma-worshipper. Originally an inhabitant of Dhākā Dakṣiṇa (Jhāpura, according to Jayānanda) in Sylhet, Jagannātha appears to have migrated and settled in the academic city of Navadvīpa situated on the holy Ganges.² His modest dwelling house, according to Govinda Karmakāra, was situated at the extreme south of the city, on the banks of the Hooghly, and consisted of five big rooms; and he appears to have been a highly respected and fairly well-to-do middle class householder.³ The mother, Śacī, was the daughter of a devout and scholarly Brahman, named Nīlāmbara Cakravartin, who had also come from Sylhet to settle at Navadvīpa. She was a deeply religious and sensible woman, who bore the

1 B. Majumdar (pp. 17-21) comes to the conclusion that Caitanya's birth took place in the evening before the eclipse, and that the date would correspond to February 27, 1486 A.D. (Phālguna 23, Śaka 1407). But this is at best conjectural.

2 It is curious that many of the associates and followers of Caitanya (e.g. Advaita, Śrīvāsa, Murti, Candrasekhara, Tapana Mītra, etc.) were from Sylhet. Famine, political trouble and the temptation of living near the holy Ganges at the great seat of medieval learning are supposed to have been the reasons of the migration. Jagannātha and Nīlāmbara were probably settled at Navadvīpa prior to Jagannātha's marriage to Śacī. Caitanya's ancestors are supposed to have come originally from Jhāpur in Orissa on account of the persecution (so Jayānanda tells us) of Raja Bhramara who has been identified with Kapilendra-deva of Orissa. The pedigree of Caitanya is given differently. According to Jayānanda, it was Kṛṣṇacandra—Vīrṣṭhika—Rāmakṛṣṇa—Dharmajaya—Janārdana—Jagannātha; but the following, from different sources, is also given: Vīradhva—Madhukara—Upeṇḍra—Jagannātha.

3 So Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja; but Murti and Vṛndāvana-dāsa make him a man of modest means. Vṛndāvana even using the word *gṛhṇī* (very poor).

loneliness of her closing years with great patience and resignation.¹ Govinda Karmakāra describes her as a woman "of quiet temperament and of short stature" and very fond and proud of her boy.² In the midst of such traditions of piety, scholarship and affection, and with all the social advantages of well-born Brahmanhood, Vidyāmbhara grew up as a privileged child. The parents, who must have been fairly advanced in life when he was born, had already lost several children;³ and their only surviving boy, immediately older than Vidyāmbhara, named Vidyārūpa, had left home as an Advaita Saṁnyāsin under the name of Śaṅkarāraṇya, and was never heard of again.⁴ It is natural, therefore, that all the wealth of their love was lavished, after Vidyārūpa had gone, upon their only surviving boy, whom pitying affection nicknamed Nimli, but whose personal charm and beauty earned the epithet of Gaura or Gaurāṅga. It is possible that most of the miraculous legends associated with Caitanya's boyhood⁵ were piously

1 Kavīkarpūra in his drama (iv, 27) likens her silent tribulation to those of Kautalya and Yodhā.

2 शान्तमूर्ति शनैरेवो यदि कर्षकाय ।

निवाह निवाह बलि सदा कुञ्जराय ॥

3 Caitanya is said by Locana-dāsa to have been the ninth child (tenth, according to Murti, Kavīkarpūra, Kṛṣṇadāsa and Jayānanda).

4 Jayānanda (probably following a hint of Kavīkarpūra, Kāvya II, 92, that Vidyārūpa crossed the river Ganges and became an ascetic) tells us (p. 20) that Vidyārūpa also was initiated at Kāśra by Kāśra Bhāratī. It is curious, however, that in the long list, given by Jayānanda (p. 88) of those who were present at Vidyāmbhara's initiation, the name of Śaṅkarāraṇya occurs! He must have been about six or seven years older than Caitanya. According to Kṛṣṇadāsa (C-C, Madhya II, 294-301), when Caitanya came to Pandharpur during his pilgrimage and met there Śrī-Kaṅga Puri (an alleged disciple of Mādhavendra) who had once been a guest with his Guru at Jagannātha Miśra's house at Navadvīpa, Caitanya learnt from him that Vidyārūpa, alias Śaṅkarāraṇya, had died at Pandharpur.

5 Murti-gupta does not give much evidence of the divinity of Caitanya actually manifested before his Saṁnyāsa, although he believes that Caitanya had from time to time revealed divine inspiration or

inspired by the Purāṇic stories of the child Kṛṣṇa,¹ but his lively boyish frolics probably had some real foundation, and indicate that the boy Caitanya was a very real boy, healthy,

Āveta. But Jayānanda makes him a devotee, and Kavīkaraṇapūra, Locana and Yradīvana present him as the Bhagavat himself, from his very childhood. Kṛṣṇadīkṣa's attitude is almost the same. In the view of his later followers, therefore, Caitanya manifested himself as the supreme god from his very childhood. But Muralī's general attitude appears to suggest that Caitanya's divinity was a matter of gradual acceptance and was not widely and firmly established before his return from Gayā. See a discussion of the question by B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 590-602.

१ पूर्व मुनिकाम येन नन्देर कुमारः । तेन क्व सोमार् पुनरे व्यवाह ॥ (C-44, Ādi v) : पूर्व येन ब्रह्मचर्ये कृष्ण ब्रह्मा वैष्ण (Jayānanda, p. 22). Similar statements are found also in Muralī-guṇa I. & II, 12. But Caitanya's sexual purity, both in youth and manhood, is uncontroverted, and amorous adventures are naturally barred in his Kṛṣṇa-like exploits. In spite of the emotional and erotic tendencies of his faith, there was something rigidly ascetic in him even before he formally became an ascetic, and his attitude towards women was throughout his life above criticism (सर्वे परस्मैर प्रति नाहि परिहासः । श्री वैष्ण्वे चरे प्रभु इवेन एवमाह ॥ C-44, Ādi xiii). Although one section of his followers, headed by Narabari Śarkār and Locana-dīkṣa represent Caitanya in the erotic light as the Nāgara-vara, the biography cited above distinctly states that in this Avatāra the Lord eschewed the name of women, and one must not speak of Caitanya as a Nāgara (श्री देव नाम प्रभु एह जननारे । भवकषयो न करिता विहित संसारे ॥ अतएव नत महामहिय नयले । गौराङ्ग नागर देव काय नाहि बले ॥ *loc. cit.*). On one occasion after his Saṅgīyā he rebuked his disciple Haridīkṣa for having accepted alms from a woman of the town. As reported by Kṛṣṇadīkṣa Kavārāja, Caitanya once said to Rāmānanda : "I am a man and have taken the ascetic vow. In body and mind, in speech, and in all my dealings I must be spotless." He is reported by Govinda Karmakāra to have warned Rāmānanda Rāya that the passionate longing for women is not love, for love can dawn only on the obliteration or transfiguration of the sexual impulse (अवस्था नागिया क्षान्ति बदि प्रेम हय । सर्वे सौ ए प्रेमसत्य विभुर् ये वय ॥ अमेव पुण्य नारी सकल क्षान्ति । सकल प्रेमेर कल कल हय ॥).

light-hearted and full of fun and mischief, which must have kept his parents busy and his neighbours in a state of mild apprehension, but which never gave any ground for offence because of the innate goodness, personal charm and loveliness of the remarkable boy.

The fond parents were at first averse to sending the boy to school for fear that learning would lead him to ascetic life, and he was allowed to grow wild at will. Later on, he was sent to one Viṣṇu Paṇḍita and Sudarśana for elementary education, and then to Gaṅgādhara, who was chiefly a grammarian,¹ for more advanced studies. Pious imagination invests him with extraordinary precocity of intellect and makes him a youthful prodigy, mastering all branches of Sanskrit learning at the age of fifteen; but it is probable that he displayed in his younger days a keenness and intelligence much above the average. He does not appear, however, to have, at any period of his life, cared much for deep or wide scholarship; and it is not necessary to present him as a great scholar when his real greatness lies in other directions. His education was certainly that of a well-born Brahman boy at such a centre of learning as Navadvīpa, but his studies appear to have been chiefly confined to Grammar, especially Kāṭhīya Grammar, and possibly some literature and Rhetoric to which allusion is made².

1 Murli, i. 9, 1; Kavikarṇāṭra, Kāvya III. 2, 3; Jayānanda, p. 17.

2 His teacher Gaṅgādhara is said to have been proficient in Grammar व्याकरण शास्त्रे एवम्बुल्लक्षितम् C-bh. Adi vii, and Caitanya's knowledge and teaching of Grammar are more than once referred to. Kṛtāva Kāṇḍī, for instance, speaks contemptuously of his teaching of Grammar, which Caitanya himself admits as a matter of pride (विष्णुशास्त्र व्याकरण पद्याव वाङ्मय C-bh. Adi xi : व्याकरणमप्ये वाचि पद्याद्यो कृतम् । ...शुभे क्ते व्याकरण पद्याव समिपाम बदि ॥ C-bh. Adi xvi. 32-35). It is curious that he taught Kāṭhīya, and not Māgadhābodha, which is the grammar in general use at Navadvīpa. Reference to Kāṭhīya is also made by Jayānanda (p. 18). Caitanya himself is reported to have

While Viśvaṣṭhara was still a student his father died. His elder brother having become a Sannyāsin shortly before this, the burden of the household fell on his young shoulders. He married Lakṣmī, daughter of Vallabha Ācārya,¹ a scholar of Navadvīpa, became a householder, set up a Sanskrit school (of) like most learned Brahmins of his time, under the patronage of one Mukunda Saṁjaya, and began to receive pupils. His dialectic exploits of the period are made much of in his two orthodox biographies, but the descriptions of his scholastic triumphs are obviously exaggerated and sometimes

admitted that he made no serious study of Rhetoric (नाहि यदि चलहारद्वरिवाहि पद्यसु C-C, Adī 2v1. 32), but in his alleged dissertation with Kṛtara he is made to rely chiefly on his stray knowledge of this subject! Although Navadvīpa was famous for its teaching of New Logic, there is, however, little evidence to show that Viśvaṣṭhara ever deeply studied or taught this subject. On the contrary, people noticing the looseness of his intellect, are said to have on one occasion wished that he had studied Nyāya and become a great Bhāṭṭakārya (केह वसे ए वाद्यसु श्वायद्वि वसे : यथाचार्य इय वसे कसन ना वसे II C-24, Adī 21, although in another context the same biography speaks of Caitanya's Nyāya-victors with Gadādhara). No reliance, therefore, can be placed on the legend narrated in the *Advaita-prakāśa* (the historicity of which work itself and the genuineness of the printed text are not beyond question) that Caitanya wrote a commentary on Nyāya but threw the work into the Ganges out of compassion towards a Brahmin who had written a similar work but who was afraid lest it should be eclipsed by the more learned commentary of Caitanya. The legend is obviously inspired by the pious tendency of glorifying Caitanya by imputing scholastic eminence to him. The *Advaita-prakāśa* also speaks of a commentary on the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam* by Caitanya, but of this there is no mention elsewhere. It is doubtful if Jayānanda's statement that Caitanya read Sceptic and Tarka (वृत्ति कर्म साहित्य पक्षि एके एके, p. 18) is reliable. On this question of Caitanya's education see S. K. De in *JHQ.* 1934, pp. 301-2; B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 347-49.

1 Not to be confounded (as often done, e.g. in Carpenter, *Thiruvim Medieval India*, p. 438, footnotes) with Vallabhaṭṭakārya, the founder of the Vaiṣṇava sect of that name.

purile.¹ All these Navadvipa legends, however, tend to indicate that Caitanya's youthful and thoughtless mind was

I He is said, for instance, in the two orthodox biographies of Vṛndāvana and Kṛṣṇadāsa to have vanquished in disputation Ketava Bhaṭṭa Kāśmīrī, the well-known scholar and commentator of the Nimbārka school. What really happens in Vidyapbhaṭṭa's so-called disputation with this formidable scholar, who was the author of commentaries on the *Bhagavad-gītā*, the *Veṅṇāśa-sūtra* and other works, is somewhat strange. Vidyapbhaṭṭa requests Ketava to compose a hymn to the Ganges, on the banks of which they meet, and on Ketava's reciting *extempore* an astonishing series of verses on the subject, all that Vidyapbhaṭṭa does to silence him is to pick rhetorical flaws of a somewhat fastidious kind in one of the verses recited! This is the whole extent of the learned disputation, and the account in its triviality is extremely disappointing. In the same way Vidyapbhaṭṭa is represented elsewhere as picking trivial grammatical flaws in Hara Purī's poem. No concealment is made here of the fact that Vidyapbhaṭṭa was chiefly a teacher of grammar with some stray knowledge of rhetoric. The disputation is omitted in other biographies. It is mentioned for the first time by Vṛndāvana-dāsa, from whom Kṛṣṇadāsa obviously elaborates the legend. One might even suspect sectarian loyalty in making a veteran champion of the Nimbārka school suffer defeat at the hands of the youthful Caitanya; but apart from pious credulity, the attempt is poorly represented. Ketava of Kashmir was the son of Śrīmaṅgala, pupil of Muṁḍa and pre-*ḍāya* of Sundara Bhaṭṭa, as he himself tells us in his various Sanskrit works. He was the author of commentaries on the *Bṛahma-sūtras*, the *Bhagavad-gītā*, the *Śrīmad-bhāgavat* (sk. 2) and other works; but his most well-known work for his school was the *Prabha* sub-commentary on Śrīnivāsa's *Kauṣṭhika* commentary on Nimbārka's *Veṅṇāśa-prīṭhi* (ed. in the *Pañcī* viii. 12; also ed. Nityanarup Brahmachari, Brindaban 1906). Ketava could not have been, as Andrecht notes, a pupil of Śrīnivāsa (on whose *Kauṣṭhika* he commented), for Śrīnivāsa's date would be about the 13th century, while Ketava lived in the latter part of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century. The meeting with Caitanya, as a fact, is not unlikely, but the account has been grotesquely exaggerated. On this question, see also S. K. De in *JHQ*, 1934, pp. 302-3; B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 306-10. For an analysis of the academic aspect of this episode, see *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, December 1933, pp. 91-99, in which the writer of the article comes to the conclusion that "the entire episode looks very

filled at this time with the scholastic spirit and pride of learning characteristic of his native place; and the sprightliness of his boyhood had developed into the pedantic, but harmless, arrogance of a young Pandit. His personal charm, handsome presence, social standing and promise of scholarship, however, disarmed all resentment, and made him a marked figure in the city.

About this time Vṛṣambhara is said to have made an extensive tour in East Bengal. Although his orthodox biographies represent it in a different light, Murāri, Locana and Jayānanda agree in stating that the professed object of the tour was to acquire wealth,¹ and he seems to have received gratifying gifts from pious householders. The records of the tour are scanty and uncertain, but some tradition² extends it up to Sylhet in Assam in order to make him visit his ancestral home there. During his absence his young wife Lakṣmī, whom, he is said to have married out of love at first sight and who is depicted as an ideal wife and daughter-in-law, died of snake-bite. On his return he took the news with great calmness. He was soon married again to Viṣṇupriyā, daughter

suspicious."—The Vallabhācārya also claims Kṛṣṇa Bhagya as a disciple of Vallabhācārya!

१ वनार्थं प्रवर्षो विप्रि पूर्वस्याम् Murāri : 11.5; मावेरे कद्विष बाव अर्ष उपार्जये Locana, Aḍi, p. 43 (Amrita Bazar Patrika Ed); बह्वेस बाव बायि अर्षेर क्षत्रे । अर्ष विना नंवार कसु नादि बने ॥ Jayānanda, Nadiyā Khanda, p. 47). But this is not admitted by Vraḍhvaṇa-dāsa, Kavikarṇapūra (who, however, speaks of his teaching pupils during the travel) and others. After he came back, he amused every one by mimicking the peculiar pronunciation of East Bengal people: बह्वेसो बावन कसुअरसु करिया बह्वावेरे अर्षेन हादिबा हादिबा ॥ (C-44, Aḍi 11); बावअवर्जित देस सर्वसोके बाव । बडा इया गडा नई एद बाको ताव ॥ (Locana, p. 47).

2 This is recorded in the last few suspiciously spurious chapters of the *Pravartidāsa*; but there is no hint of it in any of the seven old lives of Caitanya; see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 333 f.

of a Navadvīpa Pandit, Saṅkṣana Mītra,—whom Govinda Karmakāra vividly describes as “a smiling, coy and modest girl, always busy serving the Lord.”¹ It is noteworthy that while the sect takes little notice of the short-lived first wife, Caitanya's second wife, who survived his Saṁnyāsa and his death, holds a place of considerable honour in its estimation. It is possible, however, that the first wife held a unique place in his affection, and the shock of her death had something to do with his Saṁnyāsa, which occurred not many years later.²

As yet the young Pandit, busy with imparting secular instruction, showed no open susceptibility to the religious influences which surrounded him, and all attempts to interest him deeply in religious matters met with a half-jesting, half-sceptical response. But a great change swiftly came over the even tenour of his life : and when it came, it swept him off with its overwhelming force. At the age of about twenty-two, Viśvaṁbhara, as a dutiful son, undertook a pilgrimage to Gayā³ for the purpose of performing his

१ विष्णुमित्रा देवी इव स्मुर चरखी । स्मुर सेवाय म्वला दिवस रजनी ॥
कजायती विनमिनी म्दु म्दु दाम । मुद हस्ताय विवा चरखेर दास ॥
(p. 4) Saṅkṣana Mītra's forefathers are said to have come from Mithilā (*Bhāratavarṇa*, vol. 28, p. 199), although he is usually supposed to have belonged to Sylhet.

२ Although Mūrī (l. 15, 4) and, following him Locana, describes Caitanya as deeply attached to his second wife, Vṛndāvana-dāsa (*Ādi xli*) mentions Viṣṇupriyā only once. But Locana goes further and describes Caitanya's love-sport with Viṣṇupriyā on the night before his Saṁnyāsa!—In his *Kāvya*, Kavīkarpapūra does not describe Caitanya's marriage to Viṣṇupriyā (*lil.* 127-144) as elaborately as that to Lakṣmī (*lil.* 6-81); in the drama (*l.* 23, 24) he incidentally mentions the two marriages.

३ According to Karpapūra (*Kāvya* iv, 21) Caitanya was accompanied by his *janak-bhāṭa-pati* (i.e. Candrasekhara Ācārya). Mūrī mentions no companion. Vṛndāvana-dāsa (*Ādi xli*) says : दासा हरि चरिता चनेदु शिष्य सङ्घा (went accompanied by a large number of pupils), while Jayānanda (p. 32) gives a long list of followers who went with Caitanya!

father's Śrīdhā at the holy place. What exactly happened there is not known, but the sacred surroundings must have strangely stirred the hidden springs of his religious emotion. He himself could hardly express what he found at Gayā to work a wonderful change¹; but the principal factor in the transformation, which his biographers also emphasise, was his meeting there with Īvara Purī,² the emotional ascetic, who had on a previous occasion tried fruitlessly to win him over to devout life, but who was now voluntarily accepted as a spiritual guide. Īvara Purī gave him the Kṛpā-Mantra of ten syllables (*daśākṣara*), but the sudden religious awakening in him could hardly be satisfied by such formal initiation. Of the intensity and transforming quality of his religious experience there can be no doubt. The pride of learning was humbled; his love of finery, to which frequent allusions are made by his biographers,³ and care for personal appearance were gone; scholastic pursuits and worldly concerns lost their interest.⁴ He had seen one of those mystic visions

1 At the mere mention of Gayā he used to burst into tears and faint: वायस्वयोर्ध्वं कर्तुं मात्र नाम । सन्नेहं यत्ने सप्त पूर्णं पश्यत् स्वान ॥
कर्णध्वं कथं पुनरे पृथितः । हा कृप्यं वसिष्ठा मात्रं पथितं भूमित ॥
(C-6A, Mādhyā 1).

2 केव यत्ने रंभर पुरीर सङ्ग इदते ।

हि वा वैशिष्टेन कृप्य-प्रकाश गवाते ॥ (*loc. cit.*)

3 अचरे साम्प्रत दिव्य वाम परिधानः । (C-6A, Adītya). श्रीधरजीयौ
अङ्गेर सङ्ग विमृष्टः । दिव्यसङ्ग दिव्यप्रेत मात्स्य कन्द्व ॥ (C-C, Adītya 5).
कृष्णप्रेतिल कथन अर्णर नीर अङ्गे ।.....कुङ्कुमे मात्सिया सङ्ग वेता वाम
काण्ठे । अङ्गेर इटा शोचल यौडा गमन यजेन्प्रकाण्ठे ॥ भुक्तिमूले शोके
मयनमोहन मज्जाकटि । श्रीधरपुले वकुलमात्र सुतिर मात्र वेदि ॥
...विधित पाटेर बोध हिरक्यमापुलि ॥ (*Jag. Śāstra*, p. 26; also see p. 40).

4 परम सुनय इदवा श्चु कथा कथ । सवे सुत इदता वैशि प्रयुर विनय ॥
पूर्व विद्या-वीर्यस्य वा ऐशे योन जन । परम विरहप्राय वाके सर्वकृष्ण ॥
वे श्चु मात्सिया मोला महाविचारसे । एवे कृप्य विना अार शिषु माहि

which turn secularly minded men into god-intoxicated devotees. People said he had come back a mad man, and he certainly behaved as such. When he taught his pupils, the subject of his discourse was Kṛpā, and very soon he had to close his school. Wrapped in mystic and emotional experience, he laughed and wept, raved in abstraction, incessantly shouted Kṛpā's name, and went into those mystic trances which from this time became a striking feature of his religious experience. The change in him became the talk of the town² and a matter of anxiety to his relatives; but the small group of Vaiṣṇava devotees, headed by Advaita, saw in him something more than symptoms of lunacy³ and welcomed him with hope and joy.

Very soon he was joined by Nityānanda, who is said to have been for many years an Avadhūta ascetic⁴ and who was

बाहे न (C-88, Mādhyā 1). ना कस कस्य मात्ता ना परे वसुन । निमये
वसिया बाहे कान्हे सर्वकथ ॥ नौकर केहा ना बाण्ये ना शुने चारो कथा ।
...छर्च नाम्बुल क्षादि प्रिय कृष्णकेलि । कनक कुण्डल द्वार द्विरणवमादुलि ॥
बाणिया पाकटो गुप्ता भूये मिडा बाय ।...ना करे क्षान्त गौर ना करे
मोक्षन । ना करे श्रीछात्रे तेन वसुर्नम ॥ etc. (Jayānanda, p. 72).

1 परम चद्रुत कथा महा चमत्कार ।

निमाह परिब्रत इत्य परम वैष्णव ॥ (C-88, Mādhyā 1).

2 In *Caitanya-candrodaya* (Act II), Caitanya himself is made to describe his own condition as *Unmāda-dāśa*, but Advaita thinks that Caitanya's lunacy is different from that of other people! In his *Kṛpā*, Kṛpānīla gives a rather embellished poetical account, in which Advaita is made to recount Kṛpā-nīla in two cantos (12-2) which Caitanya resumes in the next canto.

3 It is often stated that Nityānanda was a disciple of Mādhavendra Purī: but evidence on this point is not definite. In his early wanderings he appears to have met Mādhavendra in Southern India (C-88, Ādi vi) but it is not clear if he was actually initiated by Mādhavendra. On the other hand, the universal description of him as "an Avadhūta" may indicate that he originally belonged to some Tīrthī order. Jayānanda's description of him (p. 34): *वृक्षितमोक्षन वाङ्मयीनदे वत । हरणित*

now destined to play, along with him, an important part in the history of the movement. Although one of Vṛndāvana-dāsa's object in his biography of Caitanya is to supply information about Nityānanda,¹ not much is recorded of his earlier life. He is said to have been born at a village named Ekakṣī (Ekacakra) in the district of Birbhum, but his birth-date is uncertain. His parents were Hāḍī Paṇḍita and his wife Padmāvatī, of whom, however, nothing is known. At the early age of twelve (according to Vṛndāvana-dāsa), fourteen (according to the *Prema-vilāsa* vii), or eighteen (according to Jayānanda), Nityānanda left home for homelessness, and as a wandering Avadhūta travelled extensively over Northern and Southern India. He was older than Caitanya by some eight years, and bore such resemblance to his elder brother Viśvarūpa, who had also become a Saṁnyāsa, that Śacī Devī welcomed him as her own son.² He was living at that time at Navadvīpa, and his meeting with Viśvaṇṣhara was not only providential but mutually

हासमुखं वसीम महत् ॥ is significant, although it was probably meant to indicate that he was an Avatāra of Balarāma (Kṛṣṇapūra, Kāvya vii. 19). Locana informs us (*Sōtra-khaṇḍa* p. 33) that Nityānanda's name before Saṁnyāsa was Kuvara.

1 Curiously enough, there is no standard biography of Nityānanda, although Vṛndāvana-dāsa, who was an enthusiastic partisan of Nityānanda, actually writes a great deal about him in connexion with Caitanya; while Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja who was inspired by Nityānanda in a dream and Kavīkṛṣṇapūra in both the poetical and dramatic biographies, as well as later Vaiṣṇava works in Bengali, only incidentally record some traditions about him. Rūpa, Raghunātha and Jīva do not even mention Nityānanda, although Nityānanda's name occurs in the series of general obeisance at the commencement of Śaṅkara's *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*!

2 Kṛṣṇadāsa informs us that Caitanya used to address him as Bāḍa Bhāī (elder brother). This is probably the source of the curious mistake, repeated by R. G. Bhandarkar (*Polityicism*, Serassburg 1912, p. 83) of identifying Nityānanda with Caitanya's elder brother Viśvarūpa. This mistake has been perpetuated in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* I, p. 196a.

attractive and stimulating. They discovered in each other a kindred spirit, and the strong and instant attraction endured through life.

Viṣṇupbharā now became the centre of the devout Vaiṣṇava group in the city,¹ and came to be regarded as the very incarnation of their spirit of devotion. His extraordinary capacity for emotion had the power of evoking similar emotion in others, and the very reality of his spiritual experience and the irresistible charm of his gifted personality soon made him the natural leader of the group. One of his first and most important act was the stimulation, if not the introduction,² of an emotional and antiritualistic mode of musical worship, known as Kīrtana, in the daily devotional meetings which were held in the courtyard of Śrīvāsa's house³. At first these meetings were private, and the strange doings of the Vaiṣṇava devotees met with scorn and ridicule; but the increasing fervour displayed in the Kīrtana parties proved contagious by creating a highly emotionalised atmosphere. This method of congregated devotional excitement,⁴ by means

1 Muralī, Kavīkarpūra and Vṇḍīvaṇa-dīpa mention about 40 persons who now formed this group, but see the list given by B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 500.

2 Although the antiquity of the Kīrtana is probable, Caitanya's biographers distinctly say that this mode was Caitanya's creation: cf. Muralī I. 1. 3; I. 4. 25-27: कविकुपे सङ्गोर्तन भवे पातिवारे । सङ्गोर्तन कवता म्मु सर्वपरिचरे ॥ (C-ka, Adl I); चारुमिता सङ्गाम्मु कीर्तन कवता (*op. cit.* Adl II). Kavīkarpūra in his drama (viii. 32) (also in his Kāvya) speaks of the Kīrtana as: *īyam īyam bhagavat-caitanya-vaṇṇikā*. On the superiority of the Kīrtana over other modes of worship, see Śaṇḍana, *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta*, II. 3. 146-148, 152.

3 Śrīvāsa was the son of one Jaladhara Paṇḍita, also from Sylhet. He must have been older than Caitanya.

4 Rāpa Govindas defines Kīrtana in his *Śaṅkṣa-vaṇḍana* as: *nāma-nāḍ-guṇābhīnava* (distinguishing three kinds) *ucāra bhāṣa ta kīrtanam*. This mode has proved so effective for popular appeal that it has since been accepted more or less by other sects. In modern times the Nava Vidhā Brāhma Samāj revived it, and the Salvation Army in Bengal has adopted it for their missionary purpose.

of enthusiastic chorus singing to the accompaniment of peculiar drums and cymbals, along with rhythmical bodily movements ending in an ecstatic abandon of dancing, proved very fruitful indeed in utilising group-emotion, and soon became a distinctive feature of the faith. Grotesquely absurd as the practice may seem, it succeeded in creating a whirlpool of emotionalism from which there was no escape. As the tireless exertions of Kīrtana grew higher and higher, they worked upon the emotions as well as on the senses, and produced ecstatic thrills and copious perspiration, wild fits, trembling and weeping, hysterical orgy of dancing, raving, stupefaction or dementia, until they brought on exhaustion and unconsciousness, ending in mystic trances. Vīṭvaṃbhara soon realised its possibilities; and under his guidance it became something more than the highly emotional service of a secluded band of devotees. Its enthusiastic physical and emotional appeal was not only congenial to the essentially emotional faith, but it was also utilised effectively for spreading the contagion of Bhakti. Very soon Kīrtana processions (Nagara-kīrtana) were organised for parading the streets with lusty music, singing and dancing, and carrying the appeal from door to door.

But there was a very large and influential section of people, consisting chiefly of the proud scholars and the self-satisfied élite of the city, who looked upon the uproarious movement as a public nuisance; and their initial attitude of scornful indifference soon became one of active opposition. The aid of the Muhammadan Kāzi of Navadvīpa was invoked, but the sight of a Nagara-kīrtana, organised and led by Caitanya himself, is said to have convinced the Muhammadan magistrate of its spiritual nature, and he acknowledged it by joining the party himself!¹ At any rate, the opposition appears to have

1 Murāri alludes to the incident briefly (il. 17. 11), but Vṛndāvanāḍīa (Madhya xlii) makes it a fighting affair, which Kṛṣṇāḍīa considerably tones down.

proved an obstacle to the movement. We are told in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* Ādi viil. 10-11; xvii. 262-268) that Viṭṭhambhara at last resolved to win over these unbelievers by severing all local ties and embracing the universally honoured life of a Sannyāsīn. The motive which influenced him to adopt asceticism was probably diverse and complex; at best, it is left obscure.¹ He is reported to have said: "As I must save these men, I have to adopt the life of asceticism. When they see me as an ascetic, they will bow down to me, and in bowing their guilt will be destroyed, and I shall rouse Bhakti in their purified hearts. Then will these godless men be saved. There is no other means, and this is the best way." But the real reason was probably much deeper. It must have been his innate predilection to asceticism and the more imperious urge of passionate devotion which drove him to a complete abandonment of self to the service of his deity; and there is a hint of such an inner motive in the report of his statement made elsewhere (C-C, Madhya iii. 7-9) that the life of an ascetic would give him opportunities for an exclusive devotion to Kṛṣṇa. He, therefore, induced Kṛṣṇa Bhārat to initiate him as a Sannyāsīn under the name of Śrīkṛṣṇa-caitanya, usually abbreviated to Caitanya, which now became the

1 Śrīvāṣṭhaṁsa, in Kavīkarpapūra's drama (Act vi), for instance, is made to wonder whether the Mithyāvidin Sannyāsīn was a Vaiṣṇava in his previous Ātma; for he replies to the usual greeting not by नमो नारायणाय but by कृष्णे रविः कृष्णे मणिः । This incident is copied by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja.

2 मोरे निन्दा करे वे ना करे बसन्तार । ए सब जोकर अपराध करिब उद्धार ॥ अछएष अपराध आनि सम्बोध करिब । सम्बोधी बुद्धे मोरे प्रसन्न हव ॥ प्रकलिते हरे इहार अपराध सब । निर्मल हृदये भक्ति करिब उच्च ॥ ए सब पापहरीर तरे हृदये निहार । आर क्षेत्र उपाय नाहि एह बुद्धि सार ॥ (Ādi xvii. 264-267). Also Govinda-dāsa Karmahira: शिवायुक्त क्षाम करि सम्बोध लव । ताहा ना करिसे किसे मोह उद्धारिब ॥ (p. 6).

universally accepted name. The initiation took place, in the presence of his three followers (Nityānanda, Candrasekhara Ācāryaratna and Mukunda-datta), at Katwa, not far from Navadvīpa on the other side of the Ganges, towards the end of the month of Māgha, in Śaka 1431 (=January, 1510 A.D.), when Caitanya was barely twenty-four years old.¹ Keṣava Bhāratī lived at Katwa, and as there was very little personal intercourse between him and Caitanya, he does not appear in any way to have influenced the spiritual disposition of his disciple either before or after the initiation. He was perhaps chosen as the Saṁnyāsa-guru because he happened to be a well-known Saṁnyāsin near at hand, who was capable of performing the ceremony. The particular order that Caitanya joined probably made as little difference to his religious consciousness as even his very act of becoming a Saṁnyāsin itself.² He never strictly conformed to the severe passionless life of an Indian ascetic, to which he imparted a new spirit by his emotional faith. He went beyond his ascetic teachers in matters of belief and practice; and, unlike the founders of some other Vaiṣṇava sects, he gave Rādhā a prominent place

1 Only Kavikarṇapūra explicitly tells us in his Mahākāvya (iv. 76) that Vidyasābhara returned from Gayā in the month of Pausa, that his manifestation began from Māgha in the same year, that he taught pupils for four months more, *i. e.* till Vaiśākha of the next year (v. 24), and that he spent eight months from Jyaiṣṭha to Pausa in Saurāṣṭra, so that his Saṁnyāsa occurred in Māgha. Both Vṛndāvana-dāsa (Madhya ii) and Kṛṣṇadāsa (Adi xvii. 20) generally speak of one year's interval between Caitanya's return from Gayā and his Saṁnyāsa. Kṛṣṇadāsa also says: कविवर कवर रोष नेह साधमास । वार सुखने प्रभु करि सख्यसुख ॥ (Madhya iii. 3); in this he follows Kavikarṇapūra.

2 As Caitanya's reply to Advaita on this occasion, in Kavikarṇapūra's drama (v. 21), implies. Meeting Caitanya for the first time, Śrīvābhaṁsa asks whether the young ascetic belongs to the Bhāratī-saṁpradāya (Act vi), to which Gopīnātha Ācārya replies that Caitanya's belonging to a Saṁpradāya is only an outward form (bhāya); but the orthodox Śrīvābhaṁsa replies: samikāṣaṁ nocyann, āśramaujjvalyaṁ na bhāyam!

in his thought and his worship, although in matters of personal purity and self-denial he kept rigidly to his ascetic vow.

After paying a visit to the venerable Advaita's house at Śāntipur, where he took a pathetic farewell from his heart-broken mother and the assembled Vaiṣṇava devotees of Navadvīpa, to whom his renunciation came as a terrible blow, he resolved to leave for Vṛndāvana. But he yielded to his mother's entreaties to reside permanently at Puri, where his friends and followers could visit him and whence pilgrims would frequently bring his news.¹ If Śacī Devī rose to the occasion and reconciled herself to her son's abandoning the life of the householder, her worthy son honoured his mother by allowing her word to determine his place of residence for life, and by relinquishing his cherished object of reclamation of the sacred sites of Vṛndāvana, of which we will speak presently. It reminds one of the story of the great Śaṅkara, who, Saṃnyāsīn as he was, is said to have performed the funeral obsequies of his mother, and thus risen superior to the strict code of the recluse. Commending the care of his mother, wife and faithful followers to Advaita and other associates,² Caitanya departed within a month for Puri with only four disciples (Nityānanda, Dāmodara Paṇḍita, Jagadānanda and Mukunda) accompanying him.

Although a close connexion was kept up between the Master and his Bengal followers by their annual visits to Puri,

1 Of this story of Śacī's request, there is no trace in Murāri and Kavīkarapūra, who state that Caitanya himself declared his own intention to go to Puri.

2 Murāri (iv. 14.3-11), and following him Locana, tells us that Caitanya once again visited Navadvīpa in later years during his visit to Gauḍa. Other biographers are silent on this point, possibly because such a visit would be contrary to the usual practice of a Saṃnyāsīn, but Vilāsa Ghoṣa in one of his Padas alludes to it (*Gaurapada*, 2nd ed. p. 271).

his departure must have been a great loss¹ to a cause which had hardly had time yet to establish itself firmly. The later disruption of the sect, the organisation of which was left in the hands of Advaita and Nityānanda, was partly due to this lack of direct contact with the Master, whose personality was not only the strongest asset of the community but also the only powerful influence which could unify and organise it into a compact body. While the movement in Bengal fell into disorder after his death,² the influence of his personal presence for long years at Puri has made Orissa a stronghold of the Vaiṣṇava faith even up to the present day. If the legend (for legend it appears to be!) about the original migration of Caitanya's ancestors from Orissa were true, then Orissa had enough warrant for claiming Caitanya as her own, but she succeeded at least in proving her claim indirectly by a wide-spread and enduring belief in his faith.

The first short stay at Puri³ was marked by two important incidents. The first was the conversion of a famous Vedāntist, Vāmadeva Śārvabhauma, and the other was the homage of Gajapati Pratāparudra, ruler of Orissa, who is also said to have come under the spell of Caitanya's influence. Vāmadeva Śārvabhauma Bhagjācārya, some of whose devotional verses are cited in the *Padyāvalī*,⁴ was a Navadvīpa scholar, born

1 Kavikarṇapūra in his drama (iv. 36) makes Caitanya's followers lament over it as *śarvasya-vāto hi naḥ*.

2 Apart from the general bifurcation into the devotees of Navadvīpa (Muniri, Kavikarṇapūra, [Vṛndāvana-dīpa, Jāṇānanda and some early Paṇḍa-composers on Caitanya) and Vṛndāvana (the six Govindān, Kṛṣṇadīpa, Narottama and Śrīnīdāsa) respectively, who looked at Caitanya from different angles, we know that even at the time when Vṛndāvana-dīpa wrote, there were other small groups, e.g. Gaurāṅgāra-vādis (Nārāhaṇi, Locana and some Paṇḍa-composers, *Adi* 2), Advaita-bhaktas (*Madhya* 2; *Antya* iv), followers of Gadādhara (*Madhya* xlv), disciples and detractors of Nityānanda (*Madhya* iii).

3 Kavikarṇapūra in his *Mahākāvya* (xii. 94) states that Caitanya stayed only 18 days at Puri before he set out on his Southern pilgrimage.

4 Altogether seven verses are cited in the anthology under the name of Śārvabhauma Bhagjācārya, by which title the great scholar appears

about the middle of the 15th century. His father was (Maheśvara ?) Viśārada, whom Vāṇudeva mentions reverentially at the close of his commentary on Lakṣmīdhara's *Advaita-makaranda*,¹ and to whom the so-called *Pratyakṣa-maṇi-māheśvārī* on the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*, is dubiously ascribed.² There is a legend that Vāṇudeva went to Mithilā to study Nyāya at the school established by Pakṣadhara Mītra.³ As his teachers in Mithilā, it is said, would not allow any outsider to copy out their famous manuscripts on Nyāya, Vāṇudeva committed the entire *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*, as well as the metrical portion of the *Kaṣṭhāṇḍī*, to memory, and brought them in this manner to Bengal. This is said to have transferred the study of Navya Nyāya from Mithilā to Bengal.

to have been known and generally referred to in the Bengal Vaiṣṇava works. Locana alone gives the full name Vāṇudeva Śārabhaṇṇa. On Sūtras and Muktas ascribed to Vāṇudeva Śārabhaṇṇa, see S. K. De in *Indian Culture*, I, 1934, pp. 22-29; also S. K. De, *Padyavali*, Dacca 1934, pp. 228-230.

1 Rajendralal Mitra, *Notices* viii, pp. 291-2, no. 2854. The colophon designates the author as Gaṇḍīyācārya-śārabhaṇṇa-bhaṭṭācārya. The terms of reference to his father Viśārada indicate that Viśārada was also a Vedāntist (*vedānta-vidyā-maya*). The name occurs as Nārāharī, although Bengal Vaiṣṇava works make it Maheśvara! He was a Vandyaghāṭīya Brahman (*śrī vandyaghaṭīya*).—The work was written under the patronage of Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa.

2 By Gopināth Kaviraṇi in *Saravati Bhāraṇa Studies*, iv, p. 60. Dīnesh Chandra Bhattacharya (*Bhāraṇa*, xviii, pt. 2, 1947 B.E., p. 421 f) points out that the name of the work is missing in the fragmentary MS. but was supplied by Vindhyavariprasād Drivedī; and the author's name also does not occur. It is a commentary on Pakṣadhara's *Alaṅkāra* and probably belongs to Mahadeva or Maheśvara of Mithilā.

3 Vāṇudeva Śārabhaṇṇa must not be confounded (as done by Aubrecht) with Vāṇudeva Mītra Nyāya-viddhānta, who was a nephew and pupil of Pakṣadhara Mītra and wrote a commentary on the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*. Pakṣadhara's date is uncertain. Satish Chandra Vidyabhāṇṇa (*Indian Logic*, Calcutta 1921, pp. 455-56) would place him in the last quarter of the 13th century, but Gopināth Kaviraṇi (*Saravati Bhāraṇa Studies*, iv, pp. 62 f) would shift the date to the third quarter of the 15th century.

which now became possessed of the original books to work upon. Returning to Bengal, he set up a dialectic school of Navya Nyāya at Navadvīpa : but his fame is said to have been eclipsed by that of his more distinguished pupil, Raghunātha Śrīrāmī, the great champion of the Bengal school of Logic.¹ This legend, however, is also told in connexion with Raghunātha Śrīrāmī himself, and there is nothing to show that Raghunātha was ever a pupil of Vāruḍeva. Vāruḍeva was perhaps more of a Vedāntist than a Nāyāyika, as his learned commentary on Lakṣmīdhara's *Advaita-makaranda*, written at Puri, indicates ; and Murāri, Kavikarṇapūra and Kṛpādāsa Kavirāja represent him chiefly as teaching Vedānta at Puri. Jayānanda tells us that Vāruḍeva was driven from Navadvīpa by Muhammadan persecution and settled at Puri, where he passed the closing years of his life under the patronage of Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa.²

1 It is noteworthy that Raghunātha, in his *Anumada-dīkṣitī* quotes and refutes *śrīrābhāṣa-māta*.—A work on Nyāya by Vāruḍeva Śrīrābhāṣa, called *Sandha-nāda*, is mentioned in Andrecht L. 686 a, but the work is now known to have been composed by Rāmabhadra Śrīrābhāṣa. Tradition ascribes to him a *Śrīrābhāṣa-niruktī*, apparently a glossorial commentary, on the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* ; but nothing is known about this alleged work. Gopināth Kaviraj (*op. cit.*, p. 63), however, informs us that Vāruḍeva's commentary on the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*, called *Sādhya*, is available only in fragments. The MS does not contain the names of the work or the author ; but D. C. Bhattacharya (*loc. cit.*) believes that the author was Vāruḍeva Śrīrābhāṣa, and conjectures the real name of the work to have been *Anumada-maṇi-parikṣā*.

2 There is nothing to support the accuracy of Jayānanda's story of Vāruḍeva's exodus from Navadvīpa. Jayānanda tells us that in his adoration of Caitanya, Śrīrābhāṣa composed then and there a *Caitanya-līlāte Śloka* (चैतन्यलীलाते श्लोक हरिना प्रमाणे । चार्त्तवीर्य व्यासस्तुति हरि वीरचन्द्रे ॥ p. 127), and a *Caitanya-sakha-sūtra-nāma* (चैतन्यसहस्रनाम श्लोकचण्डे । चार्त्तवीर्य रचित केवल प्रमाणचन्द्रे ॥ p. 3), also in hundred verses (चैतन्येय सप्त श्लोक चार्त्तवीर्य-स्तुते p. 127). *Vṇadīpaka-dīpa* also

There are different versions of the story of Caitanya's first meeting at Puri¹ with this venerable Bengali scholar ; but one of the orthodox accounts gives a dramatic setting to the whole incident.² While beholding for the first time the image of Jagannātha, Caitanya is said to have been so much over-powered by his ecstatic emotions that he made a frenzied attempt to embrace the holy image and dropped senseless on the ground in his effort. The priests of the temple, mistaking him for a mad man, began to ill-treat him. Vāsudeva, who

refers to Śrīvabhauma's *śaśa-vāka* (hundred verses) in praise of Caitanya. So far, a work, entitled *Caitanya-drḍḍata-nāma-stotra*, by Vāsudeva, is known to exist at Tübingen (Roth's *Tübingen Catalogue*, p. 101. Jayānanda also says: सार्वभौम हरिश्चैव ज्योत्स्नराजनाम (p. 125).

An anonymous *Caitanyāṣṭottara-lāṣa-nāma* is mentioned in *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1861, p. 139, which list also enters an *Advaitāṣṭake* by Śrīvabhauma. Śrīvabhauma might have also written something on the life of Caitanya, for Jayānanda states: सार्वभौम महाशयं व्यासं वदन्तः । वैष्णवपरिहृता ये हरिस्त प्रचार ॥ p. 3. The verses put in Śrīvabhauma's mouth in Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanya-candrodaya* (vi. 43-44), as well as in his *Mahābhāṣya* (xii. 86-87), have been, as tradition alleges, directly taken from his own composition. From what is implied by Karṇapūra and Kṛṣṇadīna Kavirāja, Śrīvabhauma probably spent his last days, after Caitanya's passing away, at Benares.

1 Tradition delights to make a great academic figure out of Vāṇdeva Śrīvabhauma and assigns to him four distinguished pupils, who achieved great success in four different spheres, viz. Raghunātha Śrīraṁṇa, the Naiyāyika ; Raghunandana, the Smṛti ; Kṛṣṇananda Āgamavāgīśa, the Tāntrika ; and lastly, Caitanya. But Caitanya's pupilship, even though plausible, appears to have no foundation in fact ; for Caitanya's first meeting with Vāṇdeva, as described by Kavikarṇapūra and Kṛṣṇadīna Kavirāja, appears to have taken place at Puri. Probably the venerable old scholar had already left Navadvīpa before Caitanya was old enough to be his pupil. In the accounts of Caitanya's early life no reference is made to Vāṇdeva's teaching Caitanya, whose attitude at Puri was hardly that of a pupil towards his teacher.

2 This is narrated by Vṛndāvana-dāsa, whom Kṛṣṇadīna substantially follows. But both Murāri and Kavikarṇapūra give a somewhat different account. See B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 355-57.

had by chance come to the temple and witnessed the scene, had the unconscious youth carried to his house, where he must have been interested to learn that the charming young man belonged to Navadvīpa and was a grandson of Nīlāmbara Cakravartin, a friend of his own father Viśārada. The story of the interview, which followed, is shrouded in the pious accounts by a cloud of miraculous and theological legends, but the facts are fairly obvious. Struck by Caitanya's youth and personality, the compassionate old scholar sought at first to dissuade him from the difficult path of renunciation and tried to make him a Vedāntist. After listening to his learned discourse for seven days (the entire episode in one account lasting at least for twelve days!), Caitanya observed that the *Vedānta-sūtra*, like the *Upaniṣads*, was clear to him, but the views of Śaṅkara, as expounded by Śārva-bhauṃsa, obscured the real meaning of the Sūtras. A learned discussion followed in which Caitanya advanced a series of abstruse exposition of dualistic Vaiṣṇava tenets, diametrically opposed to Advaita Vedānta. The result of the disputation was that Śārva-bhauṃsa became a convert to Caitanyasam. In the course of the debate, however, as described in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, quotations are freely made and interpreted, with an evident theological relish, from the *Bhāgavata*, as well as from such works as Rūpa's *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* which, as we shall see presently, was not composed till several years after Caitanya's death!¹ In the orthodox account, however, it appears that the great

1 While the details of the debate are omitted in other accounts, Kṛṣṇadāsa appears to have elaborated it, not from Vyādhivān-dāsa's brief account of one day's disputation, but mainly from Kavīkaraṇḍāra's poetical description in his *Kāvya*. See B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 394-46. It is curious that one of the well-known *Bhāgavata* verses is said to have been interpreted by Caitanya ingeniously in different ways—the number of ways being given as nine by Kavīkaraṇḍāra, more than thirteen by Vyādhivān-dāsa, and eighteen by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, while during Śaṅkara's teaching (*Madhya xxiv*), sixty-one different interpretations of the same verse are mentioned!

Vedāntist was not fully convinced by the metaphysics of the young enthusiast, but that he was finally overpowered when Caitanya revealed himself to his vision as the divine Kṛṣṇa. Apart from miracles, what probably happened was that Śārva-bhauma was finally won over from the path of dry doctrines to that of passionate devotion, not so much by theological arguments as by the irresistible appeal of Caitanya's impassioned religious personality.¹

The conversion of the great scholar from his confirmed Vedāntic convictions of a life-time must have been a notable and significant triumph for the young religious revivalist. Nothing like this had been achieved before. It is not difficult to understand the impression he had made on the rank and file of his Navadvīpa followers and their exuberant adoration of him. After he had accepted the traditional sanctity of the ascetic ideal and turned his face towards Purī, this adoration naturally deepened. Both distance and cherished memories of his wonderful devotion actually deified him in their eyes, and created a mass of pious legends which to-day obscure his

1 Śārva-bhauma is reported to have acknowledged: सर्वज्ञात्मे नमः
यामि मेरे लोहवर्णः । यामा इवास्मै मुनि प्रताप प्रचलत् ॥ (C-C. Mādhyā
vi. 214). Kavīkarpūra's accounts, both in his drama and in his poem,
also suggest a similar process, in spite of miracle and extravagant
description.—At the time when Śārva-bhauma wrote his commentary
on *Advaita-mātaṇḍa*, which is distinctly Advaita Vedāntic, he could
not have accepted Caitanya's dualistic faith. In this work he refers to
the vanquishing of Kṛṣṇa-rāya of Karpūta by his patron Gajapati
Pratāparudra of Orissa; but Kṛṣṇa-rāya did not come to the throne
till 1510 A.D., and his expedition against Orissa did not begin till 1512,
so that the work could not have been composed before this date. And
yet the biography of Caitanya represents Śārva-bhauma's conversion
to have occurred at about 1510 A.D., immediately after Caitanya's
arrival at Purī!—It should also be noted that Śārva-bhauma's son,
Jalodhara Vihāṇipati, author of *Siddhāntakoddyota* on Pakṣadhara's *Alaṅkāra*,
and his grandson Svapadvara, author of the well known *Bhāṣya* on the
Mādhyā-sūtra (in which the genealogy is given), do not appear to have
accepted Caitanyanism.

real religious personality. But in a veteran logician and philosopher like Śārvabhauma one would expect a less susceptible and more alert mind, although it must be admitted that the renowned scholar was at that time already much advanced in years. There can be no doubt that his rationalistic mind must have found something real and arresting in the religious attitude of Caitanya, and recognising its intensity and power he quickly fell under its mystic spell. It was an important achievement, not only for Caitanya himself at the outset of his life as a Saṁnyāsīn, but also for the movement which he represented and which in this way made its first deep impression in Orissa. It was this conversion of Śārvabhauma, who was held in high respect, as well as the actual sight of Caitanya's rapturous devotion, which first awakened the curiosity and homage of Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa, that assured the future of Caitanyaism in Orissa, although there is no satisfactory evidence to show that Pratāparudra was actually converted into the new faith.¹

After a short stay at Puri, Caitanya started on a long and extensive pilgrimage to Southern and Western India, which occupied a little less than two years. The orthodox accounts, based chiefly on the reminiscences of Caitanya's immediate disciples, do not, however, furnish first-hand information, as none of these disciples accompanied him in the pilgrimage.

1 Pratāparudra appears to have ruled at Cuttack from 1477 to 1540 A.D. His *Sarvaśāstrī-kāṇḍa* has in the beginning an invocation of Śiva, although in some manuscripts there is also an invocation of Viṣṇu Hayagrīva. This work is an authoritative compilation of orthodox Smṛiti, and has nothing to do with the special Vaiṣṇava Ācāra. Pratāparudra's connexion with Caitanyaism has probably been much exaggerated. As a man of devout inclinations, he was probably impressed by the religious personality of Caitanya and paid a willing homage; but beyond this there is no evidence of Pratāparudra's actual conversion. For a discussion of the account of this alleged conversion as given by Caitanya's biographers, see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 378-83. The spread of Caitanyaism in Orissa is due chiefly to the personality and influence of Rūpānanda-dāsa and others, who flourished much later.

They are also considerably overlaid by curious legends, and present a somewhat exaggerated and frankly incomplete picture¹ which cannot be accepted too literally. If the notes of the tour left by Govinda Karmakāra, who as a personal servant is said to have accompanied his Master,² be genuine, they perhaps offer a more unvarnished record, in which excessive sectarian bias has not entirely obscured the facts. It is not necessary for our purpose to trace the course of his wanderings in detail and describe the places and temples he visited, his various acts of devotion and miracle, his preachings and his theological discourses, and the extraordinary effects which his visit is said to have instantly produced on temple-crowds, on whole villages and cities and entire communities. If we are to accept these orthodox accounts as they stand, we are to believe in a wholesale conversion of the South at the mere sight and sound of Caitanya. It is highly probable

1 Murlī-gupta's present text devotes only two short and imperfect cantos (iii. 14-15) to the subject, while Kavīkarpūra's poetical account in his *Caitanya-caritāmṛta-lārya* (xii-xiii) is even more meagre and unsatisfactory. Yradhama-dāsa has no detailed information to offer. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja professes to derive his information from Dāmodara Svārūpa's previous work : (दामोदर स्वयंवर कथा अनुवारे *Madhya* viii. 312) and regrets that he cannot give a full systematic account (कहिनि ना पारि वार कथा अनुवृत्त *Madhya* ix. 4) : but in reality he elaborates, with the addition of miracles and legends, the accounts of Murlī and Karpūra. Locana-dāsa and Jayānanda, who are confused and vague do not add much. An English version of Kṛṣṇadāsa's account will be found in *Caitanya's Life and Teachings* by Jadunath Sarkar (2nd ed. Calcutta 1922), which consists of free translation of a considerable portion of the text.

2 In the orthodox C-C (as well as in Kavīkarpūra's poem), however, the only companion of Caitanya during his pilgrimage was one Kālā (deaf) Kṛṣṇadāsa, while Murlī says that the companion was one Kṛṣṇadāsa. On this point, see the references to Govinda collected together from the texts by Dinakāśa Chandra Sen in his introduction to his edition of the *Kaṇḍī* (pp. 33, etc.) ; also B. Majumdar, *op. cit.* pp. 421-423 ; S. K. De, *Padyaṇḍī*, p. 201.

that the striking religious personality of the young Saṁnyāsī drew large crowds at every place he went and received willing and enthusiastic homage. But the impression of his visit could not have been so very deep and lasting as his naturally credulous biographers appear to imagine. The later history of the sect does not testify to an extensive following of Caitanyaism in Southern, and Western India; and if Caitanya's visit actually produced such tremendous effect as his faithful followers claim, it must have died out very quickly. One important result, however, of Caitanya's visit might have been that at many points, his living faith touched, stimulated and left its general impress upon Southern and Western Vaiṣṇavism, in its tendency towards a more emotional form of worship. A reference is sometimes made to the almost contemporaneous outburst of Kanarese hymnology, for which credit is given to the alleged Southern visit of Mādhavendra and his disciple Īvara Puri; and emotional singing in the South, obtaining from the time of the Tamil Alvars, may have received a fresh impetus from the personal example of Caitanya.¹ It is probable also that he left behind some general influence in the Maratha country, which survived, as it did, through a century to the days of Tukārām, who acknowledges his debt to "Caitanya teachers."²

One or two interesting items of his pilgrimage may, however, be noted here. His meeting with a scholarly and devout Vaiṣṇava, named Rāmānanda Rāya, near Rajamundry on the Godavari, has occupied a great deal of the attention of his orthodox biographers. Rāmānanda is said to have been a Śiṣya of Rāghavendra Puri and a Pratiṣṭhā of Mādhavendra. Rāmānanda's father Bhavānanda Rāya, described in Rāmānanda's *Jagannātha-vallobha Nāṭaka*³ as Prthivīvara, was

1 Rice, *Kanarese Literature*, pp. 12, 39.

2 J. Nelson Fraser, *The Poems of Tukārām*, vol. I, no. 40, p. 31, and p. 404, note.

3 Ed. Radhakraman Press, Murshidabad, 1921, with a Bengali text and the Bengali metrical Padas of Locana-dāsa. Only one devotional

probably a local chief, feudatory to Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa; and Rāmānanda himself appears to have held some high official position under Pratāparudra. He composed the operatic drama (*saṃgrāh-dhaka*) on Kṛṣṇa-līlā, mentioned above, containing a glorification of Rādhā and songs on the model of Jayadeva; and the work was enacted at the direction of Pratāparudra. The meeting took place at the bathing ghat on the river bank, and Caitanya, who had already heard a great deal about Rāmānanda from Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma,¹ hailed him as a kindred spirit, in whose piety he found an un-failing delight. Rāmānanda also recognised the intensity and power of Caitanya's devotion, and eagerly joined the circle of his intimate and faithful followers. A warm attachment sprang up between them and Caitanya passed several days at the place. The scholarly and theologically minded Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, who loves to depict Caitanya as a scholar and founder of a school of theology, devotes a long and learned chapter of his biography to the detailed description of a systematic scholastic discourse between Rāmānanda and Caitanya, lasting for ten days and nights, on the whole theme of Bhakti. In the course of the conference the interlocutors quote and discuss, with the evident relish and precision of trained theologians, texts from the works of Rūpa, Sanātana and Jīva, and even from Kṛṣṇadāsa's own *Govinda-Nidānta*, all of which had not yet been written!² That some such

verse (*Indrapendra-kṛpā-pāṇana*) of Rāmānanda is quoted in the *Padya-vallī*, but it is not found in his drama. This verse is also given in Kavīkarpūra's *Kāvya*, and following it, in Kṛṣṇadāsa's biography in the course of Caitanya's discussion with Rāmānanda (*Madhya* viii, 70). —An account of this work will be found below under Ch. vii.

1 The meeting is generally said to have taken place on the outward journey to the South at its earlier stage; but, curiously enough, Kavīkarpūra in his *Kāvya* represents Caitanya as deliberately avoiding a meeting with Rāmānanda at the earlier stage, and the meeting is stated to have taken place on the return journey!

2 The absurdity is carried not only to the length of attributing a Bengali (or rather Brajabuli) song (*pañcīkī rāga*, also quoted in the same

momentous discussion, to which reference is also made by Kavikarṇapūra and Govinda Karmakāra, took place is probable; but it is perhaps significant that Caitanya in Govinda's account does not appear to be much interested in abstract discussion and stops Rāmānanda with the exclamation: "Rāya, I do not know anything about all this. Speak, speak about Kṛpā, of whom I should like to hear from you. Let this console my heart."

connexion in Kavikarṇapūra's Kāvya, and under Rāmānanda Rāya's bhāṣitā in *Paṇḍa-kalpataṛa* no. 576) to Rāmānanda, but also to the citation by Rāmānanda of the *Brahma-saṃhitā*, which work, we are told, was one of the two rare Vaiṣṇava productions which Caitanya discovered at a later stage of this very tour and brought back with him! Some doctrines are imputed to Rāmānanda which are Kṛpādīkṣa's own, and are only suggested but never discussed explicitly by the Vṛndāvana Govindas, e.g. the dual incarnation of Caitanya as both Kṛpā and Rādhā, which is stated here for the first time with its full theological implication. (*Madhya* viii, 278-81, 287-88). It must, however, be noted that the Rādhā-bhāva of Caitanya is not an entirely original conception of Kṛpādīkṣa Kavirāja, but is also referred to in *Prabodhānanda's Caitanya-candāmya* and occasionally in other works and in the contemporary *Paṇḍas* of Vīra Ghoṣa, Narahari Śaṅkār, Śrīkṛṣṇa and others. The *Caitanya-candāmya* of Kavikarṇapūra characterises Rāmānanda as a *Sahaja Vaiṣṇava*. In spite of this Rādhā-bhāva, sometimes assigned to Caitanya himself, it is curious that later Vaiṣṇava hagiology, for some unexplained reason, regards Gadādhara Paṇḍita, a friend and disciple of Caitanya, as an incarnation of Rādhā. It appears, however, that before the *Paṇḍa-tattva* doctrine was fully established, the faith believed, as the composers of *Paṇḍas* on Caitanya indicate, in the Caitanya-Gadādhara Tattva in *Navaadvīpa Līlā*. Gadādhara, we are told, used to put on the dress and realise the state of Rādhā. Naturally Advaita and Nityānanda had also their groups of followers; while Śrīvīra was replaced by Narahari deliberately in *Lotana's* biography. We hear also of a Gadādhara-saṃpradāya, as well as Saṃpradāyas of Advaita and Nityānanda from *Vṛndāvana-dīpa*.

। राम राम चारो वार बलिवारे बाब । कमलि बरन बाबि धरे मोरा
राम ॥...जमु खे राम बाबि बिदुर् न बाबि । खर खर हम्हका छ मने

After this delightful experience Caitanya proceeded further south. His religious attitude was catholic enough to allow homage to all kinds of deities irrespective of their sectarian connexion. Among the places and temples he visited, it is interesting to note that he spent some months with Śrīvaiṣṇava devotees at Srīraṅgam on the Kaverī, visited the Śrīgerī monastery in Mysore founded by Saṅkarācārya, and stayed for a few days at Udupī in South Kanāḍa district, the home of Madhva where he worshipped the image of Kṛṣṇa said to have been installed by Madhva himself, and discoursed on Vaiṣṇavism with Madhva worshippers. He went up to Paṇḍharpur, at that time a great centre of Marāṭha Vaiṣṇavism. He is then said to have proceeded north beyond Bombay up to Somnāth, Dvārakā and Prabhāsā,¹ and turning back, struck across Central India until he came again to the place of Rāmānanda Rāya on his way back to Pūrī.

Soon after his return, his Bengal disciples organised the first of a series of twenty annual pilgrimages to Pūrī to pay homage to Caitanya; and the two hundred who came at the time of the Car Festival of Jagannātha organised a monster processional Kīrtana, parading the street in several groups and encircling the Car as it proceeded. After a few months of ardent fellowship and daily adoration, they were sent home with a message directing Advaita and Nityānanda to organise propagation of the new faith in Bengal.

गुनि ॥ विरह वैष्णव गुनि कोहे राम राम । ख ख हृषिकेश गुणक
हृदय ॥ (p. 22). In spite of the fact that Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja himself states that he had based his account of Rāmānanda-Caitanya on Svārūpa Dāmodara's *Kāṇḍa*, it is clear, as B. Majumdar shows (*op. cit.*, pp. 33 ff.), that he mainly follows Kavirāṅga's hints given in his drama (*Act vii*), but adds to it theological matters developed from the works of the Vṛndāvana Gośvāmīna. There is no trace of a theological discussion in Murārī's rather brief account (iii, 13. 1-5), nor any Bhakti-eccehism and description of the types, stages, qualities and passions of the devotion to Kṛṣṇa.

1 This part of the journey is mentioned by Govinda Karmakṛta.

The rather uneventful course of Caitanya's life of worship and ecstasy which now began at Puri was broken twice during the many years he settled there ; and this was to realise his long cherished desire to visit the great temple-city of Vṛndāvana, the holy centre of Kṛṣṇa-līlā. The recovery of the sacred sites of Vṛndāvana by the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas and its erection into one of the religious centres of Northern India form one of the most interesting events in the history of mediaeval Vaiṣṇavism ; for the modern Vṛndāvana, eclipsing to-day the glory of the adjacent city of Mathurā by its fine temples, groves, seminaries and bathing ghats, is the creation chiefly of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. We are told that the inspiration originated from Mādhavendra Puri, but it culminated in the constructive enthusiasm of Caitanya and his faithful followers. The sacred Vṛndāvana, with its romantic associations of the Kṛṣṇa-legend, must have charmed the devotional fancy of Caitanya ; but the place had been long neglected even by Kṛṣṇa-worshippers. At an early stage of his career he had selected Lokanātha Ācārya¹ and entrusted him with the

1 Lokanātha's life is held up as a fine example of the spirit of selfless devotion and service to the cause, which the personality of Caitanya could inspire in his disciples. Particulars about his life are hardly to be found in the standard biographies of Caitanya, but later Vaiṣṇava works in Bengali, especially the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta* i, p. 21 f., *Prme-vilāsa* vii and the *Narottama-vilāsa* i, give some details. He was the son of Padmanābha Cakravartin, a Brahman of Tilgaḍi or Tilkheḍi in Jessore, and his wife Sitā. A fellow-student of Caitanya at Gaṅgā-dhām's 101 (*Advaita-pralīka*), he showed religious tendencies in early life and became a disciple of Advaita. He wrote a commentary on the 10th Skandha of the *Bhāgavata* at the direction of Advaita (H. P. Sastri, *Cal. of Lit. Mus. in ASB*, vol. v, Part 4, no. 3634). Commissioned by Caitanya to a life-long task of pioneering at Vṛndāvana, he left the more attractive life of ardent fellowship at Navadvīpa and set out on the difficult journey. According to the *Prme-vilāsa*, this despatch of Lokanātha occurred at about the time of Caitanya's Sannyāsa. Reinforced later on by Rūpa and Sanātana, he succeeded in fulfilling the mission proposed to him by Caitanya and lived there, much respected for his piety and austerity. He is mentioned with respect by Sanātana

mission of reclaiming the holy city which was then lying desolate. The site of the old mythical Vṛndāvana is perhaps lost, like that of the old historic Mathurā, but the present sacred sites were identified by the disciples of Caitanya, and a new city was built up as their seminary and their stronghold, invested with a new sanctity and glory.

Two years after his return from his pilgrimages, Caitanya set out again, at about Śaka 1435 (=1513 A. D.), to visit the newly restored Vṛndāvana : but, passing through Bengal,¹ his journey never extended beyond Rāmabali, near Gauḍa, the ancient capital of North Bengal. At this place an incident occurred which came to possess a deep significance in the later history of the cult. Here he met and won over two scholarly brothers who, with their nephew, were destined to become the acknowledged theologians of the faith and thus play an important part in its future development. They were two gifted men, originally Karpāya Brahmins, settled for some generations in Bengal, who had adopted the Muhammadan name or title of Sāker Malik (Śaṅkara) and Dabir Khās (Rūpa)² and were employed as high officials at the Muham-

and Gopāla Bhāṭṭa at the commencement of the *Pañcava-taraṅgi* and the *Harī-bhakti-viṭāna* respectively. One of Lotanātha's well known disciples was Narottama, who played an important part in the later history of the sect.

1 Murāri-guṇa (iv. 14, 3-11) alone, among Caitanya's biographers, and following him Locana-dāsa, inform us that Caitanya during this visit came once to Navadvīpa ; this is confirmed by a Paṇḍa of Vīṣṇu Ghoṣa cited in *Gaura-pada-tarāṅgi* (p. 271).

2 It is often alleged that the two brothers were converts to Muhammadanism ; but of this there is no evidence. It is true that they were high officials at the Muhammadan court at Gauḍa, and they are reported (C-C, Madhya I and iv) to have considered themselves impure because of their contact with and service in the Muhammadan court ; but this does not of itself prove the fact of their conversion to Islam, of which there is no direct and reliable evidence (see Amarānath Ray in *Indian Culture* v, 1938-39, p. 202 and S. K. De in *ibid.*, pp. 68 footnote and 205). On the contrary, the *Bhakti-viṭāna* account (ch. 7) makes it probable that they retained their original faith. This work says that the two

Surrounded as he always was by a big crowd, Caitanya now prepared to leave for Vṛndāvana. But the frank and incisive criticism of his new follower Sanātana that it was not proper for a devotee to start on a pilgrimage accompanied by a million men,¹ made him abandon his project and return to Puri. Soon after, within a few months, he set out once more at about Śaka 1436 (=1514 A.D.), but this time he stole away with only one follower accompanying him. His northern tour was not so extensive as his southern and western pilgrimage. We need not linger over the scenes of devotional ecstasy which the sacred associations of Vṛndāvana naturally produced on a devotee of his emotional capacity; but the visit to Vṛndāvana is otherwise devoid of any striking external incident. On his way back he spent a few days at the Kumbha Melā, the great bathing festival, at Prayāga (Allahabad) where he must have met many saintly ascetics and scholars. Here he appears to have met a Vaidika Brahman named Vallabha Bhaṭṭa, who cannot be the famous Vallabhācārya, and a Vaiṣṇava scholar of Tirhut, named Raghupati Upādhyāya, some of whose devotional verses are cited in the *Paḍyāvalī*² and in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa.³ He was also joined by one of his two new Bengal recruits, Rūpa, who had now, with his younger brother Anupama (after Vallabha), left home to follow him. Rūpa's elder brother Sanātana came to

1 Murli, III, 18. Kavikarṇapūra in his poem and drama omits the account of Caitanya's meeting the two brothers at Rāmakeli. The description of the *Bhakti-rasadhara* (p. 43) that Jīva, their nephew, also saw Caitanya at Rāmakeli does not appear chronologically possible.

2 Ed. S. K. De, Dacca 1934, nos. 82, 87, 91, 98, 126, 301. Also see under *Tatrabhūktā* in the same text.

3 *ब्रह्मज्ञाने आह्वानं रूपसि उपस्थानम् । विरोहिता परिहृतं च वैष्णवं ब्रह्मज्ञम्* = C-C, *Madhya* xix, 92. Raghupati's verses (nos. 82, 98, 126 in the *Paḍyāvalī*) are given in C-C as if they were uttered and discussed before Caitanya himself. Jayānanda (p. 148) refers to him as *रूपसि वैष्णव उपस्थानं ब्रह्मज्ञम्*, but his title *Upādhyāya* shows that he was a Brahman and not a Vaidya by caste.

meet Caitanya later on at Benares. With the exception of the so-called conversion of a leading Vedāntist, Prakāśānanda¹, Caitanya's presence at Benares does not appear to have been very fruitful, and made little impression in that great centre of Śiva-worship and Advaita Vedānta.² At Benares, as well as at Puri, Caitanya is represented by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja as giving elaborate instruction to Śaṅkara and Rūpa in the dogmas and doctrines of the cult, but the six long chapters of the biography which are devoted to this detailed theological exposition merely give a direct summary, with free quotations, of the learned works which the two brothers themselves composed later on.³

1 This Prakāśānanda may be the famous author of the *Vedānta-siddhānta-makirāṭa*, but there are hardly any data to identify the two. The so-called conversion, no doubt, is given as a proof of Caitanya's successful missionary effort and power of learned argumentation, but even from the missionary point of view the conversion did not prove very effective in a city like Benares. The fact of the conversion, however, is rendered rather suspicious by the somewhat vague account of Kṛṣṇadāsa, as well as by the denunciation, in a fairly immoderate language, of Prakāśānanda, put more than once in the mouth of Caitanya himself by Vyādhvananda (C-44, *Madhya* III and XI), who, however, does not expressly mention the fact of conversion. These biographers do not appear to be very amiable to this Vedāntist scholar of Benares—a fact which is somewhat unusual, indicating an extraordinary unvaiṣṇava attitude towards an alleged Vaiṣṇava convert. The story of Prakāśānanda is not mentioned by Murāri nor by Kavīkarnapūra in his two works, nor by Jayānanda and Locana-dāsa. The identity of Prakāśānanda with Prabhāśānanda is given for the first time in the spurious *Advaita-prakāśa* (ch. xvii). See B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 341-45 for references.

2 This fact, though overlaid in the pious accounts with an ostentatious description of Prakāśānanda's conversion, is clear from Caitanya's own regret recorded in those very accounts that his western travels did not well at Kāśī (काशीसे वैचिते जावि जाह्लाव मावधरति । काशीसे माह्व नाह वस्तु ना विद्या ॥ C-C, *Madhya* xxv). That Caitanya's visit produced little effect is also implied by Kavīkarnapūra's reference in the drama (in. 32) to curious Saṃnyāsins of Benares.

3 The works themselves prove the extensive learning of a life-time.

Thus passing six years, after his Saṁnyāsa, in pilgrimages till about śaka 1437=1515 A.D., Caitanya settled permanently at Puri at about the age of thirty. According to Kavikarṇapūra and Jayānanda, he lived at Torā Ādrama of Kāśīvara Mītra. With a chosen few about him he spent the remaining eighteen years in a comparatively uneventful life of worship and daily adoration of Jagannātha. The monotony was broken by the annual exodus of his Bengal disciples, as well as by occasional visits of scholars, devotees and admirers.¹ The history of this

It is unbelievable that they could learn them all by a few months' instruction. We have noted that the *Bhaṭṭi-varaṇḍīya* (ch. 1) speaks of their great Sāuric knowledge before they accepted Caitanyaiism. This might have been one of the reasons which led Caitanya to select them for the special work of producing Vaiṣṇava Sāstras. See below.

1 It is often stated too sweepingly (D. C. Sen, *Caitanya and His Age*, p. 239; *Caitanya and His Companions*, p. 200f., repeated by Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 49) that Vallabhaṭṭācārya (or Vallabha Dīkṣita as his name was), the founder of the Vaiṣṇava sect of that name, came to meet Caitanya at Allahabad (C-C, *Madhya* xia. 61-113) and at Puri (*Antya* vii). There is no satisfactory evidence to establish this as a fact. Caitanya's biography gives the name of a Vaiṣṇava visitor at Allahabad and at Puri as Vallabha Bhaṭṭa, a Vaidika Brahman of the village Aḍḍil, but (in spite of the fact that the visitor proudly informs Caitanya that he has written a gloss on the *Bhāṭṭopara*) there is nothing to show that he was the famous Vallabhaṭṭācārya. Vallabhaṭṭācārya was probably an older contemporary of Caitanya, but if such a meeting actually occurred between the founders of the two sects, it is almost unbelievable that sectarian loyalty should have omitted to mention it distinctly, and give it its due prominence and importance. In C-C, Vallabha is initiated by Gadādhara ! The *Gaura-gopāḍīya* counts him as a Parikara of Caitanya, but this is obviously on the basis of some such account as that of Kṛṣṇadāsa. The editor of the Kālā edition of the C-C (*Antya* vii, p. 732) is perhaps right in stating that the Vallabha Bhaṭṭa mentioned in the text must not be confounded with the Vallabhaṭṭācārya of the Viṣṇuśāstra or Vallabha Saṁpradāya. But see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 407 (also *Proc. Indian History Congress*, Third Session, Calcutta 1939, p. 760f.), although he admits that there was no love lost between the Vallabhaṭṭācārya and the followers of Caitanya, p. 397. Majumdar, however, believes (chiefly on the basis of 17th century legends) that Caitanya also met Nānak, Kabir and Saṅkara-dēva !

period of Caitanya's life is made up of these small incidents, as well as by the description of his religious ecstasies. His emotions grew in intensity, and became characterised by excesses of stupor, trances and frenzied energy, verging upon hysteria and dementia. To the faithful the last twelve years of his life consist of an orgy of devotional passion, of an exclusive madness of divine love (*premanmāda*). Day by day he became incapable of taking care of himself, but he was watched and tended with loving solicitude by Svarūpa Dāmodara and other intimate disciples. His prolonged emotional experiences of religious rapture must have made extraordinary demands on his highly wrought nervous system, and brought on exhaustion and constant fits of seizure.¹ Under this increasing strain of an impossible emotionalism his physical frame broke down, and he passed away in Āṣāḍha, Śaka 1455 = June, July, 1533 A.D. The piety of his followers has drawn a veil of mystery over the manner of his end; but various legends exist of disappearance in the temple and in the image of Jagannātha, as well as of his accidental drowning in the sea during one of the frequent fits of ecstasy, and even of assassination in the Guṇḍīcā temple. One of the less authoritative biographies² records perhaps the actual fact of a less sensational but rather common human death by attributing the end to a wound in the left foot, which he received from a stone during one of his usual outbursts of frenzied dancing, and which brought on septic fever resulting in an untimely death.

1 On one occasion, while returning from Vṛndāvana, Caitanya himself is said to have described these seizures as epileptic fits (*पुष्पावलि* मुद्र कमु हृद चलेत्तु C-C, Madhya xviii, 148).

2 Jayānanda, p. 150. For a discussion of the various views about Caitanya's disappearance (*śirodhāvan*) see D. C. Sen, *Caitanya and His Age*, pp. 239f. The exact date of Caitanya's death is uncertain, but B. Majumdar (pp. 21-22, 277-279) believes it to be Āṣāḍha 31, 1455 Śaka = July 9, 1533 A.D.

3. CAITANYA'S RELATION TO THE SECT AND THE CULT

Although Caitanya possessed great qualities of leadership and extraordinary power over minds of men, he did not at any time of his career concern himself directly with the organisation of his followers. Absorbed in his devotional ecstasies, he hardly ever sought to build up a cult or a sect. If such a cult or sect gathered itself round him, it was due to the charm of his personality and the powerful appeal of his evident devotion. The enthusiasm of some of his more practical, or more scholastically inclined, followers would feign to see in him a great organiser and expounder of a system, but neither propagating zeal nor theological ambition ever entered his simple life of intense religious emotion. If some notable conversions were achieved, they were not the result of any direct missionary effort on his part but, as the records themselves indicate, they were due to the powerful impression he could create on receptive minds by his outstanding religious personality. Even admitting that he could employ philosophy or theology as a weapon in argument, it was yet his intimate and vivid sense of spiritual truth which cast a mystic spell and called forth a deep and lasting response.¹ One must indeed admire Caitanya's wonderful religious enthusiasm which could enthral men of great capacity and inspire them with a life-long zeal for sectarian pioneering.

1 Kavīkarpūra states that people became Caitanya's devotees *cisopadēśina*, without instruction, by the very sight of Caitanya's devotion. But Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja never misses an opportunity of making Caitanya a veteran scholar and logician ! This is one of the differences of attitude between Caitanya's Navadvīpa and Vṛndāvana followers. The Govindīas saw Caitanya for the first time as a Sannyāsīn, but not so his Navadvīpa disciples who met him first on terms of fellowship ; the impression was naturally different. The duration and intimacy of contact, as well as time, place and circumstances, were also divergent. Kṛṣṇadāsa never saw Caitanya, while the Govindīas had only brief association with him, five probably never meeting him in person.

laborious scholarship and devotional austerity ; but to attribute this achievement to any conscious effort or purpose is to misread the whole trend of his life.

The later development of the sect and the cult, therefore, is chiefly the work of his chosen disciples and associates. At the same time, one must guard against the error of supposing that the cult and the sect were entirely created by his followers, to whom Caitanya was a mere figurehead or a willing instrument. Caitanya's personal relation to his leading disciples, as borne out by the orthodox records, clearly demonstrate that on the main lines of its growth and expansion the movement was directly inspired by the example of his life and experience, even if he did not actually persevere at the task. If he possessed the capacity, he never had, in his emotional absorption, either the time or the willingness to found a sect or a system ; but from the very beginning the movement bore the impress of his individuality and developed on the lines of his spiritual experience, which formed its greatest and most powerful asset. This was the driving force by which the movement organised and propagated itself during his lifetime, and which inspired his leading disciples to organise and propagate it after his death. As such this was his highest contribution to the sect and the cult. The standard of Vaiṣṇava life and devotion set up by his own life, the new spirit of emotionalism which he imparted to traditional piety, the wide-spread emotional appeal of the new mode of Sāṅkīrtana which he developed, the sincerity and contagious passion of his realization of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult, the expansive and liberating power of his catholic and simple ideas of worship, his devotional fancies about the Vṛndāvana settlement, his winning over of scholars and devotees who were to be the future organisers of the sect both on its practical and doctrinal sides, and inspiring them with a selfless love for the task,—in one word, his great religious life and personality clearly gave an initial direction and an impetus to the movement, which gradually organised itself

in the hands of his capable followers into a definite sect and cult.

We are concerned here not so much with the practical organisation of the sect as with the crystallisation of its dogmas and doctrines; and for our purpose it is not necessary to refer to the later history of the sect and its creed. We are not sure, however, if there was at any time any systematic organisation of the sect. When the movement started at the courtyard of Śrīvāsa after Caitanya's return from Gayā, it started, without any premeditation or previous preparation, among a small band of men in the city who cherished religious aspirations, and who instantly hailed him as the very embodiment of these aspirations. The new and spontaneous enthusiasm proved contagious, and the ranks were quickly filled; but there was as yet hardly any definite idea of establishing a cult or a sect. Nor was the very brief interval between Caitanya's return from Gayā and his Sampyāsa enough for a movement to establish itself firmly. When he left Bengal immediately after his Sampyāsa, he commended the growing group of his followers at Navadvīpa to the care of the venerable Advaita, as well as to Nityānanda, but the intimate personal contact of the Master, which was essential to its solidarity, was gone. So completely had he been the very life and soul of its activities, that his sudden renunciation and departure from Bengal must have proved a great blow to an incipient movement. No doubt, the annual reunion at Puri and its common enthusiasm and adoration of Caitanya afforded an inspiration and a bond of unity, but the movement grew and expanded somewhat haphazardly in Bengal; and there was no one on the spot who had the same power of personality and influence. Advaita was growing old, and the energy necessary for controlling the movement could not be expected of him. It is also said in the *Premā-vilāsa* that for a time Advaita gave up the way of Bhakti and reverted to the doctrine of Jñāna. No one else, not even Nityānanda, could effectively replace

Caitanya in the leadership of the sect. After Caitanya's death this became even more patent. Although they were a kind of church fathers of the faith, the six Gosvāmīna of Vṛndāvana were in fact scholars and recluses, living, as they did, far away from Bengal, and engaged in the absorbing task of preparing the authoritative books of the cult. Their theology was a matter of later deliberate development; and except in their Stotras or Namaskriyās in their dramas and poems, they seldom refer to Caitanya, and speak little of his life and his teaching. If they were devotees they were also theologians; and the disciples of the Vṛndāvana circle, as evidenced also by Kṛṣṇadāsa's biography, looked at Caitanya somewhat differently from the followers of the Navadvīpa circle whose faith was naive, simple and direct. It is true that Rūpa and Sanātana (but seldom their associate Gosvāmīna) are mentioned with respect in the earlier biographical records of Caitanya, inspired by the Navadvīpa circle; but it is at the same time noteworthy that, before Kṛṣṇadāsa produced his biography at the inspiration of the Gosvāmīna of Vṛndāvana themselves, not much is recorded of them by the Bengal writers, and they do not appear to have received as yet exclusive homage and ascendancy as the acknowledged law-givers of the faith. The phrase 'Six Gosvāmīna' (*ṣaḍ gosvāmīnaḥ*) is not used before Kṛṣṇadāsa. It was the later effort of Jīva Gosvāmīna's pupil Śrīnivāsa Ācārya, and Lokanātha's disciple, Narottama-dāsa Thākura, as well as that of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, which propagated the views of the Gosvāmīna in Bengal; but these were different from the original ideas of the Bengal devotees and biographers, who mention Sanātana and Rūpa indeed but never speak collectively of the Six Gosvāmīna.

If we are to rely on orthodox accounts, Advaita appears to have now exceeded the allotted span of three score years and ten. The leadership at Navadvīpa and adjoining places naturally fell upon Nityānanda and was almost entirely left to him. But the records of the sect themselves indicate that

Nityānanda could hardly occupy the same place in the estimation of the heterogeneous sect or possessed the same compelling power of character and personality as Caitanya did. He had also views which were perhaps far ahead of those of Caitanya. His somewhat unconventional life, about which complaints appear to have been made to Caitanya at Puri,¹ his renouncing of ascetic vows and his espousing simultaneously of two wives late in life² might have had something to do with the unpopularity against which his enthusiastic champion Vṛndāvana-dāsa takes so much pains to defend him.³ He took also the revolutionary step of admitting under the banner of Caitanyism all classes of men without any discrimination. Opinions differ in the records as to whether

1 C-śh, Antya vi.

2 He married Yaśodhā and Jāhnarī, daughters of Sūryadāsa Śikṣit. This was done, it is said, with the permission of Caitanya himself. Jayānanda (p. 3) speaks of another daughter of Sūryadāsa, named Candramukhī as a beloved of Nityānanda. The ascetic Vṛndāvana Gosvāmī apparently never liked all this.

3 कोन बैद्यनेर सोढ निखानन्द प्रति । मन्द बसे हेन देख से केवल सुखि ॥...हये एकजनेर इहवा पक्ष से । अन्य जनेर निन्दा करे कन पान से ॥ (C-śh, Ādi vi). एत परिहारेओ वे पावी निन्दा करे । गये साधि बारो छार छिनेर उपरे ॥ (Ādi 27 ; Antya vi). एर कषतारे केइ गोरक्षन नाव । निखानन्द नाम सुनि उठिया पलाव ॥ (Madhya III). ए कष कषे बार बाहिष प्रसीव । सय कषःपात छार बाहिष निमित्त ॥ (Madhya 2). हेनि निखानन्द महाप्रभुर विश्वास । केइ कुल पान कारो ना ब्रज्ये विश्वास ॥ (Antya vi), etc. It is noteworthy that the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīs (with the exception of Sanātana) never refer to Nityānanda, nor do they mention Advaita in the same terms as they do obchance and pay their homage to Caitanya. Only in the long list of Caitanya's associates and followers, given at the commencement of his *Pañcama-roṣaṇī* does Sanātana mention Nityānanda and Advaita along with others. As we have already pointed out, the doctrine of *Pañca-tattva*, which includes Nityānanda and Advaita as two of the five objects of adoration of the sect, is not acknowledged by the Gosvāmīs, but the idea appears to have originated in the Bengali works.

Nityānanda's bold action received the entire approval of Caitanya himself ; but it seems likely that it was in conflict with Caitanya's inherited regard for the established social order.¹ There is enough evidence to show that Caitanya, in

1 Caitanya's attitude towards questions of caste and social order in general appears to be rather complex. No doubt, Caitanya is reported to have discarded his tuft of hair and sacred thread (*śikha* and *śūra*) at the time he took Sannyāsa, and his staff, symbolical of asceticism, was broken by Nityānanda on his way to Puri. He felt no hesitation in embracing Haridāsa, Rūpa and Sanātana and admitting them to fellowship ; but separate living quarters were arranged for them, and there was some discrimination about eating food with them. All these disciples of questionable social status scrupulously kept away from the Jagannātha temple, and Caitanya himself appears to have approved of their action in doing so (C-C, Antya iv, 118-132 ; Madhya xl, 164-168, 206). Even if he himself might not have any prejudice against caste, he upheld the prejudice of others ; and the story of his commendation of Sanātana's action in avoiding the temple road is thus given by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja (C-C, Antya iv, 130-132) : "The Lord was very pleased in his mind and expressed his satisfaction by saying this to Sanātana : 'It is the nature of a Bhakta to observe propriety, for the maintenance of propriety is the ornament of a truly pure man. People ridicule when propriety is transgressed, and both worlds are lost. You have observed propriety and my mind is pleased. If you do not act thus, who will ?' " Much of this conservatism is apparent, as we shall see, in Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's *Harī-bhakti-viṭāna*, which recognises caste restrictions in ritualistic worship. On the other hand, Caitanya is reported to have said to Sanātana and Rūpa that there is no consideration of caste or family in the worship of Kṛṣṇa ; but this appears to mean only religious, and not social, fellowship. This is perhaps what is meant when he is reported to have declared that worship, or Sakhībhāva, or reciting of name is open to all from a Cāṇḍāla to a Brahman ; and women as well as men, have an equal right here. In this respect there is no exclusiveness. Caitanya never, for instance, encouraged any particular caste or person to the monopoly of the function of a spiritual guide or teacher, himself selecting men like Rūpa, Sanātana and Raghunātha-dāsa for the task of propagating the faith. But admitting all this, a somewhat curious distinction appears to have been implied between religious and social spheres ; the broadening of religious privileges was not taken necessarily to mean enlargement of social rights. There is no evidence that Caitanya ever wanted to inter-

proclaiming obliteration of distinctions, never meant a total disruption of social usage and tradition. Catholicity and equality in matters of worship, which Caitanya certainly upheld, did not perhaps imply nor permit a vigorous practical application of the idea in social matters. At any rate, most of his associates and followers, inclusive of Advaita, appear to have adopted the conservative attitude¹ and they either did not approve of the step or stood aloof from it. Thus, an important difference arose early in the sect which had enduring consequences. It was aggravated by the fact that there was no real co-ordination between the different groups which had sprung up spontaneously and independently around Caitanya or around some of his immediate associates. We hear of the adorers of Caitanya's Nāgara-bhāva, followers of Advaita, admirers of Gadādhara, devotees as well as detractors of Nityānanda. Each of Caitanya's associates and devotees appears to have developed a considerable community

fare actively with the established social order, with the time-honoured Varyākrama Dharma; his sole concern with caste or other social restrictions was that they should not interfere with community of worship, but this did not imply community in eating or other social concerns, which should be governed by the established rules. If such community of worship did often break down social or caste convention, it was inevitable, but incidental. This never appears to have been his real object; and it is doubtful if Caitanya fully recognized the logical implications of such an attitude of common worship. There is nothing to show that he did, or that he sympathized with the radicalism of some of his followers (like Nityānanda) who wanted to work out the implications. The much talked of universal brotherhood which Caitanya is often said to have promulgated must be understood in this sense: what he wanted was not social, but religious, freedom and fellowship. It should be frankly admitted that the indications of the texts are somewhat confusing; but one need not emphasize only some of the anti-caste inclinations of Caitanya's religious (and never social) attitude, and unnecessarily make him out to be (in the light of modern ideas) a great social reformer, which he never pretended to be.

1 In recent years the sect appears to have gone back, more or less, to conservatism in social matters.

of disciples of his own, and taught the cult of Bhakti according to the light each had received in his own way from the Master.

In spite of this lack of solidarity in the history of the sect, there was a certain agreement on the doctrinal and theological side. Some of the old dogmas were, no doubt, modified and new dogmas were developed, while a definite cult of the worship of Caitanya himself was established; but the creed and tenets as fixed by the Gosvāmīs of Vṛndāvana prevailed and ruled the whole community. To these six Gosvāmīs,¹ therefore, and their work we must look for the fundamental doctrines of the cult.

1 The origin of the term 'Gosvāmīs' is obscure and uncertain. It is employed in Middle Bengali (Ghazalīna and Kāvīkathan) in the general sense of 'lord' or 'master', as well as in the sense of 'religious mendicant or teacher.' Literally, it means 'lord of cows'. It is used as an honourific title by the Caitanya sect to signify an authoritative religious teacher or guide. The term may have originated or at least obtained currency from the peculiar theory of Caitanyaism that the only and original form, dress and occupation of Kṛpā as the supreme being is that of a Gopa; his faithful devotee is necessarily a 'cow-lord'.

CHAPTER III

THE SIX GOSVĀMINS OF VRNDĀVANA

I. GENERAL REMARKS

If Caitanya did not concern himself actively in the work of organising his followers, still less did he take upon himself the work of a thinker or writer. However much intellectual pride he is reported to have possessed in his youth, he gave up his scholastic pursuits almost entirely after his return from Gayā. A man of his great emotional capacity was hardly ever fit for serious or sustained intellectual effort, for which he never showed any particular bent, and which became more and more impossible as years went on. To him spiritual realization was not a matter of speculative discussion; and on one occasion he confessed to Raghunātha-dāsa¹ that his follower Svarūpa Dāmodara knew more about theology than he himself did. In spite of the fact that some of his scholastic biographers delight in depicting Caitanya as a trained theorist expounding with precision² a whole theological system, we are not sure that he had any settled system in his mind, or ever relied on mere theological discourses. The theology that is attributed to him by Kṛṣṇadāsa is clearly the theology of a later day, in which Kṛṣṇadāsa himself was severely trained. This is, however, not the impression given by Murāri-gupta Vṛndāvana-dāsa and other biographers of the Navadvīpa circle, who avoid the exaggerated scholastic colouring and enlarge more upon Caitanya's ecstatic devotion and power of

1 C-C, Aṅga vi. 233-34.

2 In one place he is represented as explaining a text in 81 different ways. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, no doubt, loves to invest Caitanya with the omniscience of a śāstric Paṇḍita, but he also indicates that in his ecstatic absorption Caitanya was careless of mere śāstric knowledge.

working miracles. It must not also be forgotten that the significance of Caitanya's teaching lies not so much in his special interpretation of this or that text, but in the reality and force of his inner spiritual experience, which gave him an extraordinary power over the minds of men. The whole trend, indeed, of Caitanya's life was against his being an exact scholar or thinker, and his practice of a highly wrought emotionalism stood in the way of serious intellectual pursuits. When Caitanya closed his *paṭ* after his return from Gayā, he shut up his books and said to his pupils that for him lessons were finished from that day.¹ The words became almost literally prophetic, for in after-years he hardly ever opened a book for serious study, and hardly ever wrote anything. The scholarly pursuits of a Pandit, the pride of learning, the zest for dialectic disputations—all passed out of his life, which now began to move in a new atmosphere of entirely different interests. Outside the *Śrīmad-bhāgavatā*, the newly discovered *Brahma-saṃhita*, the *Saṃgīta-nāṭaka* of Rāmānanda, and the devotional lyrics of Līlāṭaka, Jayadeva, Vidyāpati and Caṇḍiḍāsa,² he appears to have relished next to nothing.³ It

१ लोभा सुभास्वाने मोर एह परिहार । जानइते चार पाठ नादिक
जायार ॥...एह सोल महाप्रभु मभारे कहिया । दिखेन पुचिर मोर अश्रुतिहु
हुया ॥ (C-hh, Madhya 1).

२ अचरोदास विद्यापति रायेर नाटकगोवि कर्णवृत्त श्रीगीतगोविन्द ।
सकल रामानन्द मने महाप्रभु रात्रिदिने नाच सुने परम जानन्द ॥ (C-C,
Madhya II 77). विद्यापति अचरोदास श्रीगीतगोविन्द । एह तिम गीते
करे प्रभुर जानन्द ॥ (C-C, Madhya 2-115). विद्यापति अचरोदास श्रीगीतगो-
विन्द । भावाश्रुसक कोक पडे राग रामानन्द ॥ मन्थे मन्थे प्रभु जायने
कोक पडिया । श्रीकेर चर्य करेन प्रभु प्रभाव करिया ॥ (C-C, Antya
xvii 6-7).

३ It should be recognised that the extremely emotional mode of Caitanya's religious devotion never made any demand upon the intellect, nor wanted the nourishment of any other interest. There was no study, and no production. He lived in and for mystic ecstasies and trances ;

nothing, he transferred his own energy into his disciples like Rūpa and inspired them to reveal the doctrines.¹ The attribution to him, therefore, of any specific work or specific doctrine is more a matter of pious belief than a positive historical fact. It is indeed difficult to say how much of the elaborate theologising, which is piously put in his mouth, was actually uttered by him ; for his reported utterances are in fact faithful summaries of the highly scholastic texts of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīns themselves, who, as leisured recluses, could devote their keenly trained minds to the construction of elaborate system. In chapter after chapter of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa, Caitanya is credited with stupendous Śāstric learning, highly philosophical discourses, great scholastic ingenuity, marvels of interpretation in expounding finely finished theological and rhetorical systems of Bhakti ; but the general impression, given by the orthodox accounts themselves, of Caitanya's life of continuous and absorbing devotion-al ecstasies, as well as his own disclaimer (explained as the result of his humility) of all such pretensions, certainly throw considerable doubt upon his personal responsibility in such scholastic pursuits. It is not clear, therefore, how far these texts of a later time actually represent Caitanya's own views. No doubt, Caitanya is represented as commissioning Rūpa and Sanātana to prepare these learned texts as the doctrinal foundations of the faith, and suggesting to them elaborate outlines and schemes ; but these outlines and schemes are so suspiciously faithful to the actual and much later products of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīns themselves that they take away whatever truth there might have been in the representation. That some such relation existed between Caitanya and his Vṛndāvana followers is highly probable, but excessive zeal

1 *Nana granthādī-narasaṁgrāhānāṁ śikṣā-vistāraṇaṁ na tyaktvā, granthā-dīhā ko'pi na kṛtaḥ śrī-kṛpā-caitanyaena, katham tad vastu-prathanam (in vācyaṁ) bhagavatā sākṣat grantha-lāṣaṇābhīnānānāṁ hṛdā brahmaṇī brahma-prakāśitavac chṛī-rūpādīṣu vevuḥ hṛdī śaktiṁ samudārya tat-tad-dvārāṇaṁ vevuḥ prakāśitam iti.* (pp. 107-8).

has represented it in a distorted perspective. It is also noteworthy in this connexion that the actual personal contact of Rūpa and Sanātana with Caitanya was indeed very brief,¹ while there is no evidence to show that Jīva ever had this good fortune. It is almost unbelievable that within the period of a few months at most they could have been instructed in the whole range and depth of the Bhakti-śāstra and in every such detail of doctrine as they set it forth in their elaborate and voluminous works. It is certainly true that Caitanya inspired these men of great talent with a life-long zeal for the task, which made them scorn delight and live laborious days; he might have also suggested to them his own ideas of devotion, born out of his own religious realisation; and above all, his life itself must have furnished them a vivid text to enlarge and comment upon.² But to hold him

1 Rūpa was sent by Caitanya to Vṛndāvana immediately after meeting him at Prayāga (Allahabad), but he came to Puri later on and stayed only for ten months (C-C, Anya I and IV, 26). Sanātana met Caitanya at Benares and later on came to Puri for a short while. Locana-dāsa is not supported by any other biographer in the statement that Sanātana was present at the time of Caitanya's passing away. Kavitarapūra's account, in his poem, that all the three brothers (including Vallabha) came to Puri together and adored Caitanya lacks corroboration, for it is not accepted by Kṛpadāsa who otherwise draws liberally upon Kavitarapūra's account. It is Kṛpadāsa Kavirāja, as their disciple and associate at Vṛndāvana, who supplies the longest and best information about Sanātana and Rūpa, the other Bengal biographers knowing little of them at first hand.

2 We have seen that, according to the Bhakti-ratnākar, Sanātana and Rūpa were already well versed in śāstric learning as well as predisposed towards Vaiṣṇavism when Caitanya met them; and this must have been one of the reasons why Caitanya selected them for the special task of systematising the theology of the sect. It is noteworthy that Sanātana Govindā in the 11th verse of his *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta* states:

*bhagavad-bhakti-śāstrāṅgam ayaṁ śāstrya saṃgrahaḥ /
anubhūtarāya caitanya-dēve tat-prīya-rūpatāḥ //*

The word *anubhūtarāya* here is significant. Sanātana does not say that

responsible for every fine point of dogma and doctrine elaborated by the Vyndāvana Gosvāmīs would indicate an undoubtedly pious, but entirely unhistorical, imagination.

Whatever might have been the case, the fact remains that Caitanya never thought it necessary to emulate the founders of other Vaiṣṇava sects in the writing of religious or speculative works himself, nor did he care much about putting together all that he taught and practised. He left his own life and personality as an inspiring example of devotion, and as his best legacy to his faithful followers. On his immediate and intimate disciples, therefore, fell the laborious task of systematising the doctrines and practices of the faith and defining

he actually received any direct instruction in these matters, but that he is compiling what he has felt about the character of Bhakti in Caitanya himself. Again, at the end of the *Dīpādarśanī* commentary to the same work, Śaṅkara states:

*avyaṅga-pravartitāḥ kṛtāmāḥ mamaiva līlā-kāṇḍa-draśyā/
līlām-caitanya-rūpa'sau bhāgavatān pṛtyaśaṅg saṁdī //*

which speaks indeed of inspiration received from Caitanya, but not of direct instruction by him. This is perhaps what is meant by the reference to Rūpa in the well known line: *śrī-caitanya-mano'bhīkṣam arhāpīyaṁ yena bhāṭale*. Rūpa himself similarly speaks of inspiration from Caitanya (*Apdī yasya prerayāḥ pravartitā'haṁ varṇita-rūpa'pi*). But in the works of the Gosvāmīs there is nowhere any acknowledgment of direct instruction by Caitanya, as alleged by Kṛpādīna Kavirāja. Had it been a fact, they must have prominently mentioned it. Nor is this fact mentioned in any other biography of Caitanya than that of Kṛpādīna. It is also noteworthy that, with the exception of the usual Namaskṛiyā in their various works and of a few hymns by Raghunātha-dāsa and Rūpa which we shall discuss below, the Gosvāmīs nowhere speak directly of Caitanya nor give expression to their views about Caitanya. They are chiefly concerned with the exposition of Kṛpā-līlā and never describe Caitanya-līlā. No doubt, they accept the divinity of Caitanya (e.g. in the Namaskṛiyā in Śaṅkara's *Viśṇu-saṁhita*: *vande śrī-kṛpā-caityaṁ bhāgavatān kṛpāraṇam / prema-bhakti-vibhūtiḥ kām-gaṇḍarvavataḥ yabī //*; verse 2 of *Bhakti-rasāmṛta*: *saṁyā hārṣī padā-kamalaṁ vande caitya-dvaya*); but beyond this they hardly ever speak directly about his life and personality. Caitanya-worship does not appear to have been a creed with them.

its creed. This his Navadvīpa followers had not done ; perhaps they had not the training and capacity to do it properly. Caitanya, therefore, chose Sanātana and Rūpa for the highly technical and difficult task for which they appeared fully competent. How much of these teachings is Caitanya's and how much their own will never be definitely known ; but it is probable that much of them, written within a few years after his death, was directly inspired by his personal example and teaching. Upon the two brothers Rūpa and Sanātana, Caitanya himself is said to have imposed the special task of expressing its theology and its Rasa-sāstra, in which they were very materially reinforced by the mystical-metaphysical scholarship of their nephew Jīva. They were men of great literary capacity, acute theologians and passionate poets, as well as ascetic devotees. Their authoritative position as the fit and chosen disciples especially instructed and commissioned for the exacting task, their austere and saintly character, their selfless devotion to the cause, and their laborious and life-long scholarship gave them a unique influence as the three authoritative Gosvāmīs or teachers of the cult. As such, they had been held in the highest veneration in the later history of the sect. With these was closely associated Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, alleged to have been a South Indian Brahman, whose name and attainments are held with almost equal veneration. His chief task appears to have been the codification, probably in collaboration with Sanātana, of the Vaiṣṇava social and religious practices in a voluminous compilation, which forms the most authoritative ritualistic text of the cult. To these four Gosvāmīs were added Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, who does not appear to have written much, and Raghunātha-dāsa, whose passionate devotional sensibilities produced a Sanskrit poetical work of the Campū type on Kṛṣṇa-līlā and a series of fervent Sanskrit poems and panegyrics, as well as Bengali lyrics on the same erotic-mystic theme.

These were the six Gosvāmīs to whom belongs the credit of working out and defining the whole system of tenets pecu-

liar to Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. The works of the Navadvīpa and Vṛndāvana circles of followers respectively were produced at about the same time, but the 'Six Gosvāmīs' as such are never, for obvious reason, spoken of by Muṇḍirī, Karmapūra, Vṛndāvana, Jayānanda and Locana, although individually Sanātana and Rūpa are mentioned, as well as Gopāla Bhaṭṭa and Raghunātha-dāsa.¹ By the middle of the 17th century, however, the learned Bengali biography of Caitanya by Kṛṣṇa-dāsa Kavirāja, as well as the zeal of Śrinivāsa Ācārya and Narottama-dāsa, made the views of the Six Gosvāmīs accepted as authoritative in Bengal, so much so that they came almost to eclipse every other point of view. It was the inspiration and teaching of the six pious and scholarly Gosvāmīs which came to determine finally the doctrinal trend of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism which, however modified and supplemented in later times, dominated throughout its subsequent history. To them was due the building up of modern Vṛndāvana as the chief intellectual and religious centre of the sect, where its philosophy, its theology, its ritualism and its Rāsa-dāstra were created. They reclaimed the sacred sites, identified them, and gave to each a distinctive name; they made their wealthy disciples and admirers build the great temples, groves, and bathing places, and thus laid the foundations of its modern glory and sanctity. It was indeed their eminence and influence which gave a marked primacy to the Bengal school over other rival schools in the holy city associated with the name of Kṛṣṇa.²

1 Before Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (i.e. before 1615 A.D.), the term 'Six Gosvāmīs' is never used in the previous biographies of Caitanya. The name of Jīva does not appear at all. Muṇḍirī mentions Gopāla Bhaṭṭa (iii. 15, 15-16), Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa (iv. 1, 17), Raghunātha-dāsa (iv. 17-21), and Sanātana and Rūpa (iii. 18, 1-2; iv. 13, 6, 11 f). Vṛndāvana-dāsa only mentions Rūpa and Sanātana. Kavikarmapūra in his poem (xvii. 7-24) and drama (ix. 28, 29, 34, 37) refers to Rūpa, Sanātana and Raghunātha-dāsa.

2 Growse in his *History of Mithura* (p. 241) relates a story of Emperor Akbar's visit to these Gosvāmīs at Vṛndāvana in 1573 A.D.

Not much is known about the details of their life, but most of their works have survived.¹ Without exception they adopted Sanskrit as their medium of expression. The adoption of the almost obsolete and pedantic classical language was probably prompted by the idea of the sanctity and authority attached to the learned Deva-bhāṣā as befitting their classical works. But perhaps there was also the temptation of appealing to a larger learned public, as well as of emulating the standard Sanskrit texts of other schools and obtaining equal recognition.

2. RAGHUNĀTHA-DĀSA

Of Raghunātha-dāsa, who lived with Caitanya for many years at Puri, a great deal is known from Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja (Antya vi), who was his intimate friend and disciple at Vṛndāvana, and who must have made a considerable use of the personal reminiscences of this venerable Gosvāmin in his account of the last phase of Caitanya's career. Raghunātha-dāsa's life presents yet another example, not rare in this period of religious revival, of the renunciation of worldly eminence and fortune for the sake of spiritual advancement. He was the son of a rich Kāyastha, named Govardhana, a zamindar of Saptagrāma in the district of Hooghly, who is said to have enjoyed a princely income of twelve lakhs of rupees; but the heir to this immense fortune evinced deep religious tendencies from his boyhood, which proved disquieting to his father. On the occasion of Caitanya's visit to Śāntipur on his way to Rāmakeli, Raghunātha is said to have met Caitanya for the first time. Raghunātha's meeting with

and of his recognition of their spiritual activities. The wealthy Rajas of the West, who were their disciples, contributed towards the building of the fine temples, seven of the oldest and finest of which are ascribed to these Gosvāmīs. See *Grove, op. cit.*, for details.

1 Most of these works have been published in Bengali characters at Ranchampur-Murshidabad by the Radhakrishnan Press. In the lists given below, these have been marked with an asterisk. Those printed at Vṛndāvana and elsewhere are separately indicated.

Nityānanda later on¹ at Pāṇihāṭī, near Calcutta, stimulated his spiritual longings further, and very soon he escaped the vigilance of his apprehensive father and left, as Kṛṣṇadāsa tells us, wealth befitting Indra and a wife like an Apsaras (इन्द्रस्य वैश्वर्ग्यं श्री चक्रराजस्य). This is confirmed by Raghunātha's own statement in his *Gaurāṅga-stava-kalpataru* that Caitanya saved him from the influence of wealth and wife (*mahāsaṃpad-dārād api*).² After an arduous journey, he reached Caitanya at Puri, where he was handed over for spiritual training to Svārūpa Dāmodara. The extreme austerities which Raghunātha practised was a thing of wonder even to the devout Vaiṣṇavas, and Caitanya himself is said to have acknowledged their depth and sincerity.³ According to Kavīkarṇapūra (*Caitanya-candrodaya*, x. 3), Raghunātha's Dīkṣā-guru was Yadunandana Ācārya; but Raghunātha himself in some of his poems⁴ pays homage to Rūpa Gosvāmī

1 This meeting is commemorated by an annual festivity, called *Dapḍa-mahotava*. The origin of the festivity and its quaint name are thus explained. Perceiving that Raghunātha was filled with a desire for ascetic life, but outwardly engrossed in worldly concerns, Nityānanda laughingly called him a "dissembler" and pronounced a punishment (*dapḍa*) on him that he should feed all the assembled Vaiṣṇavas. The rich young man, in obedience, gave a sumptuous feast and distributed large sums of money among the Vaiṣṇava guests. The account is to be found in C-C. Antya vi. It is curious, however, that Raghunātha nowhere mentions Nityānanda in his works, although in his *Caitanyā-śṛṅga* and *Gaurāṅga-stava-kalpataru*, he refers to Nitya Puri, Govinda, Kāśī Mītra and Svārūpa. It is also noteworthy that, with the exception of Murāri, Kavīkarṇapūra and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Raghunātha is not mentioned by the other biographers of Caitanya.

2 The alternative reading is *mahāsaṃpad-dārād api* ("from the consuming fire of great wealth").

3 रघुनाथेर वैराग्य (v. l. विषय 'इय वायाथेर रेखा IC-C. Antya vi, 309).

4 *Abhījñānaśākuntala*, śl. 2; *Menakā-līlā*, śl. 11, 12; *Śaṅkha-yama-dalaka* śl. 10; *Radhā-kṛṣṇa-mohana-kusuma-līlā*, śl. 44; *Vijñānānanda-morra*, śl. 134; *Dāsa-līlā-vinodanug*, śl. 174-175. But *Abhījñānaśākuntala* śl. 12 says: श्री पुष्पको भीमान् काकपीश्वर, but the commentator apparently reads श्री कपोश्वर.

as his śikṣā-guru. After Caitanya's death he is said to have left Puri for Vṛndāvana, where he joined Rūpa and Sanātana and lived a self-imposed life of hard asceticism near Rādhā-kuṇḍa till his death. Caitanya had entrusted him with a Govardhana-līlā, a dark-coloured stone used as an emblem of Kṛṣṇa, which he nourished and tended with deep devotion, dally bathing it, feeding it and worshipping it with elaborate service. From his *Vraja-vilāsa-stava* (Śl. 2), it appears that he became blind in his old age; and his *Dānakeli-cīnīdṛaṇī* (Śl. 2 and 173) was composed after he had become blind. He was the only non-Brahman (Kāyastha) disciple among the Six Gosvāmīs, but the honour paid to him is no less on that account.

His literary works,¹ which deal, in impassioned Sanskrit verse and prose, with the mystic-erotic aspects of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa worship, are not very extensive. They are mostly in the nature of fervent lyrical hymns, Stavas or Stotras, which have been collected together and published under the title "*Stāvadvallī*." They are either devout praises of Caitanya (e. g. *Caitanyāṣṭaka*, nine stanzas in Śikharīṇī; *Gaurāṅga-stava-kalpotaru*, twelve stanzas also in Śikharīṇī), but most of them give an emotional treatment in highly erotic imagery of the various aspects of Kṛṣṇa-līlā. The total number of these hymns is twenty-nine, and they are of varying lengths and are

1 For the literary works of Raghunātha see below under ch. vii.—Yadanandana Ācārya is mentioned in C-C, Antya vi. 161 as Advaita's disciple and Raghunātha's Guru.

2 As already indicated above, works marked with an asterisk (as here) have been published at Murshidabad (Berhampur) by the Radha-raman Press, in Bengali characters and generally with a Bengali translation. The *Stāvadvallī* has been printed with a Sanskrit commentary by Vaṇḍetvara (or Vaṇḍetbāri) whose title is differently given in the work itself as Vidyābhūṣaṇa and Vidyābhāṣīna. A commentary, or rather gloss, ascribed to Raghunātha himself, is noticed in Eggeling's *India Office Catalogue*, vii, pp. 146-7 (no. 1177). From the extracts quoted as specimens, this appears to be different from the commentary of Vaṇḍetvara.

composed in a variety of metres, although Śikharigī and Mālinī appear to have been the author's favourite metres. Some of the longest and best known are: the *Viḷāpa-kusumāñjali* (104 stanzas in diverse metres), *Rādhā-kṛṣṇajvala-kusumakellī* (44 stanzas in Śikharigī), *Viśākhānanda-stotra* (134 verses in Śloka metre) and *Vraja-viḷāpa-stava* (107 stanzas in various metres¹). The purely poetic merit of these Stavas cannot be estimated very highly, but their evident erotic mysticism, consisting of a deeply emotional spiritualisation of sensuous forms, gives them a rich and luscious charm and a sweet ring of passion, which bear a striking testimony to an interesting feature of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. The original inspiration of these poems comes, of course, from the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, and from Jayadeva's highly finished lyrical *Gīta-govinda*, which, we are told, were the constant sources of the ecstatic emotions of Caitanya himself; but the *Śrī-kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* of Līlāśuka, which Caitanya is said to have discovered in his Southern tour and commended in superlative terms to his

1 The printed Stotras in the collection, besides those mentioned above are: *Prāṇhaṇḍī* (4 verses in Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Mālinī, Śikharigī and Śṛṅgadhārī), *Govardhana-traya-dalaka* (11 verses in Śārdūlavikrīḍita); *Govardhana-rāsa-prāṇhaṇḍī-dalaka* (11 verses in Mālinī), *Rādhā-lagḍī-ṣṭaka* (9 verses in Mālinī), *Prema-pārābhidha-stotra* (11 verses in Mālinī), *Prāṇhaṇḍī* (4 verses in diverse metres), *Sva-niyama-dalaka* (11 verses in Śikharigī), *Rādhā-lagḍī-gītāra-lasa-nāma* (in Śloka metre, 47 verses), *Rādhā-lagḍī-ṣṭaka* (9 verses in Mālinī), *Prema-bhāṣa-maṇḍālikā-stava-rāje* (13 verses in Śloka metre), *Sva-saṅkalpa-prakāśa* (21 verses in Bhujagapūyā, Śikharigī, etc.), *Prāṇhaṇḍī* (20 verses in Śikharigī, Mandākrāntā, Pṛthvī, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Upendrapāṇī, Śṛṅgadhārī etc.), *Nardīṣṭaka* (9 verses in Śārdūlavikrīḍita), *Gopāla-rāje-stotra* (13 verses in Mālinī), *Madanagopāla-stotra* (22 verses in Mālinī), *Madanāṣṭaka* (9 verses in Mālinī), *Utkarṣā-dalaka* (11 verses in Śārdūlavikrīḍita), *Nava-yuva-dṛandva-dīpīkṣṭaka* (9 verses in Mālinī), *Abhīṣa-prāṇhaṇḍī-ṣṭaka* (8 verses in Śikharigī), *Dāna-nivartana-lagḍīṣṭaka* (9 verses in Mālinī), *Prāṇhaṇḍī-traya-caruḍalaka* (14 verses in Śikharigī, Vasantatīlaka, Mālinī, Mandākrāntā, etc.), *Abhīṣa-rāsa* (13 verses in Indravajrā, Vasantatīlaka, Mālinī, Mandākrāntā, Śṛṅgadhārī, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, etc.).

disciples, must have had a great deal of influence on this type of writing in Bengal. Raghunātha's only sustained composition, however, was his *Muktā-caritra*,¹ a Sanskrit Kāvya of the Campū type written in prose and occasional verse, but interspersed with witty dialogues. The theme is Kṛṣṇa's early sports at Vṛndāvana, its object being to show the superiority of his free love for Rādhā over his wedded love for Satyabhāmā. On Satyabhāmā's somewhat naïve enquiry as to whether pearls grew on trees, Kṛṣṇa himself relates a fanciful story of his sowing pearls at Vṛndāvana and producing pearl-creepers, which bore pearls as fruits, of the failure of Rādhā and her companions at a similar effort, of their offer to buy Kṛṣṇa's pearls, of their subsequent raillery, of the witty repartee, amorous dialogues and adventures following upon the incident. In this work, as well as in some of the Stotras mentioned above, Raghunātha pays homage to the kindness and affection shown to him by Rūpa, Sanātana and Jīva, and in the last verse of the *Muktā-caritra* he speaks of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in whose company at Rādhā-kuṇḍa he passed his last days in Vṛndāvana. Raghunātha probably wrote some other poetical works, for the three verses cited with his name in the *Padyāraṇ* are not traceable in the poems mentioned above. A work called *Dāna-carita*,² is ascribed to him in the

1 Ed. Nityasvarup Brahmachari, in Bengali characters, with a Bengali translation, Vṛndāvan 1908.

2 This is not the namesake Sanskrit work noticed in Eggeling's *India Office Catalogue* (vii, p. 1470b, no. 1184d) and ascribed to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, perhaps wrongly. The India Office work is written in prose and verse, and consists of four chapters, the descriptive titles of which will indicate their respective themes: (i) *Vaṁsa-caurya-keli*, (ii) *Bhāra-bhaṅga*, (iii) *Pāra-bhaṅga*, and (iv) *Dānakhaṅga*, which form the various well known aspects of Kṛṣṇa's sport. From the passages quoted in Eggeling's *Catalogue* it appears that this work, attributed to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, is identical with the *Rādhā-premāṅga* (ed. Murshidabad, Radharaman Press, B.S. 1335=1929 A.D.; the name of the author being given here as one Mohanmohana Lihikī Vidyālakṣṇa of the village Māṅga !), the authorship of which is sometimes also ascribed to

Bhakti-ratnākara (ch. i, p. 59). This appears to be the *Dāna-kell-cinudmāṇi*,¹ which in 175 highly erotic stanzas in different metres, gives an imaginary account of the Dāna-līlā of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, a theme which is also treated under the caption *Dāna-khaṇḍa* by Baḍa Caṇḍīdāsa² in a somewhat different strain and which finds another expression in Rūpa's *Dāna-kell-kaumudī*. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja tells us (C-C Anṭya xiv. 7) that like Śvarūpa Dāmodara, Raghunātha also wrote some biographical account of Caitanya in the *Kaṇḍa* form,³ but of this there is no information. There are also three Bengali Padas assigned to him in the Bengali Vaiṣṇava anthology, *Pada-kalpataru* of Vaiṣṇava-dāsa.⁴

Caitanya himself. The work is also known as *Gopālā-carita*. It cannot be the composition of a modern author, for two verses from it are cited in Rūpa Govindin's *Padyāraṇī* and assigned to Manohara (see S. K. De, ed. of *Padyāraṇī* p. 216).

1 Ed. Haridas Das, Navadvīpa 1937, in Bengali characters.

2 Ed. Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat, Calcutta 1916, p. 33 f.

3 In C-C. Nāḍya ii. 84, 93, Raghunātha is said to have committed Śvarūpa's *Kaṇḍa* to memory and thus preserved it; but in Anṭya xiv. 7-10, Śvarūpa is called the *Sūtrākāra* and Raghunātha the *Vṛtikāra*, pointing to collaboration.

4 The commentary on Rūpa Govindin's *Dāna-kell-kaumudī* is wrongly ascribed to Raghunātha-dāsa in Aufrecht. It was composed by Jīva. To Raghunātha-dāsa, as well as to his namesake Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, is sometimes wrongly attributed the *Govinda-līlāmṛta* which was really the work of their friend and disciple Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, who is described in xliii. 95 as "a bee to the lotus-feet of Rūpa and Raghunātha" (see *Ind. Ant.*, 1928, p. 208). A *Sāra-sāra-tattva-saṅgraha* is ascribed also to Raghunātha in a manuscript noticed in *Mira, Notices*, vi. no. 2133, p. 214. It proposes to deal with the five Tattvas, viz., Gura, Kṛṣṇa, Nāman, Bhakti and Bhakta, for these are regarded as *sāra-sāra-parāṭ parāṭ param*. But the colophon simply says: *in sāra-sāra-tattva-saṅgrahaḥ padārthādyān sajjha-vivṛtaḥ*. The topic is dealt with also by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in C-C. Ādi vii. 3-17. As Śvarūpa Dāmodara is credited by Kavitarapāda with the doctrine of *Pañca-tattva*, it is not unlikely that Śvarūpa's disciple Raghunātha also wrote a work on the subject. Ananda (p. 125) refers to Śvarūpa's work on *Pañca-tattva* as *Gaura-tattva-nīrūpaṇa*.

3. RAGHUNĀTHA BHATTA

Of Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa nothing much is known, and he does not appear to have left any work. Murāri (iv. 1. 15-17) tells us that Caitanya met his father Tapana Miśra at Benares, where Caitanya became his guest on his journey back from Vṛndāvana and revealed his grace to the boy Raghunātha. Later on Raghunātha came to Caitanya at Puri and stayed there for eight months. At Caitanya's direction he returned home : and after four years, on the death of his parents, he came again to Puri and stayed for eight months. He was then directed by Caitanya to join Rūpa and Sanātana at Vṛndāvana, where he appears to have lived thereafter. Caitanya is said to have given him a Tulasi garland. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja tells us that the Bhaṭṭa was well read in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, and Rūpa used to take delight in his reading of that scripture.¹

4. GOPĀLA BHATTA

Apart from uncertain legends, there is no full nor satisfactory account of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. Nothing practically is recorded of him by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, who refers to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa (Ādi 1. 37) as one of his śikṣā-gurus,² and must have known him quite well during the last phase of his life at Vṛndāvana. Narahari Cakravartin, in the first half of the 18th century, explains³ this extraordinary silence as due to an express prohibition, befitting his Vaiṣṇava humility, by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa himself, and undertakes to remedy this deficiency by a curious account in his own *Bhakti-ratnākara*.⁴

1 C.C. Ananya sll. 117, 126-29.

2 Other references to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa occur at Ādi 2. 105, 21. 4 : Madhya xviii. 49.—On Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, see S. K. De in *Indian Culture*, v, 1928-29, pp. 57-71.

3 श्रीगोपाल भट्ट इह देवा आह्वा दित । घन्ये निज प्रसन्न बलिने निवेदित ॥
केन निवेदित इहा के बलिने पारे । निरन्तर अति शीन माने आपनारे ॥
बहिराज सार आह्वा नारे बलिपार । नाममात्र सिद्धे ना करे प्रभार ॥

4 Ed. Radhakrishnan Press, Berhampur-Murchidabad, ch. 1, pp. 6-16.

The tradition recorded by Narahari informs us that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was the son of Veṅkaṭa Bhaṭṭa, a learned Brahman of Southern India, at whose house Caitanya was a guest for four months during his South Indian pilgrimage; but no information is given regarding the place where Veṅkaṭa lived. Veṅkaṭa's elder brother was Trimalla and younger Prabodhānanda; they were worshippers of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa and belonged to the Śrīvaiṣṇava sect; but through the grace of Caitanya, they, as well as young Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, were inspired with a devotion for Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa worship. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa further receiving Caitanya's direction to leave later for Vṛndāvana and meet Rūpa and Sanātana there.¹ He was educated by his uncle Prabodhānanda and, in a short time, went to Vṛndāvana with the permission of his parents. Narahari tells us that of all this there is a special account in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (चैतन्यचरितामृतं विदेष-वर्णनं) meaning Kṛṣṇadāsa's biography; but he acknowledges that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's name does not appear there in this connexion (गोपाल महेर नाम सम्बद्ध स्यात्). But as an explanation he further states that 'elsewhere' it is found that Gopāla was the son of Veṅkaṭa (सम्बद्ध मङ्ग गोपाल वेङ्कटसम्य).

What is actually found in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* and 'elsewhere' about Gopāla Bhaṭṭa can be summarised as follows. Murāri-gupta (iii. 15. 14-16) mentions the hospitality of Trimalla (and not of Veṅkaṭa) during the rainy season, and describes Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, then a young lad, giving up his boyish sports and turning into a Bhakta by the touch of Caitanya, as the son of Trimalla; but no other details are

1 This would imply that Rūpa and Sanātana were already in Vṛndāvana when Gopāla Bhaṭṭa arrived there; so Narahari says elsewhere: निविष्टेन पत्नीते श्रीकृष्णनाम । गोपाल महेर इन्द्रावन-समागतम् ॥. But in another place Narahari says again: क्व कां सनातन महे चाङ्गुला इन्द्रावन मा गोसायि मिलित्वा स्यात् ॥ implying that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was already there when Rūpa and Sanātana arrived for the first time? When did Gopāla Bhaṭṭa actually arrive?

given. In his Sanskrit Kāvya on Caitanya (iii. 4), Kavī-karpūra states that Caitanya spent four months in the house of Trimalla Bhaṭṭa at Śrīraḍgam during his South Indian pilgrimage, but no mention is made of Veṅkaṭa, Prabodhānanda or Gopāla Bhaṭṭa in this connexion. Nor is this incident referred to in Karpūra's better known Sanskrit drama on Caitanya. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja makes matters worse confused¹ by speaking separately (Madhya I. 108-10 and ix. 82-166) of the hospitality of Trimalla and Veṅkaṭa Bhaṭṭa, at Śrīraḍgam, respectively for four months; both of them are described as Śrīvaṣṭavas, but their connexion is not stated; and, as Narahari says, the name of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa does not appear. In other biographies of Caitanya there is no reference to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa or to this incident at all.

By 'elsewhere,' therefore, Narahari may be referring to some such works of later date as the *Prema-vilāsa*² of Nityānanda-dāsa, where a similar but much briefer account is found; while the *Anurāga-valī*³ of Manohara-dāsa records in some detail a somewhat similar tradition. According to Nityānanda-dāsa, Caitanya spent four months in the house of Trimalla Bhaṭṭa at Śrīraḍgam and directed Trimalla's younger brother Prabodhānanda to educate the young Gopāla (apparently Trimalla's son, for Veṅkaṭa is not mentioned), who would in time become a very learned man, and commanded Gopāla Bhaṭṭa to go to Vṛndāvana after his parents'

1 This has not escaped the notice of Manohara-dāsa who comments in his *Anurāga-valī* (Madhara I):
 हेताने शिष्य महेर चरे निष्ठा सेवा ।
 महेर प्राचेनामते वातुर्मल रैता ॥ नवम परिच्छेदे वेद मूत्र विस्तारित ।
 चाहे वार कोट माह वेदुड लिखित ॥ शिष्य महेर पुतादि चामसाव
 परिपाटी । रहि नेल ते वारसे शिष्यनेर कुटि ॥

2 Ed. Radharaman Press, Berhampur-Murshidabad, 2nd ed., 1911, in the 18th Villāsa. In the work itself its date of composition is given as Śaka 1522-1600 A. D., but the internal evidence of some parts conflicts with this date.

3 Ed. Amrita Bazar Patrika Office, Calcutta 1896, pp. 8-12. The work is dated as Vṛndāvana in Śaka 1618=1696 A. D.

death. Manohara-dāsa accepts this story, believes that Gopāla was Trimalla's son, and states that Vecṅkapa was the eldest and Prabodhānanda, who was Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's teacher, the youngest of the three brothers. In his account Gopāla was apparently a grown-up and learned young man at the time of Caitanya's visit; Caitanya commanded him to stay at home and tend his father and uncles but directed him to join Sanātana and Rūpa later at Vṛndāvana. Manohara adds that sometime after Caitanya's visit, the three brothers, with their wives, set out on a pilgrimage and came to Caitanya at Puri, where after religious intercourse, they were bidden to return home.

It will be seen at once that there is a great deal of discrepancy and uncertainty in the accounts, meagre in themselves, which the records of the sect give of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. Narahari is not unaware of this fact, but he exhorts the faithful 'not to indulge in vain arguments.'¹ It is clear, however, that those writers, who have at all recorded anything about Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, agree about his South Indian origin, but they do not agree about his ancestry and personal history. The account of his meeting with Caitanya is also enveloped in the uncertainty of legends; and it is curious that at the time when Caitanya is alleged to have directed Gopāla Bhaṭṭa to meet Sanātana and Rūpa at Vṛndāvana, he himself had not yet met them nor directed them to proceed to Vṛndāvana! The fact is that none of Caitanya's well known disciples accompanied him during his South Indian pilgrimage; it is, therefore, not strange that the accounts of it, written in much later times and based more upon hearsay than direct knowledge, should be meagre and conflicting.²

१ श्रीगोपाल मारे ए वर विरखः । केइ किनु बलै केइ ना करे बर्जन ॥

मा बुझिया मयै हरे कुलर्ष ने करे । अपराधकोज मार हृदये मथारे ॥ (p. 15)

2 Some modern writers (Ramesvarayan Vidyaratna, introd. to the Baranagar ed. of the *Harī-bhakti-viṭaṇa*; Dinanātha Chandra Sen, *Vaiṣṇava Literature of Bengal*, Calcutta University 1917, p. 57; etc.)

The mention of Prabodhānanda as the uncle of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa is also curious; but it occurs nowhere else but in the three late works of Nityānanda-dāsa, Manohara and Narahari. At the commencement of his *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, no doubt, describes himself as the disciple (śiṣya) of Prabodhānanda, but he is silent regarding his own parentage and makes no mention of his alleged relationship to Prabodhānanda. Gopāla describes Prabodhānanda as *bhagavat-priya*,¹ an epithet of which the commentary gives alternative explanations as a Bahuvrīhi and as a Tatpuruṣa compound. The latter sense would imply that Prabodhānanda was a favourite disciple and Gopāla Bhaṭṭa the disciple of this favourite disciple of Caitanya; and yet it is somewhat strange that the biographies of Caitanya preserve no account of Prabodhānanda² and very little of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa! Some Stotra-kāvya's exist bearing Prabodhānanda's name; they testify to their author's Vaiṣṇavite inclination and to a feeling of deep devotion to Caitanya as the supreme object of adoration. Of these the more well

add to the confusion by proposing to identify Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's alleged father, Venkapa Bhaṭṭa, with Venkapaśiṣṭha of Vedaṅgaḍi, whom Dharmakīrtidhara mentions as his Guru in his *Paddata-paribhāṣā*; but of this there is not the slightest evidence. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's native place, again is given by some as Bhaṭṭamāri; but in Kṛṣṇadāsa's description of Caitanya's South Indian pilgrimage, Bhaṭṭamāri occurs not as the name of a place but as the name of a gang of false ascetics whom Caitanya is said to have met in Mallūra land (Malabar?).

1 The stanza runs thus: *bhakter vilāṣiṇī cinite prabodhā-nandāya śiṣya bhagavat-priyaya/ gopāla-bhaṭṭo raghanaṭha-dāsa/ rāṇagopān rūpa-saṁdāman ca* // . The verse is known to Nityānanda-dāsa, Narahari and Manohara.

2 The omission is sometimes explained as due to Prabodhānanda's alleged defection from the orthodox view of the Gosvāmīs, but this is unconvincing in view of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's direct mention of him as his Guru, along with the mention of Rūpa, Saṁdāman and Raghunātha-dāsa in the same stanza.

known is the *Caitanya-candrāmṛta*. The printed text¹ of the poem consists of 143 devotional verses in various metres distributed over twelve Vibhāgas. They are panegyrics of Caitanya, and the names of the Vibhāgas, such as Stuti, Nati, Ādir, Bhakta-mahiman, Abhakta-nindā, Dainya, Upāśya-niṣṭhā, Utkarṣa, Avatāra, Loka-tikṣā, Rūpallāsa and Śocana, would roughly indicate their content. Several stanzas (especially 38, 129, 131, 135 and 136) suggest that the author must have seen Caitanya at Puri and had been in close contact with him: which would support the inference of his having been a disciple. The stanzas lament the passing away of the Lord and possibly of some of his great disciples; and the consequent disruption of the sect is also implied. This *Stotra-kāvya* is also interesting as one of the early works which openly inculcate Caitanya-worship, to which, however, the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīns do not appear to have lent any direct theoretical support.² The poem undoubtedly reflects what is called the Gaura-pāramya attitude of his Navadvīpa devotees, which is not explicit in the works of the Gosvāmīns, but which regards Caitanya in himself, and not as an image of Kṛṣṇa, as the highest reality or Parama Tattva. The theory that all the Gaṇas of Kṛṣṇa became incarnated along with Caitanya (a doctrine which probably originated at Navadvīpa and is fully described in 1576 A. D. by Kavikarṇapūra in his *Gaura-gaṇoddeta*,³ but which found little encouragement from the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīns!) is referred to in stanza 118; while the belief, first utilised by the contemporary composers

1 Ed. Radharcman Prasa, Berhampur-Murshidabad 1926, in Bengali characters, with the Sanskrit Rasikāśvādin commentary of Anandin, and a Bengali prose translation. For MSS of the work see Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, and *Descriptive Catalogue of Sans. MSS in the Vaidya Sāhitya Pariśad*, p. 223. In some Catalogues the total number of stanzas is given as 141 or 144, and the texts in the cited extracts do not always correspond exactly.

2 See below chapter v. on Caitanya-worship as a cult.

3 See above p. 43, fn 3.

of Bengali Padas,¹ that Caitanya was an incarnation of both Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā finds expression in stanzas 13 and 109. What is more remarkable is that in stanza 132 there is a reference to Caitanya as Gaura-nagara-vara, which apparently subscribes to the Nāgara-bhāva doctrine of Narahari Śaṅkār and Locana-dāsa, a doctrine which hardly found favour in the orthodox circles.² It is no wonder that the poem is not quoted with approval by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, but it is somewhat strange that its author, with his unorthodox views, could have been the Guru of one of the venerable Gosvamins! From stanza 19 it is probable that Prabodhānanda was an Advaita Saṁnyāsīn before he met Caitanya; and the commentator Ānandīn describes him as Parivrajakācārya Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī, which description is often found in the colophons of the MSS of the poem. The other work ascribed to Prabodhānanda is entitled *Samgita-mādhava*.³ It gives in fifteen cantos a treatment of the Vṛndāvana-līlā of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa; and in imitation of Jayadeva's *Gita-govinda*, which is its obvious model, it includes melodious Padāvālis or songs. A third work, called *Vṛndāvana-mahimāmyta*,⁴ is also ascribed to him: it describes with

1 See above p. 63.

2 See above p. 65.

3 Printed from the Bhakti-prabhā Office, Hugi 1936, in Bengali characters. There is a MS of the work in the Dacca University Library (no. 1402) in Bengali script, with 17 folios. The MS contains 15 cantos and a total of 141 verses, excluding songs which are separately numbered (the 16th canto of the printed text really consists of four extra Nāmāstūti verses, which are added after the colophon by the Dacca University MS, but which are not taken as forming an extra canto, there being no formal colophon after them naming a 16th canto). One of the opening (no. 6) and one of the concluding (no. 138) verses pay homage to Caitanya as Gaura and Sacinandana respectively.

4 A. B. Kashnau, *Report on the Search of Śrī. MSS. 1891-95*, Bombay 1901, p. 38, no. 577; the number of verses is not mentioned, but since the MS contains only 11 folios (with 11 lines on a page) it cannot be a very long poem. It is, however, said that Prabodhānanda composed this work in one hundred Satakas, of which seventeen

elaborate devotional fancy the glories of Vṛndāvana as the abode of Kṛṣṇa and the scene of his sports. A Sanskrit commentary¹ on the *Gopāla-rāpanī Upaniṣad* by Paramahansa Parivrājakācārya Śrī-Prabodha Sarasvatī also exists, while a *Viveka-larukā*² on dispassion or indifference to worldly attraction is found ascribed to Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī.³

Śaṭkaḥ have been printed in Bengali characters at Vrindavan (1933-37) by Harandra Kumar Chakravartī and others; some of the śaṭkaḥ in this collection contain more than a hundred stanzas.—A *Vṛndāvanā-tanaka* (ed. Hascherlin's *Kāvya-saṃgraha*, 1847, p. 430 f; reprinted in Nityananda Vidyasagara's *Kāvya-saṃgraha*, pt. II, 3rd ed., Calcutta 1884, pp. 333-394; 126 stanzas) is often ascribed to Prabodhānanda; but the name of the author is missing in the printed text. There are, however, two opening verses (nos. 2, 3), containing references to Caitanya, which raise the presumption that it was written by a Bengali Vaiṣṇava. In most of the catalogues and reports of Sanskrit MSS, where MSS of the *Vṛndāvanā-tanaka* are noticed, it is generally assigned to Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī (e.g. R. L. Mitra, *Notices*, vi, p. 188, no. 212; Peterson, *Thar's Reports*, p. 396, no. 351; *Catalogue of Skt. MSS in the Vaidya Śikṣya Pariṣad*, p. 205; but no name of the author is found in MSS noticed in Stein, *Jamuna Catalogue*, p. 74, no. 816 and in R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report 1887-91*, p. 12, no. 468). If it is a genuine work of Prabodhānanda, it might have formed a part of the bigger *Vṛndāvanā-mahimāṃśa* as one of its constituent śaṭkaḥ; but the parts of the latter work, which have so far been printed, do not contain this series of verses.

1 *Descriptive Catalogue of Skt. MSS in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library*, vol. 2, pp. 158-59.

2 R. L. Mitra, *Notices*, vii, p. 261, no. 2510; in 180 Sanskrit 'ślokaḥ.'

3 The title *Sarasvatī* is mentioned in the *Bhakti-ratnākara*.—The *Stotra-kāvya*, named *Rādhā-raṣa-sudhānāṭha*, printed in two parts from the Bhakti-prabhā Office, Hugli 1924, 1925, is wrongly ascribed to Prabodhānanda. The first and the last verses of the printed text pay homage to Caitanya, but these verses are missing in the MSS noticed by Eggeling (*India Office Catalogue*, vii, pp. 1464-65), Aufrecht (*Bodhi-var Catalogue* p. 131, no. 239), Haraprasad Sastri (*Descriptive Catalogue of ASB Collection*, vii, p. 230 and *Notices*, 2nd Series, i, p. 384), while the work is uniformly ascribed in these and other MSS to Hitaharivṛṣṇa, son of Vyāsa. It is obviously a case of appropriation by the Caitanya sect of a work composed by Hitaharivṛṣṇa of the Rādhāvallabhi sect!

Whether this Saṃpradāin and Stotra-writer is identical with Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's Guru Prabodhānanda yet remains to be proved ; and the allegation that he was Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's uncle is found only in the legend, clearly of a later date, narrated by Nityānanda, Manohara and Narahari.¹

From what has been said above, it is clear that the account of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa found in the records of the sect itself is not only meagre but also uncertain and unsatisfactory. But here the matter does not end. Another work is definitely ascribed to our Gopāla Bhaṭṭa by Narahari Cakravartin and Manohara-dāsa, but the ascription is falsified by what is recorded in the ascribed work itself! And this is a good commentary on the trustworthiness of the traditions recorded by these writers. Narahari informs us² that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa composed a *Tippaṣī* on Līlāṭaka's *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmyā*, which became a source of delight to devout Vaiṣṇavas ;³ while Manohara not only

1 The proposed identification of Prabodhānanda with Prabhānanda (of which one hears for the first time in the spurious *Advaita-prāśnā*, see above p. 100, note 1), whom Caitanya met at Benares, is still more unfounded and unjustifiable. There is also no evidence for the statement (Jadunath Sarkar, *Caitanya's Life and Teachings*, 2nd ed., Calcutta 1922; misled by Dinanāth Chandra Sen and others) that Caitanya changed the name of Prabhānanda into Prabodhānanda ; and nothing is said anywhere of a change of names. Caitanya is alleged to have met Prabodhānanda in Southern India long before he came across the scoffing unbeliever of Benares. Apart from the dubiousness of the fact of conversion of Prabhānanda itself, we do not know if and when Prabodhānanda was actually converted by Caitanya.

2 हरिश्चन्द्र कृष्णकर्णामृतो दिभ्यस्तु । वैष्णवेर परमानन्द यादा मुनि ॥

3 The importance of *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmyā* to Bengal Vaiṣṇavism is explained by the legend, narrated by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, of Caitanya's discovery of this work during his South Indian pilgrimage. Caitanya was so struck by its high devotional value that he brought back the work with him, and it became the source of the emotional religious experience of himself and his disciples. There can be no doubt that it exercised a great influence on the emotionalism of the Bengali faith. It not only inspired similar lyrics and is quoted in the

mentions and characterises this commentary but also quotes and comments on its two Maṅgala-ślokaś and declares Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's authorship of the work.¹ These verses do indeed occur, as they are quoted, in the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* commentary² of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa on the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmrta*, as its first two opening verses. The first verse is an invocation of Kṛṣṇa, there being no Namaskṛiyā to Caitanya, while the second

treatises on Rāsa-śāstra composed by Rūpa, but several commentaries came to be written on it, explaining its significance from the standpoint of Bengali Vaiṣṇavism. Kṛṣṇadīna, who autographed (Madhya 12. 307-8) the work thus:

कर्णामृतसमं वस्तु नास्ति निमुच्ये । वाङ्मा इत्येव ह्युच्चार्यैवमप्रज्ञाने ॥
 लीन्यर्थं मापुर्थं ह्युपलक्षितारं यद्यपि । ते ज्ञाने ये कर्णामृतं पठे निरपयि ॥

himself composed a *Sāraṅge-raṅgadhī* commentary in Sanskrit, while Caitanya-dīna wrote yet another commentary entitled *Sambodhanī*. Yādunāthana-dīna translated the work into Bengali verse.—These three commentaries have been edited in S. K. De's edition of the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmrta* (Dacca University Oriental Publication Series, Dacca 1933), which see for further information about the commentaries.

१. श्रीमान्गोलाभि कर्णामृतेर टोका कैस । करोय विरोच स्वाङ्कश नादाद्ये
 तिलिप्त ॥
 बाङ्गार इहंने मङ्गलकिशे चमकार । रसपरिपाटी वासे विद्यान्तेर सार ॥
 से टोकार मङ्गलापरस बुद्ध ओष । तिलिप्ताद्ये बाङ्ग देसि शुमि तर्कलोका
 चाचना वासरे पठे चक्षित इत्या । पुस्तकादि बाध पठे मुख मुख बाबा ॥
 तथा हि ओषी—बुद्धाबुधित्वाइक्याय, etc.

2. Ed. in S. K. De's edition of *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmrta* mentioned in the foregoing footnote. The introduction to this ed. contains a discussion of the problem raised here, and reviews the commentator's conformity to ideas of Bengali Vaiṣṇavism (p. xxix and all). There is nothing in the commentary which does not subscribe to the tenets of Caitanyanism, and it quotes directly from Rūpa's two works on Rāsa-śāstra. It is curious, however, that Kṛṣṇadīna Kavirāja, in spite of his homage to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa as one of his śikṣā-gurus, does not anywhere refer to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's commentary; nor does he, in his own commentary, follow the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā*, but he accepts and expands Caitanya-dīna's *Sambodhanī*.

verse¹ names the author and the work, and informs us that the commentator was a Drāviḍa Brahman. But in one of the closing verses,² which, however, is not quoted by Mahabara, the commentator informs us that he was the son of Harivapāla Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Nṛsiṃha of the Drāviḍa country!³ Narahari, Nityānanda and Manohara, we have seen, give an entirely different ancestry, and it is needless to add that no such description occurs in the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*. The conclusion is, therefore, inevitable that *either* this commentator is a different person, *or*, if the two Gopāla Bhaṭṭas are (following Narahari and Manohara) to be taken as identical, then nothing remains of the Trimalla-Veṅkaṭa-Prabodhānanda legend! Of this commentary nothing is said in other Bengal Vaiṣṇava works.⁴

1 कृष्णधर्मार्थसूत्रटीका श्रीकृष्णवल्लभम् ।

गोपाकमहः कुरुते प्राविशयनिनिर्भरः ॥

2 श्रीमद्वाचिधनोद्भवमुचिचिदुः श्रीमान्मुनिहोमव-

सुहृद्भोहरिचंद सत्संगसमायेक्यस्तमुतः ।

नस्तुल्य इतिस्तिर्यक् विस्तृतं गोपाकनाम्नो मुदं

गोपाकनामदाहद्विन्महद्वानन्दिषेतोऽस्तिवा ॥

3 The colophon confirms the reading as follows: इति श्रीवाचिधन-
चंदमहैकवरसहारसुश्रीगोपाकमहविरचिता श्रीकृष्णधर्मार्थसूत्रटीका श्रीकृष्णवल्लभा
समाप्ता ॥ (The readings of both of our complete MSS agree, the date
of one of them being Saptat 1662=1606 A.D.).

4 Of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, son of Harivapāla Bhaṭṭa and author of the *Kṛṣṇa-vallebha* commentary, two or three other works are known. That he was also an Alampārīta, interested in erotic Rāsa-works, is clear from the fact that he also wrote a commentary, entitled *Rāsa-rājanī*, on Bhānūdatta's *Rāsa-māhārī*. The second opening verse of this commentary states that its author Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was a Brahman of the Drāviḍa country (श्रीमद्गोपाकमहैव प्राविशयमायुषवर्द्धा । कियते
रसमहार्थटीका रसिकरचनी ॥), and the first of the two concluding verses, which is identical with the concluding verse of the *Kṛṣṇa-vallebha* quoted above (नाम्ना विदुः), gives the names of his father and grandfather

On the other hand, the *Harī-bhakti-viṣāṇa*, which goes under the name of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa of the Caitanya sect, contains no such colophon or self-descriptive verse giving the

respectively as Harivardha Bhaṭṭa and Nṛsiṃha (On MSS of this work and readings of these verses see S. K. De in *Indian Culture*, v, 1938-39, p. 64, footnote). This commentary contains no reference to or citations from Bengal Vaiṣṇava works on *Rasa-līlā*, as the *Kṛṣṇa-valḍhā* does; and no MSS of it in Bengali characters have yet been found. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa appears to have written another scriptic work of a similar type. The Kālyāṇī edition of Rūdra's *Śṛṅgāra-nīlaka* (Guochaka III, p. 11 footnote) mentions an incomplete commentary on this work by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, which is called *Rasa-saṅgīti*; but nothing is known of this commentary and no other MSS of it are known to exist. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, son of Harivardha Bhaṭṭa, appears to have written yet another (ritualistic) work, called *Saṁgṛha* or *Kāla-lakṣaṇī*, which is noticed by Rajendralal Mitra (*Notices*, vii, p. 254, no. 2501, with a résumé of its contents). Here also the author, in one of the opening verses

(श्रीमद्भोवात्मज्ञेन द्वाविंशत्माह्वयं वा । द्वितो विपुर्वा श्रीमै रम्या समवर्धमुदो ॥)

describes himself in almost similar terms as a Brahman of the Drāviḍa country, while the colophon to the work, which is almost similar in wording to those of the works mentioned above, describes him as 'one whose refuge is the feet of Harivardha Bhaṭṭa.' (इति श्रीहरिवंशचरसुतरसु-

लीभोवात्मज्ञेन द्वाविंशत्माह्वयं वा । द्वितो विपुर्वा श्रीमै रम्या समवर्धमुदो ॥). The work appears to have

been written in Sanskrit prose and verse; and from the enumeration of its content, its chief object appears to be the determination of auspicious times or Tithis suitable for religious rites and observances, including the Saptakṛas, the Dīpā, the various Vratas, festivals (e.g. Jāmbhīpurnī), the installation of the image of the Bhagavat and so forth. The work is not yet printed, and the MS is not available; but the notice of the only known MS, written in Bengali characters, makes it clear that it was a fairly extensive compilation (folios 128; 9 lines on a page) and dealt with the subject in some detail. From some of the topics treated, it may be presumed that it was written by a Vaiṣṇava author.—So much about Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, son of Harivardha Bhaṭṭa. But the question is further complicated by the discovery of another Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, who wrote another, but entirely different, commentary on the *Kṛṣṇa-lakṣmī*, entitled *Śaṅkṣābhīṣṭī*, and who appears also to have belonged to Bengal. For details about this work, see S. K. De, introd. to ed. of *Kṛṣṇa-lakṣmī*, cited above, pp. lxviii-lxviii. In one of

author's ancestry.¹ The second opening verse² distinctly states that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, a disciple of Prabodhānanda, who is dear to the Bhagavat, is compiling the work for the satisfaction of Raghunātha-dāsa, Rūpa and Sanātana. In the fourth verse, again, mention is made of Kāṣvara and Lokadātha. It contains Namaskriyās to Caitanya at the commencement of each of its twenty chapters, called *Vilāsa*. It is a voluminous and almost exhaustive metrical compendium in Sanskrit of the corpus of Vaiṣṇava ritual and religious practices. We shall have occasion to deal with this work in detail; but it may be said here that it is a work of patient and extensive Purāṇic and Tāntric erudition, and each rule is copiously illustrated and supported by large quotations from the Purāṇas, Saṃhitās, Tānttras and other scriptures and sectarian religious treatises. It is, in brief, a complete guide to the Vaidhi Bhakti, in which devotional acts proceed from Vidhis or Śāstric injunctions. Some omissions, however, are

the opening verses the author bows to his Guru, named Nārāyaṇa, and in two of the concluding verses supplies information about himself. The name of the author's father is given as Bhaddai- (?Bṛhat- or Udaya-), phapa; and we are informed that the commentary was composed to please the author's friend Vanamālī-dāsa and younger brother Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa. The Bengal origin of the commentary is indicated by the fact that, like the *Kṛṣṇa-valībhāṣā*, it follows the Bengal (as distinguished from the South Indian) recension of the text, and cites not only Jayadeva's *Gīta-goṣṭhī*, but also the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* of Rūpa Goṣvāmī, earlier than which last work (i.e., earlier than 1541 A.D.) it could not, like the *Kṛṣṇa-valībhāṣā* again, have been composed. It follows the views of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism.—For the mention of yet another Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, belonging to Bengal, see S. K. De in *Indian Culture*, v, 1938-39, p. 71.

1 Ed. Radharaman Press, Berhampur-Morshidabad, 2nd ed. in two parts, 1889, 1891, in Bengali characters, with the Digdarśanī commentary. The work is sometimes also called *Bhagavad-bhakti-vilāsa*, or simply *Bhakti-vilāsa*. A detailed survey of the work will be found below under ch. vi.

2 Cited above, p. 129, in 1

remarkable. No treatment is accorded to the purificatory rites, known as *Saṃskāras*,¹ although a section is devoted to initiation or *Dīkṣā*, in which the incorporation of Tāntṛic ideas is a noteworthy feature. While festivals connected with

1 The deficiency is sought to be remedied in a work called *Saṅkīrṣaṇa-dīpikā*, which is undoubtedly a much later fabrication passed off in Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's name. It was published in Bengali characters in the Bengali Vaiṣṇava journal, *Sejona-rosoni*, vol. xv-xvii, by Kedar Nath Datta, and reprinted by the Gaudīya Mādhva Maṭha, Calcutta 1935. MSS of the work are, however, noticed in Haraprasād Sastri, *Notices*, 2nd Series, L p. 397, no. 395; II, pp. 209-10, no. 235. We shall deal with this work in ch. vi. below. The reprint contains another work, entitled *Saṃskāra-dīpikā*, meant as a supplement, on the duties of *Saṃnyāsa*, also ascribed to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa; but the authority for this ascription is not known, and no MS of this work has yet been noticed. The *Saṅkīrṣaṇa-dīpikā* contains no account of the author or his family, but the opening passages name Gopāla Bhaṭṭa as the author and pay homage to Caitanya. The fourteen *Saṃskāras* dealt with in this work begin with *Vīrkha*, *Garbhādhipā* etc., and end with *Saṃvartana*, following the order of treatment of Bhavadēva's *Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati*; but it omits the important ceremony of *Antyeṣṭi* or *Śrāddha* as a ceremony forbidden to a true Vaiṣṇava. The Bhagavad-dharma being, in the author's opinion, superior to every other Dharma, the Smṛti rules are excluded from application to a Vaiṣṇava (but Tāntṛic ceremonies and rules are preferred!); and yet the author acknowledges as his source the works of such Smṛti writers as Bhavadēva Bhaṭṭa, Anurādha Bhaṭṭa, Govindānanda, Bhīma Bhaṭṭa, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, besides the older works of Manu, Hārta etc. There are a few other minor works on Vaiṣṇava ritualism, but they are neither well known nor authoritative. Haraprasād Sastri notices (*Notices*, 2nd Series, III, pp. 123-25, no. 343) a *Sāra-saṃgraha-dīpikā* by Rāmaprasāda Devaśarma, which among other miscellaneous Bhakti topics, deals generally with *Dīkṣā* and appears to have a section on *Śrāddha*, which is omitted by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. In the Calcutta Sanskrit College (*Descriptive Catalogue*, 2, Calcutta 1907, pp. 65, 123, 141, 143, 154, nos. 52, 102, 114, 116, 130) there are anonymous Vaiṣṇava ritualistic works, entitled *Rādhikā-pāṭ-rīkhi* (folios 3), *Śrī-rādhā-kṛṣṇa-pāṭ-paddhati-saṃbandha* (7 fol.), *Saṃskāra-bhakti-sādhana-paddhati* (17 fol.), *Vaiṣṇavānukā-paddhati* (5 fol.), *Gaurāṅga-bhakti-saṃgraha-pāṭ-paddhati* (3 fol.), all of which appear to be late works belonging to the Bengal school. A *Laghu*

deities other than Kṛṣṇa are excluded, an exception is made in favour of Śiva-rātri ; but the most important Vaiṣṇava festival of Rāsa-yātrā, which the Smṛta Raghunandana also omits in his *Yātrā-ratna*, is conspicuous by the absence of all reference. It is also important to note that this ritual authority does not recognise the cult of Caitanya-worship or the worship of Caitanya's image. There are no directions for the construction of images of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, although there are rules for those of Lakṣmī and Nīlāyapa, Kṛṣṇa and Rukmīṇī, and other forms of the deity. The work departs in many details from the accepted views of the sect. The Kṛṣṇa in this work is Caturbbuja Cakradhara, and not Dvibbujā Muralidhara; and the Rādhā-cult does not figure as prominently as it should, Rādhā being even omitted in the Dhyāna of Kṛṣṇa. As the *Hari-bhakti-viṭāsa* is quoted by name in Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* (dated Śaka 1463=1541 A. D.), it must have been composed some time before that date.¹

Hari-bhakti-viṭāsa, ascribed to Rūpa Gosvāmī, is mentioned in *Proc. of the Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1865, p. 140, but as the list given there contains numerous wrong ascriptions, not much reliance can be placed on the entry. Some other Sanskrit ritualistic texts of the Bengali Vaiṣṇava sect are also registered in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Vaidya Saṁgraha Paṇḍit* (Calcutta 1907), but most of them are anonymous, modern and unimportant: e.g. *Vijayāṣṭi-vidhi* (p. 223 ; 4 folios), *Vaiṣṇava-pāṇi-pādīkṣā* (p. 234 ; 10 fol.), *Jāmadāyami-vrata-vidhi* (p. 126 ; 3 fol.), *Rādhāyami-vrata-vidhi* (p. 134 ; 4 fol.), etc. There is also in this collection (p. 122) an incomplete MS of *Kṛṣṇa-rasā-candrikā* of Rādhā-mohana Śarma (dated Śaka 1776=1854 A.D.), which deals with topics like Dīpā and ceremonies connected with festivals like Jāmadāyami, Rāsa-yātrā etc. The author may be the same as the author of *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti-saṁdharma*, who is said to have flourished in the early part of the 19th century. The *Bhakti-candrikā*, ascribed to Lokānanda Ācārya (ed. Bābhalananda Sauri of Brīhannaṇḍa, Satyaranjan Press 1920) deals generally with Caitanya-worship, but contains a great deal of ritualistic matter.

1 As we have stated above, the *Kṛṣṇa-valībhāṣā* quotes this work of Rūpa Gosvāmī, as well as its supplement, the *Uṣṇa-valībhāṣā*; it was therefore written sometime after 1541 A. D.

The work must have become an authoritative source of the ritualism and devotional practices of the sect ; and its popularity is indicated by the fact that an abridged Bengali metrical adaptation was made by one Kāṇḍī-dāsa, a manuscript of which (no. 1231) exists in the Dacca University Library.

On the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* there is a Sanskrit commentary, named *Digdarśanī*, which is attributed to Sanātana Gosvāmin ; but there is also the tradition that the original work itself was composed, not by Gopāla Bhāṭṭa, but by Sanātana. The story of its origin, as given by Narahari Cakravartin, relates¹ that the idea of composing a Vaiṣṇava Smṛiti originated in the mind of Gopāla Bhāṭṭa, but the work was actually composed by Sanātana in Gopāla's name. Manohara-dāsa also believes² that Sanātana wrote the work itself, but Gopāla Bhāṭṭa was responsible for the illustrative passages culled from

१. करिसे वेष्मस्वृति हैस भामने ।
सनातन गोकुलमो बाविसा सेह कहे ॥
गोपाक्षेर नामे श्रीगोबामि सनातन ।
करिल श्रीहरिमङ्गलिलाल-वर्णन ॥
२. श्रीसनातन गोबामि शब्द करिल ।
मर्मत आभोग सरगोमागिर दित ॥
श्रीकृष्ण सनातन रघुनाथ दास ।
इहा सनात मुख दिते हरिमङ्गल विहास ॥
संजह करिल श्रीभागवतप्रधान ।
सबै पुराक्षेर वाक्य करिया सन्धान ॥

This is apparently a conjecture ; but an examination of the commentary does not appear to lend support to it. There is, for instance, a very long passage quoted in the commentary from the *Māyā-purāṇa* (covering 6 printed pages in small type) which might have been easily included among the numerous lengthy quotations in the text. Nityānanda-dāsa is not clear on the point ; but he says that at the command of Rūpa and Sanātana, Gopāla Bhāṭṭa undertook the work. After it was completed he gave it to Sanātana, who took it as his own ; but Gopāla Bhāṭṭa put his own Guru's name to it!

Purāṇas and other scriptures. As the statements of Narahari and Manohara are not always beyond question, the extraordinary reverence paid to Sanātana's learning and piety may be held responsible for this attribution. But Sanātana's authorship of both the text and its commentary is also recorded by no less an authority than his nephew and associate, Jīva Gosvāmī, in the list he gives of Sanātana's works at the end of the (*Laghu*) *Viṣṇu-śaṅkṣa* commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*. This is also confirmed by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, who was a disciple of the Gosvāmīs at Vṛndāvana; for he makes Caitanya teach a rapid summary (*Madhya* xxiv) of the *Harī-bhakti-vilāsa* to Sanātana with an express command to write a *Viṣṇu Smṛti* on the basis of the outlines taught. Moreover, Kṛṣṇadāsa expressly ascribes this work to Sanātana in two passages (*Madhya* i. 35; *Antya* iv. 22). These testimonies cannot indeed be lightly set aside; but in the text of the *Harī-bhakti-vilāsa* itself, on the other hand, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's authorship is unambiguously declared, and there is nothing to show that the opening verses, which declare it, are spurious. If Sanātana's authorship was known from 1582-83 A. D. (the date of the *Laghu-śaṅkṣa*) and expressly recorded by Jīva and Kṛṣṇadāsa, there could be no point in gratuitously adding such verses in favour of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's authorship; and the very uneasiness of later authors, who never reject them, but try to explain them away, would imply their genuineness. If Manohara's proposed solution of the difficulty implies that Sanātana wrote an outline of the work, which Gopāla Bhaṭṭa elaborated with copious illustrative passages, the presumption is ingenious but is entirely without evidence.¹ That Sanātana had, besides writing the commentary, a direct connexion with the text, seems highly probable.

¹ Equally unfounded and unconvincing is the suggestion of some modern writers (Dinēś Chandra Sen, *Viṣṇu Literature*, Calcutta University, 1922, p. 290, followed by Kennedy, *Chaitanya Movement*, Oxford University Press 1925, p. 177) that Sanātana's name was not officially associated with the work because his defection from Hinduism

even if we do not know exactly what this connexion was : but at the same time, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's authorship, expressly stated in it, cannot be easily dismissed. It is undisputed that Śaṅkara, with his equally able brother Rūpa, was the

to Islam before becoming a Vaiṣṇava, had created a prejudice which stood in the way of its acceptance as an authoritative ritualistic work. Apart from the fact that there is no satisfactory evidence of Śaṅkara's alleged conversion to Muhammadanism (see above p. 97, note 2), we may assume from the testimony of orthodox records that Śaṅkara might have considered himself lowered in status because of his contact with and service in the Muhammadan court. But it is not intelligible why the alleged prejudice, arising from this circumstance, should have stood in the way of acceptance only of the *Harī-bhakti-viṭāna*, which was a work on Ācāra limited at every step by profuse citation from scriptural authorities, and did not stand in the way of acceptance of Śaṅkara's more doctrinal and more fundamental *Bhāṣya*s and *Vaiṣṇava-koṣa*, nor of his name being associated, officially and reverentially, with the works of Rūpa, Jīva, Kṛṣṇānanda and others. If Śaṅkara's authorship of the *Harī-bhakti-viṭāna* was a matter of doubtful acceptance, how could have his authorship of its commentary been accepted ? Śaṅkara's supposed "impurity," therefore, could not have been the motive of the alleged suppressing of his name and the declaring of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's authorship ; and there is no question of the genuineness of the verses which declare Gopāla Bhaṭṭa as the author. Śaṅkara was certainly a more important and authoritative writer of the group than Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. If there was any other reason (the question of "impurity" apart) for transferring authorship, the transfer would have been openly made from Gopāla Bhaṭṭa to Śaṅkara, and not otherwise ; and Śaṅkara's name would have occurred in the work itself as its author, instead of that of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. The supposition is unconvincing that Śaṅkara's authorship was suppressed by a deliberate addition (in the face of Jīva's express testimony) of verses naming Gopāla Bhaṭṭa as the author. It is also hardly amiable imagination which believes that Śaṅkara deliberately passed off his own composition in the name of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, or that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa appropriated, whatever may have been the reason, a work of Śaṅkara. This would be imputing a shrewd motive and unworthy act to the Government in question, whose purity of intention is otherwise never disputed. If it is a fact that the sect for some time looked askance at the injunctions laid down in the *Harī-bhakti-viṭāna* (Amar Nath Ray in *Indian Culture*, v, 1938-39, p. 202), it goes only to strengthen the point

acknowledged centre of inspiration of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava group at Vrndāvana ; but, if Gopāla Bhaṭṭa is presumed to have merely elaborated a previous work of Sanātana, it is extremely unlikely that he should have failed to acknowledge this basis of his labours and appropriated the work to himself, especially as he actually mentions that he wrote the work for the satisfaction of Sanātana and others. In a similar case, Jīva Gosvāmin does not fail to express his indebtedness to an outline prepared by an unnamed Dīkṣiṇātya Bhaṭṭa (by which reference he is supposed to mean Gopāla Bhaṭṭa himself), on which he based his elaborate *Ṣoṭ-saṃdarbha*. It seems probable, therefore, that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, as stated in the work itself, was the actual author of the *Harī-bhakti-vilāsa*, but the attribution to Sanātana might have arisen from a kind of close collaboration, which will remain undetermined, between this doyen of the Vaiṣṇava Śāstra and Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, in making this voluminous compilation.

From the above discussion it will be clear that the various legends and traditions about Gopāla Bhaṭṭa should be taken with extreme caution. Apart from pious belief, the following conclusions arise inevitably from the available facts :

(1) According to the description given of himself, the Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, who composed the ritualistic work *Kāla-kaumudī*,¹ as well as the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* and *Rasika-rañjanī*² commentaries, was the son of Harivamśa Bhaṭṭa and grand-

that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was the real author ; for some of the views, stated in the work itself, could not have been the strictly orthodox views of Sanātana, but of one who had some lingering Rīti-vaiṣṇava leanings. Sanātana's other works are never known to have met with disrespect. On the contrary, it is possible to argue that the legend of Sanātana's authorship may have been a pious afterthought meant to impart greater authoritativeess to a work which did not meet with the entire approval of the orthodox circle.

1 See above p. 136, foot-note.

son of Nṛsiṃha, and belonged to Drāviḍa. It is not known what connexion he had with the Caitanya sect ; but if the Trimalla-Veṅkaṭa-Prabodhānanda story is excluded, there are some facts in favour of his identification with the Gopāla Bhaṭṭa of the Caitanya sect. The absence of Namaskriyā to Caitanya in the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* and other works, though suspicious in view of the profuse Namaskriyās in every chapter of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, is not decisive ; for the two Dūta-kāvyaś, the *Dāna-keli-kaumudī* and the *Paṇḍaravallī* of Rūpa Gosvāmī do not also contain such Namaskriyā. The commentary *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā*, if not the other works, gives ample evidence that this Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, son of Harivaṇṭa Bhaṭṭa, was a devout Vaiṣṇava ; and we have already stated that there is hardly anything in it which does not subscribe to the tenets of Caitanyaism. At the very commencement, the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* refers, for instance, to the characteristic doctrine of the Bengal school that Kṛṣṇa is not an Avatāra but the Avatārin, the supreme deity himself in his essential character. It also believes in the other important doctrine of the Bengal school that the deity possesses a supersensuous and blissful form, which is adolescent (Kīḍā) quasi-human (Narākr̥ti) and always sporting at Vṛndāvana, and which is the highest object of adoration ; It is somewhat strange, on the other hand, that the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, as we have noted above, does not fully subscribe to this doctrine. With very minor modifications, the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* comments upon the Bengal recension of the text of the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*, and does not accept the South Indian text, in spite of the author's declared Dravidian origin. It also quotes directly from the two authoritative Rasa-treatises of Rūpa Gosvāmī. Against these arguments in favour of identity of the two Gopāla Bhaṭṭas, the somewhat curious fact may be urged that Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, in spite of his homage to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa as one of his Śikṣā-gurus, does not anywhere refer to or make use of the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* in his own *Śāraṅga-raṅgaḍā* commentary on the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*. This circumstance, how-

ever, need not present a serious difficulty ; but it will be seen that the arguments for identity are not conclusive. They only prove that the author of the *Kṛṣṇa-valībhāṣā* and possibly of the *Kāla-kaumudī* was a Vaiṣṇava who accepted the views of the Bengal school, and nothing more.

(2) There is, therefore, no direct or decisive evidence to identify him with the Gopāla Bhaṭṭa who was one of the six Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīna of the Caitanya sect. The personal history of this Gosvāmīna is at best scanty and fatuous ; his lineage, as given in the records of the sect is vague, conflicting and obviously legendary. In his *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, the authorship of which also is shrouded in mystery, he describes himself as writing for the satisfaction of Rūpa, Sanātana and Raghunātha-dāsa, and as the śiṣya of Prabodhānanda ; but he does not give his own ancestry or place of origin, as the other Gopāla Bhaṭṭa does in every work. The history of this Prabodhānanda is not clear ; and in the works ascribed to him he reflects strangely the views of Caitanya's Navadvīpa disciples rather those of Vṛndāvana! It is doubtful if he was (as alleged by Nityānanda, Monohara and Narahari) an uncle of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa ; for the story of Trimalla-Vekṭaka-Prabodhānanda is suspiciously legendary and uncorroborated by the earlier records of the sect.

Exactly how and when the Gosvāmīna Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was admitted into discipleship is, thus, uncertain. There is no record that he ever came to Caitanya at Puri. He must have survived Caitanya ; for he was already at Vṛndāvana when Kṛṣṇadāsa arrived. We are also told that when Śrīnivāsa Ācārya came to Vṛndāvana, he found Rūpa and Sanātana dead, but Gopāla Bhaṭṭa and Jīva Gosvāmīna were still living. Śrīnivāsa is said to have become a disciple of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, studied the Vaiṣṇava śāstra with him and Jīva, and received the title of Ācārya from the latter.¹

1 In the *Padyaśraṅgī* we have only one verse (no. 38) assigned to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, but see notes on Dīkṣiṣāṭya in S. K. De's ed. of the

3. *Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva*

Of the two brothers, Sanātana and Rūpa, and their nephew Jīva, whose literary productions far outweigh those of other Gosvāmīs in range, depth, quality and magnitude, there exists a more detailed and reliable record. Jīva himself at the close of his abridgement (*Laghu-toṣaṇī*) of Sanātana's commentary on the *Bhāgavata*,¹ gives us the genealogy of the family, as well as a list of the principal works of Sanātana and Rūpa. This list, which can be generally corroborated from other sources, is quoted with approval in the *Bhakti-ratnākara*, which together with Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's biography and the *Prema vilāsa*, supplies additional information about these three venerable Gosvāmīs of Vṛndāvana. From these accounts we learn that they were originally Karmāṇa Brahmins,² who had migrated at about the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century and settled in Bengal. It is somewhat curious that the work of the four Gosvāmīs, whose ancestors are said to have belonged to Karmāṇa or the South, far excelled in extent and importance the work of the two who belonged strictly to Bengal. The previous history of the

Padyāvalī (Dacca 1934). Two Brajabuli songs (nos. 1083, 2033) are attributed to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa in the Bengali Vaiṣṇava anthology, *Pañcā-kalparāra*, compiled by Vaiṣṇava-dāsa.

1 Printed at the end of the 10th Skandha of the Murshidabad (Radhakrishnan Press) edition of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, and also quoted in full in the *Bhakti-ratnākara*. In the Dacca University collection there is a complete MS of *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* (*laghu*), which agrees substantially with the printed text. This account by Jīva occurs at the end, after the colophon to Sanātana's work, as a supplement or epilogue. This portion is missing in the India Office MS no. 387-388 (Eggeling, *Catalogue*, vi, p. 1266), but is contained in the MS noticed in Mitra, *Notices*, vi, p. 290.

2 For other references to their being Brahmins, see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 121 f. Yet, why is it that Sanātana is made by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja to say repeatedly: नीचवंदी घोर जन्म (*Antya* iv, 23), नीचजाति घोर घोर जन्मन्त जन्तार (*Ibid.* 6), सुद नीचजाति किमु ना जानीं जाचार (*Madhya* xiv, 320) etc ?

family of Rūpa and Sanātana is thus given by Jīva. There was a prince of Karṇāja, named Sarvajña Jagadguru of the Bharadvāja-gotra of Brahmins, who is said to have added to his other princely qualities a knowledge of the three Vedas. His son Aniruddha, who succeeded him, was also a renowned prince, but he fancied only the Yajur-veda. Of Aniruddha's two sons, Rūpeśvara and Harihara, by his two wives, the first became an accomplished scholar, but the second took to evil ways and turned out his elder brother from his principality. Rūpeśvara, who fled to some country in the east, had a son, named Padmanābha, who was well versed in the Yajur-veda and the Upaniṣads. Padmanābha settled on the banks of the Ganges at Navahatṭa (modern Naihati, according to the *Bhakti-ratnākara*¹, performed a Yajña (sacrifice) and had five sons, of whom Mukunda was the youngest. On account of a quarrel with his relations Mukunda left Navahatṭa and went to Vaṅga (East Bengal) settling, according to the *Bhakti-ratnākara*, at Fatoyabad, near Jessore, under the Bāklā Candradvīpa Perguana. Mukunda had a son named Kumāra. Kumāra appears to have several sons of whom we are concerned here with three; to them Caitanya gave the names of Sanātana, Rūpa and Anupama.²

The eldest Sanātana appears to have learnt Sanskrit from (Ratnākara?) Vidyāvācaspati,³ a scholar of Navadvīpa, who is said to have been a younger brother of Vāsudeva Śīrva-bhauma and whom Sanātana reverentially mentions as his

1 Anupama's original name is given as Vallabha, but our information is uncertain with regard to the original names of Rūpa and Sanātana. It is sometimes said that their original names were Amara and Santosa, but there is nothing about this in the earlier records of the sect.

2 On Ratnākara Vidyāvācaspati, see Gopikāṁśa Kaviraj, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69. He is said to have written a commentary on the *Tattvartasamayāloka* of Prakāśhara.—It is noteworthy that in Jīva's account Padmanābha is said to have been honoured by prince Danujamardana-deva.

Guru in the opening verses of his *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*.¹ He became a high official (a Mahāmantrin, we are told) at the Muhammadan court at Gauḍa, acquired considerable wealth and power, and settled with his brothers at the village of Rāmakeli, near Gauḍa, where he met Caitanya for the first time. Rūpa also appears to have held some official position at the same court. Although Saṅgata and Rūpa were widely known by their Muhammadan name or title of Sāker Malik and Dabir Khān respectively, before Caitanya gave them new names, there is no evidence to show that they actually adopted the Muhammadan faith. On the contrary, the *Bhakti-ratnākara* tells us that they invited a colony of Kṛṣṇa Brahmins to settle near Rāmakeli and apparently kept up their inherited social and religious practices, only considering themselves impure because of their contact with the Mlecchha. They kept themselves in touch with the Vaiṣṇavas of Navadvīpa, and had from the beginning an obviously Vaiṣṇava disposition. Rūpa's *Dāsa-keli-kauṁudī*, apparently composed in 1495 A.D. before he met Caitanya, as well as his two early *Dāsa-kāvya*s, bears testimony not only to their retention of ancestral faith but also to their early interest in Kṛṣṇa-ISK. At any rate, their anomalous position, as well as their innate Vaiṣṇava proclivities, must have made them spiritually dissatisfied, and they welcomed Caitanya's presence at Rāmakeli as a means of escape and salvation. After some

1 B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 127 and 131, is certainly incorrect in thinking that all the six persons to whom Saṅgata pays homage in the two stanzas (माधवार्यं शावेरीयं विद्यादासस्वामीं गुरुन् । बन्धे विद्यामूर्खं च नीलदेवविभूषणम् ॥ बन्धे धीरमानन्दमाधवार्यं रसमिषम् । रामनरं तथा बाबोदितानं चोपदेष्टवम् ॥) were all his Gurun; for the word *guraṇ* in the passage expressly qualifies *vidyādaśaperin* only, and the plural is honorific. Majumdar holds that Caitanya himself was Saṅgata's Dīkṣa-guru: this may have been so, but the passages cited in support are hardly conclusive.

time Rūpa¹ left home with his younger brother Anupama (alias Vallabha) and joined Caitanya at Allahabad on the latter's way back from Vṛndāvana. After ten days' stay Rūpa wanted to accompany Caitanya to Benares, but he was directed to go to Vṛndāvana. Sanātana came to Caitanya at Benares, and requested Caitanya's permission to accompany him to Puri; but he was also directed to go to Vṛndāvana first and then come to him at Puri. Having visited Vṛndāvana, Rūpa left for Puri with his brother Anupama, who, however, died on the way in Bengal on the banks of the Ganges. Rūpa stayed for about ten months at Puri and returned to Vṛndāvana. Caitanya is represented as giving him at Allahabad, as well as his brother Sanātana at Benares, detailed instructions regarding the composition of various śāstric works for the sect. Soon after Rūpa left, Sanātana also visited Caitanya at Puri. After these short visits, Sanātana and Rūpa settled at Vṛndāvana till their death, carrying on with selfless devotion the laborious work which was entrusted to them by Caitanya himself and for which they were eminently fitted by their great learning² and piety. Jīva tells us that such was their sincerity of devotion that Kṛṣṇa revealed himself to them on one occasion as a young Gopa boy bringing milk to them.³

Jīva Gosvāmī was the only son of their untimely deceased brother Anupama. He must have been very young when his uncles turned hermits and his father died. After staying at home at Fatoyabad for some time, he was also filled with the same desire for ascetic life, and the story of his Vairāgya is told

1 The story of Rūpa and Sanātana's Vairāgya is romantically told in the *Prme-vilāsa*.

2 Caitanya himself is reported (C-C, Antya I. 200) to have said that "there is not a greater learned man than Sanātana" and his brother; and it was this qualification which probably led him to choose them among all his followers for the special task.

3 *gopīka-bālakaveyāḍaḍa jayoh ākṣaḍa tadhāra ha/
sāḍaḍa-chetvare-gopāḍaḍa kṣīra-karapa-ṇīyāḍa* (Laghu-toṣaṇḍ).

picturesquely in the *Bhakti-ratnākara*.¹ After a short visit to Nityānanda at Navadvīpa,² he left for Benares, where he is said to have studied under Madhusūdana Vācaspati, who appears to have been an accomplished grammarian, Smārta and Vedāntist.³ He joined his uncles at Vṛndāvana, where he lived thereafter the arduous life of a recluse and scholar. He must have been carefully instructed by them in Bhakti-śāstra, and afterwards taken in as a worthy collaborator in their literary efforts for the cause of Caitanyaism. With the exception of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja who, however, mentions Jīva only a few times⁴, other biographers of Caitanya are silent about him. Jīva's birth-date is uncertain, but he does not appear to have seen Caitanya. Towards the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries, however, his reputation was well established; and it was through him and his pupils Śrīnivāsa Ācārya, Narottama and Śyamānanda, that the Bhakti-śāstra of the Vṛndāvana Goṣvāmīns was widely propagated and established in Bengal. Jīva became the highest court of appeal in doctrinal matters so long as he lived. The Caitanyaism, as it is known to-day, is mainly the product of Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva and their disciple Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, its metaphysics being mainly Jīva's

1 Also in the spurious 23rd chapter of the *Prema-vilāsa*.

2 C-C. Aṣṭya iv. 232-235.

3 He appears to be identical with the Madhusūdana Vācaspati who wrote an *Advaita-maṅgala* (Oppert, *Lists*, no. 3422), an *Atma-saṁskṛpa* (Mitra, *Notices*, II, no. 987) and a *Madhvarī* commentary on the *Maṇḍha-bodha* (Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, nos. 1079, 1164). He appears to have been a Bengali, and the colophon to the *Atma-saṁskṛpa* calls him a Mahāmahopādhyāya. In Haraprasad Sastri's *Notices*, II, nos. 93, 201, 225, three Smṛti works, entitled respectively *Durgāraṇa-kāṇḍa-nīṭarpa*, *Vraṇa-kāṇḍa-nīṭarpa* and *Śraddha-kāṇḍa-nīṭarpa* are ascribed to him. He could not have been the famous Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, author of the *Advaita-siddhi*; see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 130-131.

4 *Adi* i. 36, III. 4, a. 85; *Madhya* i. 42-43, xviii. 50; *Aṣṭya* iv. 228-235.

contribution. We have already noted that, like most great religious teachers, Caitanya appears to have refrained from discussing metaphysical problems (or writing about them) with his followers, who took his metaphysics according to their own light. But the view of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīs ultimately prevailed.¹

The following list of Vaiṣṇava treatises, composed by Sanātana and Rūpa respectively, is given by Jīva:

Sanātana's works:² (i) (*Bṛhad-*) *bhāgavatāmṛta* (with its *Digdarśanī* commentary)³, (ii) *Harī-bhakti-villāsa*, on the authorship of which we have spoken above, with its commentary entitled also **Digdarśanī*, (iii) *Līlā-stava*, also called

1 It is our impression (and the reasons have been given above) that Caitanya could not have been such an anti-Śaṅkara as depicted by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. The Kavirāja, however, is careless enough to give us a rough idea as to what Caitanya's metaphysics could possibly have been, when he makes Caitanya ridicule Vallabha Bhaṭṭa for differing from Śrīdhara's commentary on the *Bhāgavata* and say that Śrīdhara was 'Jagad-guru'. In his commentary on Jīva's *Tattva-saṁdarbha*, Rādhāmohana Govvīmīśa says that the Śaṅkara sect was divided into two main branches—(i) the Smārtaś, possibly the pure Advaitas who did not care about Bhakti and (ii) the Bhāgavataś, who tempered the idea of Mukti with Bhakti; and that Śrīdhara belonged to the latter branch. Possibly Caitanya was a Śaṅkarīna Saṁnyāsin of the Śrīdhara type, although he was far ahead of Śrīdhara in what he understood to be the implications of Bhakti, and the Bhakti, which he practised may have been very much like what Rūpa and Jīva say about it. For Śrīdhara's treatment of Bhakti see his brief comment on *Bhāgavata* 1.43.17.

2 *athāgraja-kṛte:ragryaṁ līlā-bhāgavatāmṛtam /*

harī-bhakti-villāsaṁ ca tattvika-dīkṣadarśanī //

līlāstava-tippaṇī ca aryaṁ vaiṣṇava-tantraṁ //

yā anuśīlitaṁ mayā kṣudra-jīvanāpi tadārahaḥ //. —Kṛṣṇadāsa

Kavirāja also gives a general list of Rūpa's and Sanātana's works in C-C (Madhya I, and Antya IV), which is not exhaustive, but which substantially agrees with Jīva's enumeration.

3 Ed. Nityānandap Brāhmacārī, Vṛndāvana 1905 (in Devanāgarī characters).

Dāśama-cārita by Narahari (*Bhakti-ratnākara*, p. 57) and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja (C.C. Madhya i. 30-31)—now lost, and (iv) a commentary on the 10th Skandha of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, entitled *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*, of which an abridged (**Laghu-vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* or briefly *Laghu-toṣaṇī*) edition was prepared in Śaka 1504 (=1582 A. D.) by Jīva himself.¹

Rūpa's works²: (i) *Harṣa-dāsa* (Kāvya). (ii) *Uddhava-*

1 On this abridgment, see below. Works mentioned under Sanātana Goṛāmin in Aufrecht, I, 693a are almost all instances of mistaken or doubtful ascription, with the exception of (*Bhṛad-*) *bhāgavardmya* and *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* (wrongly entered as *Vijaya-toṣaṇī*). No descriptions of *Bhakti-bhāṣa* and *Ujjvala-rasa-kāṣī* mentioned in the *Oriya Catalogue* are available; but they cannot be Sanātana's. They look suspiciously like summaries of the two works of Rūpa's on *Bhakti-rasa-dāsa*, and are probably the same as *Bhakti-radāmya-sindhu-bhāṣa* and *Ujjvala-sāmaṣi-kāṣa*, which are summaries of Rūpa's two works by Viṭṭalaśa Cakravartin. The *Yoga-sāma-nyāsihṛdaya*, quoted by Rāyamukha as Sanātana's, cannot be assigned to our Sanātana; for Rāyamukha, whose *Pada-saṁdīpa* commentary on *Amara-kōṣa* was composed in 1401 A.D., must have been an earlier writer. The remaining works entered by Aufrecht are either by Rūpa, Jīva or Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. The mistakes arise, of course, from the insufficient or wrong descriptions given in the original catalogues, as well as from wrong scribal ascriptions in the MSS themselves. Instances of such confusion are frequent with regard to the works of the six Goṛāmins, and some have been noted in S. K. De, *Sanskrit Portals*, 1st ed. I, p. 235, and in *Annals of the Bhadarker Institute*, I, p. 117. Some have also been noted below.

- 2 *toṣaṇī saṁaśṛjya kāvyaṁ br-harṣa-dāśakam /*
śrīmad-uddhava-saṁdīpaś canda'pīṇḍakam tathā / /
saṁat cōkṣatikāraṇī goṛāṇḍa-bīradhāṇī /
pramēṇa-sāgarādīyaś ca baharāś sapraśiṣṭāḥ / /
vīṇāḍha-talīrāgrāhīkya-mādhavaṁ nāṭaka-draṇam /
bhāṣikā dāsa-brīṇḍāḥyāś radāmya-toṣaṇam paṇaḥ / /
saikāṇḍa-mahimā padyaṛaṇī nāṭaka-candrikā /
saṁkīrṇa-brī-bhāgavardmyam ete ca saṁgrahāḥ / /—A survey of

Rūpa's literary works will be found below under ch. vii.

saṃśāḍa (Kāvya)¹ (iii) *Aṅgāḍa-ecchandas*² (iv) *Uṣkalikā-vallāṭi*, *Govinda-birudāvallī*, *Premendu-śāgara*, etc., all Stavas or Stotras. These, as well as *Aṅgāḍa-ecchandas*, were collected together, apparently sometime later, by Jīva himself under the name **Śrīva-māḍā* (total number of pieces is sixty-four). (v) **Vidagdhā-mādhava* (Drama).³ (vi) **Lallitā-mādhava* (Drama). (vii) **Dāna-keli-kaumudī* (Bhāṣikā). (viii) and (ix) **Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*⁴ and *Ujjvala-nīlamanī*⁵ (Bhakti-rasa-śāstra)⁶ (x) *Mathurā-mahimā* or -māhātmya, now said to be included in the *Vardhā-purāṇa* (not separately published); a MS⁷ of this work is noticed in Haraprasad Sastri, *Notices*, 2nd Series, p. 264, no. 265. (xi) **Padyāvallī* (Anthology).⁸ (xii)

1 These two works have been published very often in India. They have been also printed in Devanāgarī in the Harberlin. *Kāvya-saṃgraha*, pp. 325 f and in Jīvananda Vidyasagar, *Kāvya-saṃgraha*, Calcutta 1888, pp. II, pp. 441-507 and III, pp. 215-275.

2 It is not clear what this work was. The C-C (Madhya L 39) speaks of it as *Aṅgāḍa-mā-ecchandas*. From BL 2 of the *Nandotavādī-carita*, ascribed to Rūpa in the collected *Śrīva-māḍā*:

nandotavādāyāś śāh kaṣṭha-radhāśāḥ harer mahāśūbh /
cchandobhir lalitāṅgaḥ aṅgāḍalabhir nirāpyante //

it appears that the twenty-three short pieces, beginning from the *Nandotavādī-carita* and ending with *Rasagandha-kīrti* (i.e. *Kaṣṭha-radha*) included in the *Śrīva-māḍā*, were known and described by Jīva as *Aṅgāḍa-ecchandas*. The *Gītāvallī*, included also in the *Śrīva-māḍā*, is apparently by Rūpa, and not by Saṅkara.

3 Also ed. *Kāvyamālā* 81, Bombay 1903.

4 Also ed. Damodara Govindān, *Acyuta Granthamālā Series*, Benares 1912.

5 Also edited in *Kāvyamālā* 9*, Bombay 1913.

6 Aufrecht misunderstands the description *rasāmṛta-yugam* of these two works (i.e. two works on the *Rasa-śāstra*) in Jīva's enumeration, and enters *Rasāmṛta* as two poems by Rūpa.

7 The MS of this work, ascribed to Rūpa Govindān, in the Vaidya Śikṣitya Parīśad, Calcutta (*Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 1152, p. 290), describes in Śloka metre *Vrindāvana* in relation to Kṛṣṇa; but this MS which we examined is incomplete.

8 Also critically ed. S. K. De with introd. and appendices, Dacca University Oriental Publ. Series, Dacca 1934.

**Nāṭaka-candrikā* (Dramaturgy)¹ and (xiii) **Samkṣepa-bhāga-varāṇṣī* (Theology), which is not an abridgment of Sanātana's work of the same name, but an independent work.

With the exception of the questionable ascription of *Harī-bhakti-viśā*, of which we have spoken above, the lists are fairly correct,² and enumerate all the important works of Sanātana and Rūpa. But the *Bhakti-ratnākara* quotes also some other traditional Sanskrit verses³ which add four more works (making a total of seventeen) to the list of Rūpa's literary efforts:

(i) *Śrī-gopāddesa-dīpikā*, both Bṛhat and Laghu. This work is better known as **Rādhā-kṛpā-gopāddesa-dīpikā* and has been printed at Murshidabad;⁴ it is said to exist in Bṛhat and Laghu versions. (ii) *Prayuktākhyaṭa-candrikā*, apparently a grammatical work, dealing with verbs, but no information is available about it. (iii) *Kṛpā-janma-tithi-vidhī*. Nothing is known about this work, but it may be the same work as noticed by Aufrecht in his *Leipzig Catalogue*, no. 621, entitled *Kṛpā-janma-tithi-vidhī*. The author's name does not appear on the manuscript which consists of 22 folios, but the opening verse says that it was composed at the direction of the Lord (*prabhūṇāṁ vinideśataḥ*), by which honorific

1 Some account of this work will be found in S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, 2nd ed. 1, p. 253, 256.

2 As marked by asterisk, most of these are printed by the Radharaman Press at Berhampur in Bengali characters and published at Murshidabad, with the exception of those which are noted as having been printed at Vṛndavan or of which editions are also published in the Kāvyaśālā series of the Nirmaya Sagar Press, Bombay or elsewhere. All the Bengal editions, unless otherwise marked, are as a rule printed in Bengali characters.

3 The additional list is ascribed to Jīva's disciple, Kṛpādhāra Adhikārīn. It mentions *Jīva-mūlā* compiled by Jīva later on.

4 At the Radharaman Press as noted above. The genuineness of this work is very doubtful: see B. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 141. The work is dated Śaka 1472=1550 A.D.; if so, why is it not mentioned in Jīva's list compiled in 1582 A.D.?

term Rūpa often refers to Saṅkṛāṇa. Also (iv) *Aṣṭakālīka-dhokāvālī*, consisting of eleven verses, which Rūpa is said to have given to Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja for elaborating.¹ This must have been the basis of Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Govinda-nidāṃyā*, which deals with the same theme, and which in xlii. 94 appears to refer to some such work by Rūpa (*śrī-rūpa-darśita-dīpā likhitaṣṭakāyā/ śrī-rādhikā-kṛpā-keli-tarir may-eyam*). Haraprasad Sastri in his *Notices* (2nd Series i, p. 418, no. 414) mentions a work entitled *Smaraṇa-maṅgalai-kādaśa* which, however, does not consist of eleven but thirty-five verses, but the colophon of which says: *iti śrīmad-rūpa-gosvāminā vīracitaṃ śrī-rādhā-kṛṣṇāyā aṣṭa-kālīka-dhokāvālī-smaraṇa-maṅgalāṇ samāptam*.² (v) Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa,

१ देवदत्त-हृदयान् एवमुक्तं खोदयेत् ।

हृदयदत्तं चरितं विस्तारितं विदुः ॥

चरितसमीक्षां याचे यति एवायम् ।

माम्बदन्तं वनं ते कर्तव्यं चासाधुम् ॥

(Bhaṭṭa-ratnākara).

2 The following works are sometimes found ascribed to Rūpa, but their authenticity is extremely doubtful: (i) *Upadeśāṃyā*, consisting of 43 verses, which give arguments for and against asceticism, supposed to have been addressed to Nitya (Mitra, *Notices*, viii, p. 13, no. 2569). (ii) *Gaṅgāstaka*, eight stanzas in praise of Gaṅgā-devī, daughter of Nityānanda (Mitra *Notices*, iv, p. 203, no. 1628). According to Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Rūpa met Nityānanda both at Rāmakeli (Madhya I, 173-4) and at Puri (Antya I, 132); but it is curious that Rūpa never mentions Nityānanda, although he speaks of Advaita. Raghunātha also omits Nityānanda's name, but includes Advaita's. Only Saṅkṛāṇa, in the *Maṅgala-dhokas* of his *Pañcava-tomaḥ*, pays homage to Nityānanda. It is extremely unlikely, therefore, Rūpa should have written anything on Nityānanda or his family. (iii) *Śrīpā-dalaka* (Roth's *Tübingen Catalogue*, 10). (iv) *Sādhana-paddhati* (Mitra, *Notices*, ii, p. 35, no. 2847), consisting of only two folios, on Rādhā-kṛṣṇa worship. But the colophon merely says: *śrī-rūpa-gosvāmyakṛta-sādhana-paddhati*, and not *śrī-rūpa-gosvāmī-kṛta*. This may or may not be the same as *Sādhanaṃyā*, ascribed to Rūpa, in A. V. Kishore's *Report* (1904), p. 22, no. 314. Some of Aufrecht's entries in i. 333 are merely separate

in his commentary on Rūpa's *Govinda-bīrudhāvallī*, speaks of a *Bīruda-lakṣaṇa* by Rūpa, which discussed the metrical and other characteristics of a *Bīruda-kāvya*.¹ Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja also, in his enumeration of Rūpa's works, speaks of गोविन्दविद्वत्तत्त्वोच्चारण लक्षण. This appears to be the recently published work *Sādhānya-bīrudhāvallī-lakṣaṇa*.²

Two copies of a commentary on Kālidāsa's *Megha-dūta*, entitled *Tārparāya-dīpikā*, by Saṅkṛāṇa Gosvāmin, are noticed by Eggeling in his *India Office Catalogue* (vii, pp. 1422-23, no. 1584 and 1570). This appears to be a genuine work, which is perhaps omitted in the above list as being non-religious, but which Saṅkṛāṇa might have composed before he began his theological labours.

Jīva Gosvāmin was a more prolific, versatile and voluminous writer, and it is difficult to give a complete list of his works. The enumeration of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja (*Madhya*, i; *Antya*, vi) is very brief, but the *Bhakti-ratnākara* cites some traditional Sanskrit verses which assign more than twenty different works to Jīva. Most of his works, however, are

mentions of the *Ślotras* (of which separate MSS are available), included in Rūpa's *Śrāvā-mūlā*, e.g. *Utkalika-vallarī*, *Kārpāya-pāṭijikā*, *Govinda-bīrudhāvallī*, *Calitanyāṣṭaka*, *Premanodu-śāgara*, *Mukunda-mukhāvallī* (but not its commentary which is anonymous, see Eggeling's *India Office Catalogue*, vii, p. 1469, no. 1184g/3896), *Yamunāṣṭaka*. Other entries are wrong attributions, e.g. *Paramāṭma-saṃdarbhā*, *Prīti-saṃdarbhā* and *Harī-nāṭyamṛta-vyākaraṇa* all of which belong to Jīva; *Gaurāṅga-stava-kalpātara*, *Villips-kusumāṭjālī* and *Vrajaṅga-stava* are *Rāgha-nātha-dāsa*'s, included in his *Śrāvāvallī*. Similarly, in Aufrecht, iii, 113 b, *Kṛtāvṛtṣṭaka* is one of the *ślotras* of Rūpa's *Śrāvā-mūlā*, separately mentioned. The *Kāṣṭhī-mṛta-śloka* in *Uttar Catalogue* 1077 is not Saṅkṛāṇa's but Jīva's.

1. Vīṭvankīṭha, for the first time, defines it in his *Sādhānya-darpaṇa* (line: *padya-padyamayaḥ rāga-stūtiḥ bīrudam aryaḥ*; but from the specimens it appears to be an exercise in metrical and rhetorical skill in weaving *śabdālaṅkāra*).

2. Printed by Haridas Das, Navadvīpa 1941, along with Jīva's *Gopālā-bīrudhāvallī*.

commentaries, abstracts or supplements, elucidating the learned treatises of his uncles, who found in him a very apt and learned interpreter. Jīva's authentic works, arranged according to their subject-matter, may be given as follows:

(i) Grammar: (a) **Harī-nāmadhya-vyākaraṇa* (Bṛhat and Laghu), a compilation in which all the rules and illustrations of Sanskrit grammar are associated, in the true sectarian spirit, with the names of Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā or their Gaṇas, and therefore made specially suitable to devout Vaiṣṇavas, who by reading it would realise the double purpose of learning grammatical rules and reciting the blessed names. (b) (*Dhātu-jūṣṭa-mālikā*), which is probably a Dhātu-pāṭha supplement (described as *Dhātu-saṁgraha*) of the above, but of which no information is available.

(ii) Vaiṣṇava Kāvya: (a) **Gopāla-campū*,¹ a voluminous Campū in prose and verse, divided into Pūrva in 33 Pūraṇas and Uttara in 37 Pūraṇas, which give a poetical-mystical treatment of the life of Kṛṣṇa. (b) **Sanikalpa-kalpa-druma*, a half-philosophical, half-poetical work on Vaiṣṇava doctrine, illustrated by references to the Kṛṣṇa-Itā, in three parts, respectively entitled Janmādi-Itā, Nitya-Itā, and Sarvaṣṭu-Itā, with a concluding Phala-nispatti. The work must have been written at Vṛndāvana when Jīva was very old (*Vṛndāraṇye jaraṇ Jīvaḥ*, i. 4), even after the completion of the two parts of his *Gopāla-campū*, which are mentioned (in i. 264). (c) *Mādhava-mahotsava*, a Kāvya in nine Ullāsas, dealing with the Abhīṣeka of Rādhā by Kṛṣṇa and the festivity consequent upon it.² (d) *Gopāla-bīrudāvaṇ*,³ a small Bīrudā-kāvya of panegyrics on the Vṛndāvana-Itā of Kṛṣṇa.

1 Ed. Rāmacandari Saṁkhyasūtra, in five parts, Berhampur 1910. An account of Jīva's literary works will be found below under ch. vii.

2 Ed. Haridas Das, Haribole Kutir, Poṭāghāṭi, Navadvīpa 1941 in Bengali characters. The work is dated Śaka 1477 (*saptasaptasamvatsār*)=1555 A.D. The work is mentioned in the *Shakti-rasādhara* list of Jīva's works.

3 Printed along with *Sāmanya-bīrudāvaṇ-lalapa* of Rūpa Gosvāmī, by Haridas Das, Navadvīpa 1941.

(iii) *Rasa-āṣṭra*: (a) *Rasāmṛta-seṣa*, mentioned in the *Ulwar Catalogue* 1077, may be Jīva's, but wrongly attributed there to Saṅkṛāṇa. This work appears to have been recently recovered and printed:¹ it is a short rhetorical supplement (based chiefly on Viśvanātha's *Sāhitya-darpana*) to Rūpa's two works on the subject. (b-c) commentaries entitled "*Durgama saṅgamaṇi*" and "*Locana-rocani*" respectively on Rūpa's *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and *Uj्जvala-nīlamanj*.

(iv) Vaiṣṇava Ritualism: *Kṛṣṇārād-dīpikā*, apparently on the modes of Kṛṣṇa-worship. Nothing is known of this work.²

(v) Vaiṣṇava Theology: (a-e) commentaries on the *Gopālā-tāpani-upaniṣad*, on the "*Brahma-saṃhitā*," on the *Yoga-sāra-stava* of the *Padma-purāṇa*, on the *Gāyatri-māhātmya* of the *Agri-purāṇa*,³ and on the sections on Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-pada-cihna of the *Padma-purāṇa*. (f) a commentary, entitled "*Kṛama-saṃdarbhika*," on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, included in the Murshidabad edition of the text. (g) An abridgment (*Laghu*) of Saṅkṛāṇa's *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇi* commentary on the 10th Skandha of the *Bhāgavata*, prepared at the latter's command.⁴

1 Ed. Haridas Das, Haribole Kutir, Navadvīpa 1941 in Bengali characters.

2 Also edited along with the text in the *Kāvyamālā* 95.

3 An anonymous *Kṛṣṇārād-dīpikā* is mentioned in Aufrecht i. 124 a.

4 The name of the commentary on the *Brahma-saṃhitā* does not occur in the printed text, but in the MS noticed by Eggeling (*Jadva Office Catalogue*, iv, p. 820, no. 199) the name is given as *Dīptārāṇi*, though it is wrongly attributed to Rūpa. The opening verse which refers to *Kṛṣṇa-saṃdarbhika* would hardly leave any doubt as to the authorship. Cf. Mitra, *Notices*, II, no. 691.

5 Ed. Haridas Das, as appendix to his ed. of Jīva's *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-seṣa* (see above).

6 The original work (*Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇi*) does not appear to have been printed fully, for the printed work in the Murshidabad ed., as well as most manuscripts, appear to represent the *Laghu-toṣaṇi* compiled by Jīva.

(vi) Vaiṣṇava Philosophy: *Bhāgavata-saṁdarbha*, consisting of six elaborate Saṁdarbhas, viz. **Tattva*-, **Bhagavat*-, **Paramātmā*-, *Kṛṣṇa*-, *Bhakti*- and *Prīti*-,¹ which give the first systematic exposition of the entire philosophical dogmatics of the Bengal school. (b) *Sarva-saṁvādinī*, a brief exposition on the first four of the above Saṁdarbhas (Anuvyākhyā),² but really a summary and supplement to them. No mention is made of this work in the *Bhakti-ratnākara* list of Jīva's works, but neither this list nor that of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, as indicated by the word *Adyaṣ*³ has any pretension to being exhaustive.⁴

1 All the six Saṁdarbhas are published in Devanāgarī characters by Śhṛyāmālā Govvami (Calcutta, Raka 1812 = A.D. 1890). The *Tattva**, *Bhagavat**, *Paramātmā** have been printed by the Radharamaṇ Press with a Bengali translation and with the Sanskrit commentary of Baladeva Vidyābhāṭya on the *Tattva-saṁdarbha* only. The *Tattva** has also been printed in Devanāgarī characters by Nityānanda Brāhmacārī (Calcutta 1919, by Satyananda Govvami (with Bengali translation, Calcutta B.S. 1318=1911 A.D.). The *Bhagavat** has also been printed, with a Bengali translation, by Satyananda Govvami (Calcutta B.S. 1333=1926 A.D.). The *Kṛṣṇa-saṁdarbha* has been printed, with a Bengali commentary, by Prāṇapāl Govvami from Nadia (1925); as also the *Prīti** (1919). The *Prīti** has also been published in Devanāgarī characters by Śhṛyāmālā Govvami (Calcutta, 1901). Only a few fascicules of the *Bhakti-saṁdarbha* have so far been published with a Bengali commentary by the Gauḍīya Mādhva Maṭha, Calcutta. Good MSS of these works exist in the Dacca University Library; and a critical edition of the Saṁdarbhas is desirable. A survey of the six Saṁdarbhas will be found below under ch. v.

2 Ed. Rāmakṛṣṇa Vidyābhūṣaṇ, Vāṅmlyā Sāhitya Parkaḥ, Calcutta 1920, with a Bengali translation.

3 With the exception of those noted, all the works of Jīva have been printed at the Radharamaṇ Press, Berhampur, in Bengali characters and with Bengali translation (as indicated by asterisk). Aufrecht in his entries under Jīva Gauḍīya in L. 207a is often misled by wrong identifications or insufficient descriptions of the original catalogues on which he had to rely. Jīva wrote only the commentary on *Brāhma-sūtrā* and not the text itself; the *Mukṣa-sūtra* and *Stava-mālā* are by Raghunātha-dāsa and Rūpa respectively. The *Sāra-saṁgraha*,

With regard to the exact dates of Rūpa, Sanātana and Jīva, no authentic information is available; but from their relation to Caitanya and from the dates of composition recorded at the end of some of their own works we can approximately fix the period of their literary activity. Rūpa Gosvāmin's two Duta-kāvyaś mentioned above were probably composed before his conversion, as there is no Namaṣkriyā or reference to Caitanya in them. The *Padyāvalī*, which is cited by name in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*, *Ujjvala-nīlamangl* and *Nāṭaka-candrikā*, was probably also an early compilation, which may have been recast or added to before the composition of these three works.¹ It does not also give any Namaṣkriyā or reference to Caitanya. But it gives all the eight verses of the *Śikṣāṣṭaka* with the subscription Śrī-bhagavataḥ. It does not also give verses from any of Rūpa's dramas, which have been very profusely utilised for illustrative verses in his two works on Rasa-śāstra mentioned above, as well as in his *Nāṭaka-candrikā*. The *Padyāvalī* in its turn quotes verses from the following Stotras, included in his *Śrava-mālā* viz. *Govinda-bīrudāvalī*, *Varṇāvaṇa-govatsa-cāraṇādī-hiṇā* and *Māthurāṣṭaka*, which must have been even earlier. Some

noticed in Mitra, *Notices*, iv. pp. 303-4, no. 172, appears to be a late metrical compilation on the *Bhakti-rasa-śāstra* wrongly ascribed to Jīva. In its opening and concluding verses Jīva's name does not appear; it is given only in the colophon. The opening verses, again, are directly plagiarised from other well known works, e.g. the first verse = verse no. 4 of Rūpa's *Śaṅkṛpe-bhāgavataṁṛta*; the second = one of the concluding verses of Raghunātha-dāsa's *Mukūṭa-ratnā* etc. The authenticity of the attribution of the work to Jīva, therefore, is questionable, especially as its contents merely summarise well known views. Aufrecht in i. 204a assigns the *Goṇḍa-campā* to one Jīvarāja, son of Kāmarāja (not Kāmarūpa) Śāri; this is obviously a mistake, which originated from Mitra's *Notices*, i. p. 43, no. 72. Several other apocryphal works are sometimes ascribed to Jīva, but their genuineness is extremely doubtful.

¹ For a discussion of the probable date of this compilation, see S. K. De, in *JHQ* x, 1934, pp. 311-312.

of Rūpa's other works, however, are expressly dated. His *Dāna-keli-kaumudī*, which professes to have been written at Nandīvara for the pleasure of some dear friend living on the banks of the Kuṇḍa, appears to bear the earliest date Śaka 1417=1495 A. D.¹ If this date is correct, then the drama

1 *prakīṛṇa sumanah-sukhadā yaya nīdīna bhāgīnī-vaṅg iyam/ taya mama priya-sukhadā kuṇḍa-taṭe kṣaṃ aluṃkṛm// gaṇa manu-date śāke candravarā-samanvite/ nandīvare nirasā bhāgī-krīṣṇa nīlmīṇā//*. This verse occurs not only in the printed text, but also in Haraprasād Sastri, *Notices*, i, no. 164 and in *Descriptive Cat. of Madras Govt. Orient. MSS Library*, xii, p. 8407, no. 12521. The date cannot be Śaka 1471=1549 A. D.; for the *Dāna-keli-kaumudī* is cited in the *Bhakti-rasamṛta*² composed in Śaka 1463=1541 A. D. The date of this work makes it impossible that Rūpa could have written this drama, as the commentary explains, for his friend Raghunātha-dāsa. On the other hand, there is nothing improbable, apart from this date, in the explanation that Nandīvara means Vṛndāvana and Kuṇḍa-taṭe refers to the Rādhā-kuṇḍa in Vṛndāvana where Raghunātha-dāsa, Rūpa's friend, resided. The verse which contains this date is indeed placed after the colophon, but this fact, though suspicious, is not conclusive, and the verse cannot be rejected lightly; for the anonymous person living by the Kuṇḍa-taṭe is also distinctly referred to in the body of the text itself in the verse *rādhā-kuṇḍa-taṭe-kṛte*³. In verse 5 of the drama, again the description of the devotional ecstasy of the Bhakta can apply very well to the familiar description of such ecstasies of Caitanya himself. It can be supposed that the work was actually composed as early as the date given, but that it was later on revised (with the addition of the verse 5 and the verse *rādhā-kuṇḍa-taṭe-kṛte*) and dedicated to Raghunātha-dāsa; but the verse containing the date, if genuine, makes two things clear: (i) that at the time of composition the author was actually living at Nandīvara, which was apparently Vṛndāvana and (ii) that the work was actually composed (*prakīṛṇa*) (and not revised merely) at the instance of the friend residing at Kuṇḍa-taṭe. This latter fact is also indicated by the verse *rādhā-kuṇḍa-taṭe-kṛte*⁴; and there is nothing to show that it was a later addition. The problem of the correctness of the date given by the verse in question is, therefore, not free from difficulty. The internal evidence of the text, as discussed above, makes it probable that the work was composed some time after 1350 A. D., i.e., after Rūpa and Raghunātha-dāsa settled at Vṛndāvana, but before 1541 as it is cited in *Bhakti-rasamṛta*⁵. Bimanbikari Majumdar (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, vol. 42,

must have been written long before the author met Caitanya, who himself could not have been more than ten years old at that time. As such, it might have been one of his earliest works. This appears to be corroborated by the fact that while his other dramas pay opening homage to Caitanya, the *Dāna-kell-kaṇmudī* makes no direct reference to him.¹ Next comes the *Vidagdha-mādhava* which gives us the date Samvat 1589=1533 A. D.,² and the completion of the *Lalita-mādhava* is dated in the month of Jyaiṣṭha, Śaka 1459=1537 A. D.³ The *Nājaka-candrikā* which draws upon all these dramatic works for its illustrations, as well as upon the *Padyāvalī*, but which has no reference to the two semi-rhetorical works on Rasa-śāstra, must have been composed after the dramas were completed. His *Bhakti-rasāmṛta* appears to have been completed in Śaka 1463=1541 A. D.;⁴ and his *Ujjvala-nīlamanjī*,

B.E. 1342, pp. 51-52) suggests the ingenious emendation *candra-tara* (instead of *candra-rara*) in the verse in question, giving us Śaka 1451 (=1529 A.D.). This would be about four years before Caitanya's passing away, when both Rāpa and Raghunātha were well settled at Vṛndāvana. There is, however, another tradition that Raghunātha-dāsa did not leave Puri for Vṛndāvana till after Caitanya's passing away in 1533. If that were so, he could not have been living at Rādhā-kupḍa in Śaka 1451=1529 A.D. which would be the date proposed by Bhaṇu-bhārī's emendation *candra-tara*. If any emendation is permissible, one would be tempted to suggest *candra-rasa*, which would give us Śaka 1461=1539 A.D.

1 But see SL 5 in which is described the devotional ecstasy of a Kṛpā-bhakta, reminding one very forcibly of the ecstasies of Caitanya.

2 *nava-sādhura-bhāṇḍa-saṃkhye saptaśare gate/ vidagdha-mādhavaṃ nāma nityaṃ vakale kṛtam//* (v. l. *nanda* for *nava* in *Madras Catalogue*, xii, p. 6314).

3 *nandya-vedanda-mūle lalāḍhe/ lālasya māsasya rithau catur-thyaṃ// dīna dīna dīnāṅga harim prapanya/ samāpayaṃ bhadraraṇe prabandham//*. (v. l. *nandāṅga-vedanda-mūle*).

4 *nāṇḍāṅga-lāṅga-gaṇīr lāle goluḥam adhiṣṭhita/ śrī-bhakti-rasāmṛta-sādhur vijakṣitāḥ kṛdra-rūpeṣu//* The v. l. *nāṇḍāṅga-lāṅga-gaṇīr* is noticed by Bhandarkar, *Report* 1883-84 (Bombay 1887), p. 76, which would give Śaka 1493. But the commentator (probably

which purports to be its supplement, must have been composed later. His next dated work appears to be the alleged *Bṛhad-rādhā-kṛṣṇa-gaṇoddeta-dīpikā* which was completed¹ in Śrāvapa, Śaka 1472=1550 A. D. (July-August), while his *Utkalika-vallari* Stotra (included in the *Stava-mālā*) is dated in Pauṣa, Śaka 1471, would give us the same date A. D. 1549-50 (December-January).² These dates would make it clear that the most flourishing period of Rūpa's literary activity falls between 1533 and 1550 A. D., but it probably began as early as 1495 A.D.

Ḍva) distinctly explains *tri-ṣaṭṣayadhika-caturdala-gaṇita*, and further notes the corresponding *Saṁvrat* as *rikramādityaya vṛṣṇa-anvayadhika-pañcoddeta-tat-gaṇita* *trī* *dhryam*. The reading of the Decca University manuscript (nos. 2439 and 2483), which we consulted, is *rādhāga-takre-gaṇita*, and the explanation in the commentary is as given above.

1 *likhe dṛg-atra-takre nabhasi nabhomapi-dier ṣaṭṣayam/ vṛṣa-pati-sadmani rādhā-kṛṣṇa-gaṇoddeta-dīpikādi* //.

2 *candādra-bhavaṁ likhe paṇṇe gokula-rādhā/ tyam utkalikā-pārva-vallari nṛmāḥ mayā* // . The Decca University Manuscript collection contains a MS of Kavitarapūra's *Calanya-caritāṁṣa-lāya*, which bears Śaka 1464=1542 A.D. as its date of composition; the scribe of this MS calling himself Viṣṇudāsa adds a few verses after the colophon, which state that Rūpa Govindāśa made a copy of this work in Śaka 1467=1545 A.D., i.e. only three years after the work was actually composed (*calanya-candra-caritāṁṣam adbhutābhutā/ dṛṣṭvā* *śābdilāḥ vīracitāṁ kavitarapūrai* // *rūpāḥṣya-mat-prabhuvarāḥ* *vṛṣa-bādhābhāṣa/* *likhe hoyanta-bhavaṁ līkhitam purā yat* // *śloka* *ślopatam sarva ka-matāḥapi/ vṛṣa-pi tad-ratim ye mṛtaka-prabhuṣa/* *krādpi labha-manarā vata vīṇmūḍa-/* *nānā vṛṣa-vṛṇa-mahāupadhīm ācīṣaṁ sa* // (*śayānīkam*) // *idam lāyaṁ trī-rūpa-povāṇmāḥ caturdala-pāṇṇa-ṣaṭṣayadhika-rāya līkhitam, tad-vaṇṇarāṇaṁ trī viṣṇudāsa-govindāśa*. This indication is very interesting, as it shows that the Navadvīpa works were well known to the Vṛndāvana circle, although the earlier Navadvīpa authors (except, of course, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja) do not show familiarity with the works of the Vṛndāvana Govindāśa. Probably Viṣṇudāsa, who describes himself as a follower of Rūpa, copies this work from Rūpa Govindāśa's own copy. The Decca University MS, which is not old, must be a later copy of that copy by some other scribe. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja tells us that Rūpa's handwriting was very fine (*कोर चक्षुर देव मुकुटार पीति* *Amṛta* i. 97).

Sanātana, as his associate, must have accomplished his literary labours at about the same period of time. But Jīva tells us that Sanātana's *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* commentary was completed in Śaka 1476=1554 A.D., so that Sanātana must have been alive up to this date. The *Bhakti-ratnākara* records that both Sanātana and Rūpa died in the same year at the interval of a few months. If this is true, then Rūpa must have also been alive in 1554 A.D. Beyond this nothing at present can be said with regard to the dates of these two Gosvāmīns.

Jīva as their nephew and younger contemporary must have belonged to a generation later : for tradition says that he was quite young when his father and uncles left home. He appears to have survived the other Gosvāmīns, being the youngest : and, as we learn from the *Bhakti-ratnākara* and the *Prema-vilāsa*, he continued to be the doctrinal dictator to the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas. His exact dates are not known, but his *Mādhava-mahotsava* is dated Śaka 1477 (=1555 A.D.), while the first part of his *Gopāla-campū* is dated in Śarpvat 1645 or Śaka 1510 (=1588 A.D.), the second part four years later in Śaka 1514 (=1592 A.D.). The *Samkalpa-kalpadruma*, which speaks of the completion of both parts of the *Campū*, is of later date : according to his own account the author was then in advanced old age (*Jaraṇ Jīvaḥ*).

Although the range and versatility of their literary works are remarkable, the six Gosvāmīns appear to have divided among themselves the work entrusted to them according to their individual taste, inclination and capacity. Sanātana, more devout than scholarly, concerned himself chiefly with theology and interpretation of theological texts : the more practically minded Gopāla Bhaṭṭa elaborately codified its ritualism and devotional practices ; while Raghunātha-dāsa, more poetically and emotionally disposed, gave fanciful expression in prose and verse to the erotic mysticism with which the faith associated Kṛṣṇa's sports. Rūpa Gosvāmīn, a passionate devotee, but possessing a trained scholastic mind

took up especially the emotional analysis of Bhakti as a Rasa and wrote authoritatively on its peculiar psychology and pathology, systematising a rhetorical Bhakti-rasa-śāstra, as well as composing illustrative dramas and poems and compiling an anthology of its varied literary expression. He also supplemented in a more scholastic spirit the theological labours of Sañkara by his *Laghu- or Sāṃkṣepa-Bhāgavat-āmṛta* which, purporting by its name to be only a summary of Sañkara's work of the same name, is really an independent treatise. He might have also indicated a system of romantic Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa associations, which later formed the basis of an elaborate hagiology of the cult. Trained by them and deeply read in their authoritative works, Jīva possessed a more versatile mind and wrote on almost all the branches of the Vaiṣṇava Śāstra ; but his natural predilection, as well as his early philosophical training at Benares, fitted him for the task of giving an elaborate exposition of its mystical-metaphysical dogmatics. Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa alone wrote nothing. In this way the Vrindavana Gosvamins practically covered the whole range of Vaiṣṇava Śāstra ; and, with the exception of the much later works of Viśvanātha Cakravartin and Baladeva Vidyā-bhūṣaṇa (18th century), they practically created the entire philosophical and religious literature of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEVOTIONAL SENTIMENTS (RASA-ŚĀSTRA)

1. *General Characteristics*

Among the six immediate followers of Śrī-kṛṣṇa-caitanya, the so-called six Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana, to whom was left the task of elaborating and defining the doctrines, creeds and practices of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, the credit of first systematising its supreme religious emotion of Bhakti belongs to Rūpa Gosvāmin. Himself a poet and rhetorician, as well as a devout scholar and ascetic, he took up for treatment the emotional aspect of Vaiṣṇava Bhakti, and gave an authoritative exposition of its psychology, pathology and rhetoric with all the enthusiasm of a scholastic, yet devout, mind.

In Rūpa Gosvāmin's two systematic Sanskrit works on the Vaiṣṇava Rasa-Śāstra, namely, the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and its supplement the *Ujjvala-rāsamangī*, the religious sentiment of Bhakti has been approximated to the supreme relish of literary enjoyment, known as Rasa, of orthodox Sanskrit Poetics. A new turn was thus given not only to the old Rasa-theory of conventional Poetics but also to the religious emotion underlying the older Vaiṣṇava faith. Rūpa Gosvāmin gives an elaborate exposition of the mediaeval sentiment of Love, sublimated into a deeply religious sentiment, by bringing erotico-religious ideas to bear upon the general theme of literary Rasa, especially the Erotic Rasa. His two works, embodying what may be called the *Bhakti-rasa-Śāstra*, constitute a kind of Rhetoric of Bhakti, with all its psychology, conceit and imagery. If the mediaeval Troubadours of France and Italy conceived the love of Christ as an aspect of the Law and wrote a Grammar of the amorous sentiment, the mediaeval Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal¹ conceived the love of

1 There are three other rhetorical works produced by Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, viz. *Nityale-candrikā* of Rūpa Gosvāmin, *Alaṅkāra-*

Kṛpā as an aspect of Psychology, and wrote a Rhetoric of the erotic sentiment. Since Bhakti is conceived as a Rasa, it was essentially of the nature of a subjective emotion. The literary Sahyaya, as the recipient connoisseur, was replaced by the religious Bhakta, the devotee of nice sensibility. The love of Kṛpā (*kṛpā-rati*) was installed as the dominant feeling (*Sihāyi-bhāva*) which, through its appropriate Excitants (*Vibhāvas*), as well as Ensurants (*Anubhāvas*) and Auxiliaries (*Vyabhicārī-bhāvas*), was raised to a supreme relishable condition in his susceptible mind as the Bhakti-rasa. For the working out of this novel idea the whole apparatus of orthodox Sanskrit Poetics was ingeniously utilised, although the orthodox rhetorician himself would not regard Bhakti as a Rasa, but as a Bhāva.¹ Our poet rhetorician, who was also an

learned of *Kavikarṇāvatara* and *Kāvyā-candrikā* of Kavindra. Although they occasionally bring in Vaiṣṇava ideas and choose illustrative verses of a Vaiṣṇavite character, they are not directly concerned with Bhakti-rasa, but are regular rhetorical treatises composed on conventional lines (see S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, 2nd Ed. I, pp. 253-255). As such they need not be taken into account here. Jīva Goṣvāmīn also devotes a considerable part of his *Prīti-saṃdarbhā* to the subject of Bhakti as a Rasa, following in general the analysis of Rūpa Goṣvāmīn. Jīva's treatment, however, is somewhat different, for he brings in a great deal of theological and metaphysical matter to explain the subject. The same remark applies also to his *Bhakti-saṃdarbhā*, which occasionally refers to the topic of Bhakti as a Rasa. As he keeps closely to Rūpa's exposition of the subject in its general outline, it is not necessary for us to analyse Jīva's treatment in detail here; but it will be dealt with below in connection with our analysis of the respective *Saṃdarbhā*. We shall content ourselves here with noting occasionally only striking points from it, relevant to our subject. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's exposition of the doctrine of Bhakti in his *Caitanya-caritaṃtra* *Madhya* xix, is nothing more than a summary of Rūpa Goṣvāmīn's two works, and need not therefore be separately considered.

1 The terms Rasa and Bhāva are difficult to translate, but they have been rendered respectively by the terms 'sentiment' and 'emotion'. For the distinction, as well as for the difficulty of rendering these terms by modern critical vocabulary, see S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, 2nd ed. II, pp. 133, 239-60 and 278-80. These remarks also apply to the rendering

ardent devotee, follows very closely (even though his peculiar theme makes him depart in detail) the general outlines of the orthodox scheme of Poetics, adopting its main ideas and technicalities but making them applicable to the conception of emotional Bhakti. Not content with theoretical analysis, Rūpa Gosvāmin also took the trouble of writing a number of devotional poems and dramas and compiling an anthology on *Kṛpā-līlā* for the special purpose of illustrating his theme. In the two *Rasa*-treatises every detail of elaborate analysis is freely illustrated by more than six hundred quotations from current sentimental and religious literature, as well as from these illustrative poems and dramas composed by Rūpa himself and his associates.

of other technical terms of the *Rasa*-śāstra, which often indicate shades of meaning or concepts for which it is sometimes difficult to find a modern equivalent. Such terms have been translated or explained, as far as possible, in accordance to their actual definitions in the texts. The question whether Bhakti is *Rasa* or *Bhāva* is more or less academic, but it has been discussed at some length by Jaganāśītha in his *Rasa-grāhādhara* (ed. Kīrtivallī, 1913, p. 45). In the opinion of orthodox rhetoricians, it is *devadī-viśeṣa* *rasa* and therefore a *Bhāva*, and not a complete *Rasa*. Some advanced thinkers, however, would admit the *Vānalya*, *Preya*, *Braddhā*, and even Bhakti as a *Rasa*; but this admission was probably made in later times through the influence of Vaiṣṇava theory itself. Jaganāśītha, one of the latest writers, however, represents the general orthodox attitude. He adds further that, being based on *Anurūpa* or attachment, Bhakti cannot, as some maintain to the contrary, be comprehended in *śūnta* *Rasa*. Replying to this, Jīva Gosvāmin (*Prīti-saṁdarbhā*, ed. Prāṇapāl Govind, Calcutta B.E. 1337, p. 673-74) remarks that the phrase *devadī* means "ordinary gods" and does not apply to the supreme Kṛpā; and that Bhakti, along with its *Vibhāvas* etc., is in its own nature *śāntika*, and therefore conforms to the rhetoricians' requirements (*yaḥ sa prāpīya-vaiśiṣṭa rasa-śāmagri-vivakṣā bhaktiāḥ rasasāraṁ nyayam, sa bhāva prāpīya-devadī-rāgāyaṁ eva sambhavedi...., apāda tāra kīraṇālayaḥ svata evāśāntikā/bhāva-rāgāyama devadī devadītyādi ca*). Madhusūdana Saravall also discusses this question in the same strain in his *Bhāgavad-bhakti-rasāyana* (ed. Benares 1927, II, 73-80, but he adds that Bhakti as a *Rasa* is *vidambhava-śāntika* and therefore incapable of direct proof.

For a proper understanding of this *Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-rasa*, as expressed in its literary and religious productions, it would be necessary, therefore, to appreciate the fundamentals, as well as the details, of this presentation of *Bhakti* as a psychological entity, as a literary-erotic emotion transmuted into a deep and ineffable devotional sentiment, which is intensely personal and is yet impersonalised into a mental condition of disinterested joy. But the attitude is a curious mixture of the literary, the erotic and the religious, and the entire scheme as such is an extremely complicated one. There is an enthusiasm, natural to the analytic scholastic mind, for elaborate and subtle psychologising, as well as for developing and refining the inherited rhetorical traditions; but the attempt is also inspired very largely by an antecedent and still living poetic experience (*Jayadeva* and *Līlāśuka*), which found expression also in vernacular poetry (*Vidyāpati* and *Caṇḍīdāsa*), as well as by the simple piety of popular religions which reflected itself in the conceptions of such *Purāṇas* as the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, the fountain source of mediaeval *Vaiṣṇava Bhakti*. But it goes further and rests ultimately on the transcendental in personal religious experience of an emotional character, which does not indeed deny the senses but goes beyond their pale.

In the following pages we propose to give a general survey of the *Rasa-śāstra* of *Caitanyaism* by a rapid analysis of the two works of *Rūpa Goṣvāmin* mentioned above, which form the chief original authorities on the emotionalism of Bengal *Vaiṣṇavism*. The quaint figurative title of the first work, which means "The Sea of the Nectar of Devotional Sentiment" (*Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*), is fairly appropriate in designating an abstruse treatise of bewildering proportions and of boundless depths of analytical acumen. The *quintus essentia* of the devotional sentiment is the *Ujjvala* or *Madhura Rasa*, by which is meant, in terms of *Vaiṣṇava* emotionalism, the *Śṛṅgāra* or *Erotic sentiment* of *Kṛṣṇa* as the ideal hero, the term *Ujjvala* (=bright) having been apparently suggested by

Bharata's description¹ of the Rāsa, and Mādhura characterising its sweet and intoxicating character. But sufficient justice could not be done to this essential sentiment in a work which crowds in its broad scope the various subtle moods and aspects of Bhakti in all its maze of sinuous detail. The next work, the *Ujjvala-nīlamanī*, therefore, is offered as a supplement, which strictly confines itself to this topic of Vaiṣṇava amatory psychology; and its strange poetical title, with its obvious pun, indicates that the Ujjvala Rāsa, being the bright sapphire (*nīlamanī*) borne out of the depths of the Sea of the Nectar of Religious Devotion, is to be embalmed as a name or symbol of the Lord of sapphire-like radiance in a work bearing this blessed name.

2. *The Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*

The *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*² is divided into four parts (Vibhāga), respectively entitled Pūrva, Dakṣiṇa, Pāścima and Uttara,—a veritable quadrangular scheme of a strange world of spiritual experience. Each part is divided into Laharī (Waves) in keeping with the figurative title of the work. Like all scholastic writers, Rūpa Gosvāmin delights in elaborate definitions, fine distinctions and minute classifications of the

1 *Yat kīrtiḥ loke loka madhyam ujjvalam dāntanyam vā tat ckrāṣṭreṣopamīyate*. *Nāṭya-Hatya*, ed. Grosset, pp. 89-90. The term Mādhurya is employed advisedly in contradistinction to the Advārya aspect of Kṛpā's Līlā.

2 Our references are to the Murshidabad edition of the work (Rādhāraman Press, Berhampur) in Bengali characters, published in 1331 B. E. (=1924 A.D.), with the commentary, entitled *Durgama-raṅgamānī*, of Rīpa Gosvāmin. There is also another edition, with the same commentary, by Damodara Gosvāmī in the Acyuta Grantha-mālā Series, Benares 1932. Viśvanātha Cakravartin (d. about 1754 A.D.), who himself is said to have composed a commentary on this work as well as on the *Ujjvala-nīlamanī*, also wrote summaries or surveys of these two works, entitled respectively *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu-bhīṇḍu* and *Ujjvala-nīlamanī-kīraṇa* (ed. Prāṇapāl Gosvāmī, Navadvīpa, 1333 B. E.=1926 A.D. in Bengali characters).

devotional sentiment in all its moods, phases, adjuncts and situations ; but the master-analyst is seen in the firm grip not only upon the subtle details of the whole gamut of a peculiar religious emotionalism, but also upon its fundamentals, both in theoretical conception and in its practical realisation.

The *Pūrva-vibhāga*, consisting of four *Laharī*, gives a preliminary discussion of the different types of *Bhakti*. The first *Laharī* discusses *Bhakti* in general (*Sāmānya-bhakti*) ; the second gives an exposition of *Sādhana-bhakti* (*Bhakti* attainable by special external effort) and its two varieties, *Vaidhī* and *Rāgānuṣṭhā* ; the third deals with *Bhāva-bhakti* (*Bhakti* resulting from spontaneous inward emotion) ; and the fourth treats generally of *Prema-bhakti* (*Bhakti* ripened into a sentiment of Love).

In the first *Laharī*, the *Sāmānya-bhakti* (Religious Devotion in general) is distinguished from the *Uttamā Bhakti* or the highest Religious Devotion, which is defined as harmonious (*ānukūlyena*) pursuit of *Kṛpā* (*kṛpānuṣṭhāna*), freed from all other desire (*anyābhilāṣa-sānya*) and unconditioned by cognition and will (*jñāna-karmādyanāvṛta*). The commentary of *Jīva Gosvāmin* explains that the word "harmonious" implies that the pursuit should be such as is agreeable to *Kṛpā* and should not be perverse or contrary ; that "all other desire" refers to desire for worldly enjoyment (*Bhoga-vāsanā*) and desire for liberation (*Mokṣa-vāsanā*), which are thus excluded ; that "cognition" means the knowledge of the identity of Brahman and *Jīva* (*Nirbheda-brahmānusanandhāna*) which is hardly suited to an attitude of *Bhakti* ; and that "will" refers to such compulsory and occasional duties as are enjoined by the orthodox *Smṛtis* (*Smṛtiśūkyukta-nitya-naimittikādi*), and not the acts of worship relating to *Kṛpā* (*Bhajanīya-paricaryādi*). *Rūpa Gosvāmin* himself establishes later on (*Pūrva Laharī* II, p. 151 f) that *Karma* itself is not an *Adga* or means of *Bhakti*, nor is *Jñāna* or *Vairāgya*. Wealth etc. are also not *Adgas*, because by themselves they can never produce *Bhakti* ; nor are the virtues of self-control (*Yama*) or

purity (*Śuci*), because they come naturally to the true devotee. True Vairāgya or Renunciation is that which, without any attachment (*aśakti*), enjoys all worldly objects properly (*yathārtha*) and results in an eagerness in relation to Kṛpā (*kṛpā-sambandhe nirbandhaḥ*); but that is Phalgu Vairāgya, unsuited to Bhakti, by which one desirous of liberation (*Mumukṣu*) renounces, through phenomenal or insignificant purpose (*prākṛya-buddhi*), all objects in relation to the deity. Neither is worldly attachment (*Bhoga*), nor liberation (*Mokṣa*) the true object of Bhakti, although neither is in itself inconsistent with Bhakti.¹ The section then proceeds to discuss and illustrate in detail the six characteristics of the *Uttamā Bhakti*, namely: (1) capacity for removing suffering (*Kleśa-ghnaṭva*). Suffering may be due to sin (*Pāpa*), to desire the seed of sin (*Pāpa-bīja*), or to illusion (*Avidyā*). The fruits of sin may have either begun to mature (*prārabdha*) or not begun (*aprarabdha*). All these are removed by *Uttamā Bhakti*; (2) capacity for bestowing goods (*Śubhadatva*), producing either good qualities (*Sadguṇa*) or happiness (*Sukha*); (3) capacity for producing indifference to liberation (*Mokṣa-laghubā-kāritva*); (4) difficulty of attainment (*Sudurlabhatva*); (5) essential identity with a particular mood of compact happiness (*Sāndrānanda-viśeṣātmatā*), which is infinitely higher than the happiness of attaining Brahman; and (6) capacity for attracting and keeping under control (*Vatīkaraṇa*) Kṛpā himself (*Śrī-kṛpā-karṣaṇatva*). Of these characteristics, (1) and (2) belong conspicuously to *Sādhana-bhakti*, (3) and (4) to *Bhāva-bhakti*, (5) and (6) to *Prema-bhakti*; but as each of these three forms of *Uttamā Bhakti* constitutes also stages of

1 Jīva Gosvāmī goes further and lays down (*Tattva-saṃplābhā*, ed. Murshidabad 1910, p. 117) that *Jñāna* and *Karma* themselves depend upon Bhakti (*jñānādeḥ tu bhaktiḥ-āpēkṣyaiva ca*). I.e. there cannot be any true cognition and will without Bhakti. Again, he establishes (*Bhakti-saṃplābhā*, ed. Gaudya Matha, Calcutta, p. 65) *Bhakti* as the *ādya* *siddhānt*. This topic will be dealt with below under ch. v.

realisation, the first four really belong to Bhāva-bhakti and all the six to Prema-bhakti. Although all beings are eligible for Bhakti (p. 65), the Adhikārin or person fit to receive it is one who has faith in Kṛṣṇa (jñāta-baddha) and who is neither too much attached (nāstisakti) nor too indifferent (na nirvignā) to the world.

Of the three forms of Uttamā Bhakti, namely, Sādhana-bhakti, Bhāva-bhakti and Prema-bhakti, the next section proceeds to deal with the first, the Sādhana-bhakti, which is defined as Bhakti realisable by the senses (kṛtī-sādhya : kṛtī=the senses)¹ and not by Bhāva or inward emotion, of which, however, it is a means (sādhya-bhāvā, explained as sādhya bhāva yayā sāt). The Sādhana-bhakti is said to have been explained in Śrīmad-bhāgavata vii. 1, and may be either Vaidhī or Rāgānugā, both of which are forms of Bhakti attained by extraneous means and ways. The Vaidhī Sādhana-bhakti occurs where the impulse to devotional acts comes entirely from the injunction of the Vaiṣṇava Śāstra (śāstravya jñānenaiva) and where the state of Rāga is not reached (rāgānāvṛtāvāt).² Viśvanātha Cakravartin explains that by the term Śāstra is meant exclusively the Śrīmad-bhāgavata

1. Lest the word *sādhya*, 'realisable', should mislead, Rūpa Goṣvāmī adds that Bhakti is *nitya-siddha* (eternally existing), but by *sādhya* is merely meant its manifestation (*nitya-siddhau bhāvaya prākāryaṁ kṛtī sādhya*). Jīva Goṣvāmī explains that Bhakti is *nitya-siddha* because it is an aspect of the Śruti-śakti of the Bhagavat, but this metaphysical explanation need not concern us here. What it implies is that the Sādhana of Bhakti is merely the manifestation of an already existing and natural impulse of love and bliss in man as a reflex of the attribute of infinite love and bliss in the Bhagavat (see C-C, Mādhyā 221. 103-4: *अवस्थादि किंवा तार सकय सकय । तदस्वतन्त्रये उपनये प्रेमधन ॥ निष्प्रसिद्ध कृष्णप्रेम साध्य क्यु नव । अवस्थादि शुद्धचित्ते करये उदय ॥*)

2. *īrvaṇa-ānandāni śāstra-jñāna-bhāvena yadi kriyante tadā vaidhī bhaktiḥ*, Viśvanātha Cakravartin in *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sādhana*, p. 11.

which enjoins acts of devotion.¹ As the type of Bhakti follows the *vidhi* or injunction of the Śāstra, it is Vaidhi; and for the same reason it is sometimes called *Maryādā-mārga* or the Way of Convention. The Aṅges or means of Vaidhi having already been defined in detail in the *Haribhakti-viṣṭa*, Rūpa Gosvāmin contents himself by a reference to that work, briefly summarising them as sixty-four in number and illustrating them from the scriptures. These are acts of piety, great or small, such as resorting to the spiritual teacher (*guru-pādāraṇa*); initiation and instruction by him (*dīkṣā-dīkṣādi*); serving the spiritual teacher with confidence (*vīrambhena guru-sevā*); following the example of saintly persons (*sādhu-vartimānuvartana*); enquiry into the true *dharma* (*sūddharma-prcchā*); renunciation of worldly enjoyment for the sake of Kṛpā (*bhogādī-tyāgaḥ kṛpāya hetave*); dwelling in sacred places of pilgrimage (Tīrtha) like Dvārakā, Mathurā or the banks of the Ganges; abjuring books (with the exception of the scriptures) as well as the practice of the various arts and controversy (*bahu-grantha-kalābhyaśa-vyākhyā-vāda-vivar-jana*); putting on the external signs of a Vaiṣṇava (*vaiṣṇava-cihna-dhāraṇa*); writing the name of Hari on the body by means of sandal etc. (*hari-nāmakṣara-dhāraṇa*); prostrate obeisance (*daṇḍavan natiḥ*); worship (*arcanā*); going round the image of the deity (*parikrama*); repeating (*japa*), singing (*gīta*) or recital (*saṃkīrtana*) of the name of the Lord; partaking of the offerings made to the deity (*naivedyārṇāda*) and of the water of his holy feet (*pādārṇāda*); observing Ekādaśī or other days of fasting, attending the Birth-festival (Janmasṭami) etc.; constantly resorting to the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, the Tulsi plant, Mathurā and the Vaiṣṇava devotees, all of which are dear to the Lord; and so forth. Of these the first three ways of cultivation are, however, declared to be of special value; but [Kṛpādāsa Kavirāja's *Caitanya-caritāṃṣa* (Madhya 22.1.125) distinguishes five, namely, the society of saintly persons

1. *For an illustration bhajana-pratipadikam śrī-bhāgavatam ara. op. cit. p. 14.*

(*nāma-jāga*), the chanting of Kṛṣṇa's name (*nāma-kīrtana*), listening to the reading of the *Bhāgavata* (*bhāgavata-śravaṇa*), dwelling at Mathurā (*mathurā-vāsa*), reverential service of his image (*śrīmūrtir braddhāye sevana*), that is, fellowship, song, scripture, pilgrimage and image worship.¹ Any one of these modes, even a little of the five, can create Bhakti. The Vaidhī Śādhana-bhakti, which consists of these positive acts and practices of piety and which is described as "worship by the body, the senses and the mind" (*kāya-hṛdikāntahkaraṇāṇḍam upāsana*), also involves, negatively, the avoidance of the so-called *Sevāparādhas* (offences relating to worship) and *Nāmā-parādhas* (offences relating to the name of the Lord). The commentary gives (p. 89) a list of thirty-two *Sevāparādhas*, to which is added twenty-three more from the *Vārāha-purāṇa* and ten again from some other source. These consist of offences like entering the temple in a conveyance, or with one's shoes on, or without washing one's feet : not observing the festivals of the Lord ; not doing obeisance ; eating what is not offered to the deity ; not observing silence during worship, etc. The *Nāmāparādhas* are the logical result of the theory of the efficacy of the blessed name (*Nāma-mahātmya*). They are given as ten in number by the commentary (p. 93-94) and include such offences as unwillingness to listen to the *Māhātmya* of the name ; equalling the *Nāma-mahātmya* to the merit of other pious acts ; giving instruction in the subject to persons devoid of faith, and so forth. Then the section proceeds to lay down that the Vaidhī Bhakti may be *rakṣagā*, that is, attainable by means of one *Ānga* only (e. g. Parikṣit by bearing, Śukadeva by reciting, Arjuna by friendship, Hanūmat by service, Prahlāda by recollection, Bali by self-surrender, etc.,

1 Jīva Gosvāmīn distinguishes eleven elements or stages of the Vaidhī Bhakti, namely Śaraṇapatti, Guru-sevā, Śravaṇa, Kīrtana, Smaraṇa, Pāda-sevā, Arcanā, Vandanā, Dāya, Sakhyā and Ātma-nivedana ; for which see below ch. v, under *Bhakti-viśeṣārtha*. The nine elements or stages are already enumerated in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* vii. 6, namely : śravaṇam, kīrtanam viśqob, smaraṇam, pāda-sevanam/ arcanam, braddhanam, dāyam, sakhyam, ātma-nivedanam. //

as in *Padyāvalī* 53), or it may be *amukāṅgā* or attain more than one Abga (e. g. Ambariṣa).

But passionate souls soon pass beyond outward form to an inner and more esoteric way of realization upon the cultivation of inward feelings of devotion: second type of Sādhana bhakti, named Rāgānugā, is so because it follows (*anuga*) the trend of the devotional attachment, Rāgātmikā Bhakti, of the people of Vra. It is stood in actual relation to Kṛpā.¹ Rāga is defined as natural, deep and inseparable absorption (*avāraṁbhī* ; *parāṁśjjarā*) in the desired object (*iṣṭa*), namely, Kṛpā. Rāgānugā is distinguished from the Vaidhī (pp. 173-4), much as in the Vaidhī the realization is through the *vidhī* of the Śāstra, but here it is through th

for a mystic union with the beloved object. It is indeed not achieved by the direct injunction of the Śāstras, but it does not also arise spontaneously in one's own self. It is engendered by external effort, by elaborately imitating the action and feeling of those connected with Kṛṣṇa in Vraja, and is thus a phase of Sādhana-bhakti attainable by extraneous ways.¹ But it is governed by no mechanical Śāstric rules whatever, even if they are not necessarily discarded: it follows the natural inclination of the heart, and depends entirely upon one's own emotional capacity of devotion. The devotee by his ardent meditation not only seeks to visualise and make the whole Vṛndāvana-līlā of Kṛṣṇa live before him, but he enters into it imaginatively, and by playing the part of a beloved of Kṛṣṇa, he experiences vicariously the passionate feelings which are so vividly pictured in the literature. The Vaidhī Bhakti need not involve any emotional realisation of this character: it is enough if the religious duties enjoined by the Vaiṣṇava scriptures in general and the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*

1 The Rāgānuṅgī Bhakti is explained in greater detail by Viśvanātha Cakravartin in his *Rāga-ratna-candrikā* (ed. as above), where (p. 69) as an example of Sādhaka, Rūpa Goṣvāmī himself is mentioned, and as Siddha Rūpa-mādhari of Vraja, of whom Rūpa Goṣvāmī is supposed in Vaiṣṇava hagiology to have been an incarnation, and whose līlā he is supposed to have realised. In *Govinda-gopāddata-dīpikā* (II. 180-186) we are told that, of the beloved Gopīs of Kṛṣṇa, Rūpa-mādhari became incarnated as Rūpa Goṣvāmī, Līvāya-mādhari as Śaṅkara Goṣvāmī, Ratī-mādhari as Raghunātha-dīna, Guṇa-mādhari as Gopīnī Bhāṭṭa, Vilāsa-mādhari as Jīva Goṣvāmī, and Rāsa-mādhari as Raghunātha Bhāṭṭa. In this way a complete scheme of reincarnation of the Gopīs of Kṛṣṇa is elaborated, in the work quoted, as Gopīs of Caitanya. This conception of the prominent Vaiṣṇava as the incarnations chiefly of the Gopīs of Vṛndāvana, is based probably on the doctrine which regards Kṛṣṇa as the sole male and maintains that worshippers carefully realise passionate devotion only when they conceive themselves as females,—a curious development of the theory of Rāgānuṅgī Bhakti! But of this elaborate scheme there is no trace in the works of the Vṛndāvana Goṣvāmīs themselves. For Jīva Goṣvāmī's exposition of the Rāgānuṅgī Bhakti, see below ch. v, under Bhakti-saṅkārābhāsa.

in particular are performed as overt acts in an attitude of piety. The Rāgānugā Bhakti, on the other hand, consists of an emotional sublimation of intimate human sentiments towards Kṛṣṇa. In terms of the intimate devotional sentiments displayed in different personal relationships (as that of a son, relative, lover, friend, servant and so forth) between the deity and his dear ones in his eternal sport at Vraja. It is thus an ecstasy of vicarious enjoyment in the sense that the devotee does not seek to establish a direct personal contact of his own with the deity, but prepares himself for it by imitating and realising within himself the different aspect of the beatific sports in terms of one or other of the blissful devotional sentiments ; and through years of constant practice he ultimately identifies himself with such sentiments.

As the Rāgātmikā Bhakti of the people of Vraja, which is eternally displayed, is the model or source (Ādāra) of Rāgānugā, it is analysed and explained in detail. The Rāgātmikā way arises from desire (Kāma, e. g. the Gopis), enmity (Dveṣa, e. g. Kāṁsa), fear (Bhaya, e. g. Śiṣupāla), or affection (Sneha, e. g. the Yādavas). But enmity and fear with reference to Kṛṣṇa, being uncongenial, may be left aside ; and affection (Sneha) being a form of fellowship (Sakhya) would come under the Vaidhī, or being an aspect of love (Preman) does not come at all under Sādhana-bhakti. Hence, the Rāgātmikā Bhakti may be either

(i) Kāma-rūpa, consisting of a desire for erotic-mystic enjoyment (Sambhoga-rūpā) inspired by an exclusive effort to please Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇa-saukhyārham eva kevalam udyamah*), and resulting in Preman or love found only in the Gopis (*vraja-devīṇu*). The attitude of the Kujā is described as *kāma-prūṣā* (and not *kāma-rūpā*) *raśi* ; for (as explained later in the *Ujjvala-nīlamanī*) the enjoyment here is as much for oneself as for the pleasure of Kṛṣṇa.

(ii) Sambandha-rūpa, consisting of a sense of relationship (as father, mother, friend etc.) to Kṛṣṇa. It is found, for instance, in Nanda, Yaśodā, the Gopas etc.

Following these two aspects, the Rāgānugā Bhakti may be either

(i) Kāmānugā, which may again be either desire for enjoyment inspired by a sense of Kṛṣṇa's sport (*kellī-rūparyavast sambhogecchāmayī*), or a desire to realise those particular Bhāvas (*tar-tad-bhāvecchātmikā*) of particular Gopīs, especially the erotic feeling (*bhāva-mādhurya-kāmitā*). The *Padma-purāṇa*, one of the authoritative works of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, is cited to support the view that even men can follow this way of love of the Gopīs, for in the *Mathurā-māhātmya* of the *Purāṇa* it is said that the Munis of Daṇḍaka, out of their curiosity to enjoy the sport of Kṛṣṇa, became incarnated as Gopīs of Vṛndāvana.

(ii) *Sambandhānugā*, in which the devotee seeks to realise the feelings of personal relationship (e. g. as father, brother, friend etc.) to Kṛṣṇa, modelled on the feelings of Nanda, Yaśodā, the Gopas etc.

The Rāgānugā Bhakti is sometimes called the Way of Fulfilment (*Puṣṭi-mārga*), because it seeks the grace of Kṛṣṇa and his dear ones.

The third Laharī takes up the second type of Uttamā Bhakti, namely, Bhāva-bhakti, which is really a further maturing of the Sādhana-bhakti (*sādhana-paripākena*, as Viśvanātha Cakravartin puts it), but which may also develop independently through the grace of Kṛṣṇa or his Bhaktas (*kṛpā-kṛpayā tad-bhakte-kṛpayā vā*). The Bhāva may, therefore, either be (i) Sādhanaśābhiniveśaja, the Sādhana way of worship being again either the Vaidhī or the Rāgānugā, as described above, (ii) Kṛpā-prasādaja, due to the personal favour or grace of Kṛṣṇa, either through his word (*Vācika*), his bestowal of light (*Āloka-dāna*), or his cordiality (*Hārda*), or (iii) Kṛpā-bhakte-prasādaja, due to the grace of the followers of Kṛṣṇa. The cases (ii) and (iii) require no special effort, but they are rarely to be met with.

This Bhāva-bhakti is devotion based on inward emotion (Bhāva), which has not yet reached the stage of the sentiment

(Rasa) of Love or Preman. It may be born of Sādhana-bhakti, but it is not the direct result of extraneous ways and means, and arises spontaneously as a personal feeling, although this feeling has not yet ripened into Prema-bhakti. It is defined as consisting of a particular pure and inborn feeling (*tuddha-sattva-viśeṣa*), which partakes of the nature of the first dawn of love (*prema-sūryāṃbu-sāmya-bhāk*)¹ and brings a smoothness of the mind (*citta-māṇṣya-kṛt*), arising from relish (*ruci*). This relish, as the commentary explains, may take the form of a desire for the deity (*bhagavat-prāpyabhilāṣa*), for his favour (*rad-ānukūlyābhilāṣa*) or for his friendship (*rat-sauhārdābhilāṣa*). The ensuing attendant circumstances (Anubhāvas) occur as signs, whenever there is a sprouting of this form of Bhakti, namely, placidity of mind (*kṣānti*), an effort to apply one's time to the successful realisation of this feeling (*avyartha-kālatā*), distaste for the objects of sense (*vivakti*), lack of pride (*māna-sānyatā*), bond of hope (*āśā-bandha*), eagerness (*samurkṣaṇā*), taste for singing the name of the deity (*nāma-gāne ruciḥ*), desire for the recital of the attributes of the deity (*rad-guṇa-vyākhyāne āsaktiḥ*), and pleasure in the place where the Lord lived, e.g. Mathurā, Vraja etc. (*rad-vasatī-sthale prītiḥ*).

The semblance (and not the reality) of this feeling of attachment (Ratyābhāsa) is then described as taking the form either of (i) Reflection or Pratibimba, attainable without much difficulty, where one or two characteristic signs (like tears etc.) appear, but where the thirst for worldly enjoyment (Bhoga) and liberation (Mokṣa) still remains, or (ii) Shadow or Chāyā, consisting of a little short-lived curiosity, and bearing some resemblance to the real Ratī. But this Ābhāsa or apparent feeling, we are told (p. 208), may all of a sudden be converted into the real feeling. It is also interesting to note that the form of worship, which believes in an essential

¹ Explained in the commentary as *pramāṇaḥ prathamā-cchavi-rūpaḥ*.

identity of the worshipper and the worshipped (Bhajanīyctā-bhāvetā or Abaṁ-grāha-upāsanā) and which is affected, for instance, by the Advaita-vādin, is considered to be an Ābhāsa only.

The fourth and last Laharī of the Pūrva-vibhāga gives a general exposition of the third and highest type of Uttamā Bhakti, namely, Prema-bhakti, which is really a further direct ripening of the Bhāva-bhakti itself (*bhāva-bhakti-paripāka eva*, Vālvankṣha Cakravartin). It occurs when the Bhāva or emotion has developed or solidified into (*sāndrātmā*) a sentiment of love (Preman); it makes the soul entirely smooth (*samyak-maṁsa-svānta*) and is marked by an exclusive and loving attachment (*ananya-manaṁsā*). It may develop from either the Vaidhī Bhāva or the Rāgānuṅgā Bhāva, but it may also originate from the grace (Prasāda) of the deity. The grace may be either pure, that is, not dependent on any other circumstance (Kevala), or the result of the knowledge of his greatness (Māhātmya-jñāna), the former being Rāgānuṅgā and the latter following the Vaidhī Mārga. The sequence by which this devotional love or Prema-bhakti develops is given thus: Faith (Śraddhā)—companionship of saintly persons (Sādhu-saṁga)—acts of worship (Bhajana-kriyā)—withdrawal from unworthy objects (Anartha-nivṛtti)—devotedness (Nityā)—relish (Ruci)—attachment (Āsakti)—emotion (Bhāva)—love (Preman).

Having thus given a preliminary analysis and exposition of the different types of Bhakti, the rest of the work proceeds to consider and analyse Bhakti as a Rasa. The Dakṣiṇa Vibhāga deals with its Sībhāyi-bhāva and describes its development by means of its appropriate Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas, Sāttvikas and Vyabhicārīna, which are described in some detail: the Paścima treats of what are called the five Mukhya or Primary Bhakti Rasas; and the last or Uttara Vibhāga is devoted to the study of the seven Gauṇa or Secondary Bhakti Rasas, of the Opposition of the Rasas, and of Apparent Rasas or Rasābhāsas.

The five *Laharīs* of the *Dakṣiṇa Vibhāga* deal respectively with the excitants (*Vibhāvas*), the cosuants (*Anubhāvas*), the involuntarily expressed feelings (*Sāmtvika Bhāvas*, which in later Poetics are kinds of *Anubhāvas*), and the Auxiliary feelings (*Vyabhicāri-bhāvas*), as well as the dominant or permanent feeling (*Sthāyi-bhāva*) in relation to *Bhakti* conceived as a *Rasa*. Although orthodox Poetics itself would not, strictly speaking, regard *Bhakti* as a *Rasa*, the nomenclature and treatment are borrowed from orthodox Poetics and applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Vaiṣṇava conception of *Bhakti* as a *Rasa*. The technicalities are the same, but of course the analysis in detail is entirely novel and ingenious.¹

Of this *Bhakti Rasa*, the dominant underlying emotion (*Sthāyi-bhāva*) is supposed to be the emotion of *Kṛṣṇa* himself and his dear ones (*Kṛṣṇa-rati*), which by means of the Excitants (*Vibhāvas*) etc. is raised to a state of relish (*rūḍhyarūm*) as a sentiment (*Rasa*) in the *Bhakta* or the devotee, who stands for the literary *Sāmlījika* or *Sahṛdaya*. As in the theory of the *Rasa-Dhvani* school of orthodox Poetics, the latent germ of this feeling (*Vāsanā* of *Sadbhakti*) is presumed in the heart of the *Bhakta*, either as acquired from previous births (*prākṛant*) or as due to present experience (*adhunikt*); and the process of its awakening of *Rasa* runs along the familiar grooves of *Alampkāra* expression. Against the nine conventional *Rasas* of Sanskrit Poetics, *Rūpa Gosvāmin* mentions twelve, but seven of these are regarded as secondary. Of the five primary *Rasas*, he practically gives prominence to one, namely, the Erotic (*Śṛṅgāra*). In

1 *Ita Gosvāmin* in his *Prīti-saṃdarbha* introduces further refinement into the accepted theory regarding the origin and development of *Rasa*. He maintains, for instance, that the *alampkāra* of *Vibhāvas* etc. and of the *Sthāyi* is possible only in *Kṛṣṇa-rati*, and not in the *laukika Kāvya* which deal with the love of ordinary heroes and heroines. If the *Vibhāvas* etc. appear as *alampkāra* in an ordinary *Kāvya*, it is not natural, but is only due to the cleverness of the poet's composition (p. 574). He also maintains that in *Kṛṣṇa-rati*, the *locus* of the *Rasa* is not only in the audience (*Sāmlījika*, here the *Bhakta*) but also in the *anurāgya* (the deity represented, viz. *Kṛṣṇa*) and in the *anukṛty*, who may sometimes be the *Bhakta* himself (pp. 594 f.).

this attitude he resembles Bhoja ; unlike Bhoja, however, our author evaluates it in terms of Vaṣṣava devotion.

Hence, the definitions of Excitants (Vibhāvas) etc. are, with necessary variations, the same. Without going into the detailed technicalities, a general outline of the scheme of Excitants (Vibhāvas) etc. may be given here in a tabular form. There are inevitable departures in the detailed working out (especially in the analysis and classification of the Sthāyi-bhāva and the Rasa), and these, wherever important, will also be noted.

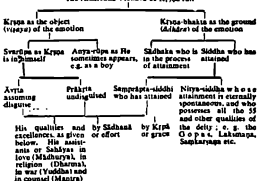
1. The Vibhāvas (Excitants)

which make the dominant emotion (*sthāyi-bhāva*).
Kṛpṇa-rati, capable of being relished (*ratiyāvaddehataṇah*).

Two kinds: the Substantial (Ālambana) and the Enhancing (Uddīpana):

1. The Substantial Excitant or Ālambana Vibhāva of Kṛpṇa-rati, which consists of such material ground and object of the emotion as the deity, his dear ones, his adjuncts etc., may be represented as follows:

The Ālambana Vibhāva of Kṛpṇa-rati



Kṛṣṇa is again conceived as the most complete (*pārīkṣama*) in Vraja, more complete (*pārīkṣatara*) in Mathurā, and complete (*pārīkṣa*) in Dvārakā. Viewed as an ideal hero, he is, following orthodox Poetics, (i) brave and high-spirited (*Dhīroddhata*), (ii) brave and haughty (*Dhīroddhata*), (iii) brave and sportive (*Dhīra-lālita*) and (iv) brave and serene (*Dhīra-prāṇata*).

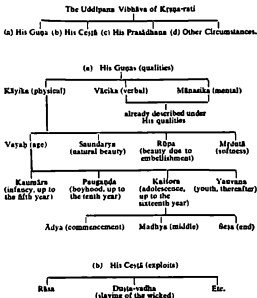
His sixty-four (50+5+5+4) qualities, physical, mental and spiritual, are elaborately defined and illustrated (pp. 229-332). His fifty qualities are: *Suramyāṅga* (possessing fine symmetrical limbs), *surva-sallakṣaṇa* (possessed of all the excellent lakṣaṇa or characteristics), *racira* (good-looking), *tejasvin* (powerful and shining), *bāhyaś* (strong), *vayo'arita* (youthful), *vividhāddhata-bhāṣāvid* (acquainted with many and strange languages), *satya-vāc* (truthful), *prīyasvada* (capable of pleasant speech), *vāvadāta* (expert in conversation), *suparṇita* (learned and wise), *buddhima* (intelligent), *pratibhāvita* (possessed of genius), *vidagḍha* (well-versed in the arts), *catura* (ingenious), *dhaka* (dexterous and quick), *kṛpāṅga* (grateful), *satyāṅga-vrata* (resolute), *daśa-kāla-sūptarāja* (possessing a knowledge of fit time, place and object), *śāstra-cakṣu* (acting according to the śāstra), *sthira* (steadfast), *śuci* (pure and purifying), *vala* (continent), *dina* (capable of suffering), *kṣamā-śila* (forgiving), *gambhīra* (profound), *dhṛtima* (contented and placid), *sama* (equable), *vadāṅga* (liberal in gift), *dhārmika* (dutiful), *śūra* (brave), *karuṇa* (compassionate), *mānya-māna-kṛt* (respectful), *vinayin* (humble), *dhakṣiṇa* (amiable and well-behaved), *hṛina* (modest), *śaraṅga-pālaka* (protector), *sukhin* (happy), *bhaktu-sukṛt* (friend of the devotees), *prema-vaiya* (controllable by love), *surva-subhāṣitara* (best-disposed to all), *pratiṣṭha* (subjugator of enemies), *kīrtima* (famous), *raha-loka* (popular), *śāṅgha-samīkṣaya* (partial to the good), *nārī-gaṇa-masohārī* (charmer of women), *survārādhyā* (pre-eminently adorable), *samriddhima* (prosperous), *varīya* (pre-eminent) and *livara* (independent and supreme). The five additional qualities are: *anādivarūpa-sampṛāpta* (unconditioned), *survajña* (omniscient), *nitya-nūtaṇa* (ever new), *sat-cid-ānanda-śāśvata* (having self-existent, self-conscious, blissful compact form), *surva-śāśvati-ubhaya* (possessed of all powers and perfection). These qualities he shares also with Śiva and Brahmā; but as Nārāyaṇa his five exclusive (theological) qualities are: *avicintya-mahā-śakti* (possessed of infinite and indescribable powers), *koṭi-brahmāṇḍa-vigraha* (container of infinite worlds), *avaśāṅkṣatī-bīja* (the seed of incarnations), *hastī-gatī-dāyaka* (giver of salvation to enemies killed), and *śimānta-janāhara* (attractor of the liberated wise). His four special qualities are: *ma* (divine sport), *prema-pṛiṣṭhikya* (abundance of beloved persons obtained by love), *vepa-*

mādhurya (sweetness of his state) and rūpa-mādhurya (sweetness of his beauty). To these is added a set of eight inherent excellences (satva-bheda) on the model of the eight Śaivite excellences of the literary hero (see S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, 2nd Ed. ii, p. 271), only substituting Mādhurya for Gāmbhīrya. Even if some of these qualities are apparently inconsistent with each other, they can reside without conflicting in Kṛṣṇa as a deity (p. 332). He is also free from eighteen great blemishes which are also enumerated, defined and illustrated (pp. 33f). Among his qualities (physical), his adolescence (Kālora) is extolled as the proper and principal (dharma) age for contemplation.

Jīva Gosvāmī enumerates 25 Gūṇas which he includes under the Uddipana-Vibhāva, some of these relating exclusively to Kṛṣṇa, the others being shared with his Avatāra and his Bhaktas. The classification of the hero in orthodox Poetics into Dhīroddhīta, Dhīra-lalita, Dhīroddhāta, and Dhīra-pratīta, and, as a lover, into Anukūla, Dakṣiṇa, Dhṛya and Bāha is also applied to Kṛṣṇa. Rūpa Gosvāmī, as stated above, also accepts this classification and speaks of twenty-five further excellences of Kṛṣṇa as a lover in his *Ujjvala-nīlamayī*. See below.

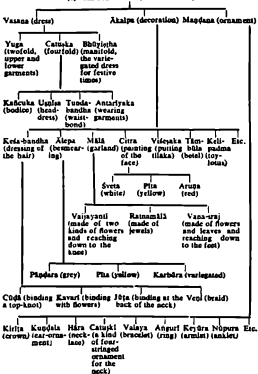
2. The Enhancing Excitant or Uddipana Vibhāva of Kṛṣṇa-rati, which includes such conditions of time,

place and circumstance¹ as serve to foster the feeling, may be represented thus:

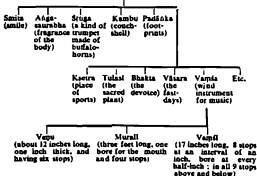


1 Jīva Gosvāmī declares (*Pratī-saṁskṛti*, p. 724) that of the Uddipana, those which relate to Vṛddhava are the best (*eva ca ā-vṛddhava-sambandhinaḥ sa prākritiḥ*). He classifies the Uddipana-Vibhāva as relating respectively to the Guṇa (quality), Kṛiyā (characteristics of a class), Kṛiyā (action) and Dravya (substance) in reference to Kṛpā. On this see below, ch. v.

(c) *Hla Prasthāna* (embellishment)



(d) Other Circumstances



(All these are individually described and illustrated by poetical quotations).

II. The Anubhāvas (Ensuants)

which follow and strengthen an emotion and comprise its outward manifestations. In the case of Kṛṣṇa-rati, they are given as : Nṛtya (dancing). Viluṭhita (rolling on the ground). Gita (singing). Krodana (loud crying). Tanu-moṣana (twisting of the body). Hupkāra (shouting). Jṛmbhā (yawning). Svāsa-bhūman (profusion of sighs). Lokānapekṣitā (disregard of popular opinion). Lālā-srava (foaming at the mouth). Aṅga-hāsa (loud laughter). Ghṛṇā (gliddiness) and Hikkā (hiccough). Each of these, as usual, is illustrated by poetical quotations.

III. The Sāttvika Bhāvas (External Signs Of Internal Emotion)

The eight orthodox Sāttvika Bhāvas are accepted, namely. Stambha (stupor). Sveda (perspiration). Romāñca (thrilling of the body). Svava-bhaṅga

(break of voice), Vepathu (trembling), Vairāgya (change of colour), Āśru (tears), and Pralaya (loss of consciousness); but each of these is further analysed, according as it springs from fear, pleasure wonder, anger, jealousy, enthusiasm etc. The Sāttvikas are, however, not really Bhāvas or emotions, but external manifestations of them, and in later Poetics they are taken as kinds of Anubhāvas. Of these, since Pralaya or loss of consciousness would mean inaction, Jīva Gosvāmin (*Prīti-saṁdārbha*, p. 730) points out that in Kṛṣṇa-rati, Pralaya causes cessation of outward action indeed but not of inward feeling for Kṛṣṇa. Jīva Gosvāmin includes Sāttvikas, as well as Udbhāvas, under Anubhāva.

The most notable departure occurs in the classification of these Sāttvikas, which is entirely original. They are generally classified into (i) Saigdha (soft), which may be either directly (*mukhya*) or indirectly (*gauṇa*) connected with Kṛṣṇa, (ii) Digdha (saturated), and (iii) Rukṣa (harsh), occurring in people who have no feeling for Kṛṣṇa. They are again differentiated, with reference to the degree of excitement produced by the presence of one or more Sāttvikas, into (a) Dhūmāyita (smouldering) when there is only one Sāttvika, (b) Jvalita (flaming), when there are two or three Sāttvikas, (c) Dīpta (burning) when there are four or five Sāttvikas, and (d) Uddīpta (brightly burning), when six or all the Sāttvikas are present. The excitement, again, may last a long time (*bhāri-kāla-vyāpti*), may pervade many limbs (*bahvaṅga-vyāpti*), or may attain its climax by its own nature (*svaśepa-utkarṣa*).

In this connexion mention is made of Abhāvas or semblances of Sāttvikas, which are an innovation. They are (i) those which arise from the semblance of Rati (*rati-bhāsa-bhāva*), (ii) those which arise in

feeble-hearted people who are by nature incapable of them (*sarvadbhāsa-bhāva*), e. g. a grammarian or an old Mīmāṃsaka, (iii) those which arise from habit in people whose heart is soft externally but hard internally (*nīḥsarva*), and (iv) those which arise in people who are hostile to Kṛṣṇa (*pratiṣa*), e. g. Kaṃsa.

IV. *The Vyabhicāri-bhāvas (Auxiliary Feelings)*

These, also called *Samcāri-bhāvas*, are subsidiary feelings of a more less transitory nature, which are accessory, and which accompany or interrupt the dominant emotion (*Sthāyi-bhāva*) without, however, supplanting it. They are likened, in the orthodox manner, to the waves of the sea, whereby the dominant feeling is understood to be the sea.

The thirty-three orthodox Vyabhicāri-bhāvas are categorically accepted, defined and illustrated with reference to Kṛṣṇa-rati. They are : Nirveda (self-disparagement), Viṣāda (despondency), Dainya (depression), Glāni (debility), Śrama (weariness), Mada (intoxication), Garva (arrogance), Saṅkṣā (apprehension), Trīṣa (alarm), Āvega (flurry), Unmāda (madness), Apramāda (dementedness), Vyādhi (sickness), Moha (distraction), Mṛti (death), Ālasya (indolence), Jāḍya (stupefaction), Vriḍā (shame), Avabhiṭha (dissembling), Smṛti (recollection), Vitarka (doubt), Cintā (reflection), Mati (resolve), Dhṛti (equanimity), Harsa (joy), Autṣukya (longing), Ugraṭā (sternness), Amaṛṣa (impatience of opposition), Aśūyā (envy), Cāpalya (unsteadiness), Nidrā (drowsiness), Supti (dreaming), and Bodha (awakening).

Thirteen more Vyabhicāri-bhāvas are also mentioned (p. 524), but they are included in one or other of the above thirty-three. Under individual Rasas in Vibhāga iv

some other Vyabhicārinā are mentioned, but they are special and peculiar to the Rasas dealt with.

The classification of these Accessory feelings is peculiar. They are said to be (i) independent (*svatantra*) where they are developed independently of the dominant feeling (*Sthāyī-bhāva*), or (ii) dependent on the dominant feeling (*paratantra*). The dependent may be directly (*sākṣāt*) or indirectly (*vyavahita*) connected, or may be subordinated to two different Rasas (*avara*). The independent may be either *ratī-janya* (devoid of any touch of the *Sthāyī*), or *ratī-gandhin* (giving a hint of the *Sthāyī* and incidentally touching it).

After briefly touching upon the question of Contrariety (*Prātikūlya*) and Impropropriety (*Anaucitya*) of *Bhāvas*, the section concludes with the treatment of *Bhavotpatti* (mere excitement of *Bhāva*), *Bhāva-saṁdhi* (contact of two different *Bhāvas*), *Bhāva-labhatā* (allaying of each preceding *Bhāva* by the succeeding) and *Bhava-tānti* (toning down of a highly developed *Bhāva*).

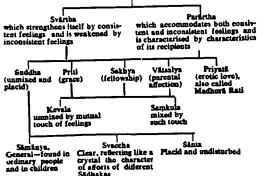
V. The *Sthāyī-bhāvas* (Dominant Feelings)

All the elements mentioned above contribute towards developing the dominant or permanent emotion, the *Sthāyī-bhāva*, into its corresponding state of relish, called *Rasa*. This *Sthāyī-bhāva* or the root-emotion is classified into eight categories in orthodox Poetics: namely, *Ratī* (love), *Hāsa* (mirth), *Śoka* (sorrow), *Krodha* (anger), *Utsāha* (energy), *Bhaya* (fear), *Jugupsā* (disgust), *Vismaya* (wonder), to which some would add a ninth, namely, *Nirveda* (self-disparagement). To these correspond respectively the eight or nine orthodox Rasas, namely, *Śṛṅgāra* (the Erotic), *Hāsyā* (the Comic), *Karūṇā* (the Pathetic), *Raudra* (the Furlous), *Vīra* (the Heroic), *Bhayaṇaka* (the Terrible), *Bibhatsa* (the Disgustful), *Adbhuta* (the Marvellous), and the ninth *Śānta* (the Quietistic). Rūpa Goswāmin

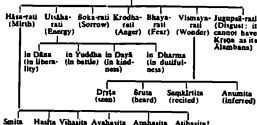
accepts all these, but his classification and treatment are different.

The Sthāyī-bhāva or the root-emotion of the Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-rasa is taken to be the feeling which concerns Kṛpā as the object (*śṛīkṛpā-viṣayaḥ rasī*), and the nine orthodox Sthāyī-bhāvas are evaluated in terms of this idea. The Kṛpā-rati, as the Sthāyīn, may be Mukhya (Primary) or Gauṣa (Secondary), according as it is directly or indirectly related. Thus, Sakhya (Friendship) or Vātulya (Parental Affection) is Mukhya or Primary, while Hāsa-rati (=Hāsottarā Rati or Kṛpā-rati involving Mirth) is Gauṣa or Secondary; in the former the Kṛpā-viṣayā Rati is direct, while in the latter it subordinates itself to Hāsa. Under the latter, the septet of orthodox Sthāyīns (excluding the erotic Rati and Nirveda) is included, while the former includes the two excluded Sthāyīns. (Rati, erotic love, and Nirveda, self-disparagement), as well as Pṛiti (Grace), Sakhya (Friendship) and Vātulya (Parental Affection), which are innovations. The classification of Mukhya and Gauṣa Sthāyīns is, therefore, as follows:

1. Mukhya Sthāyīn of Kṛpā-rati

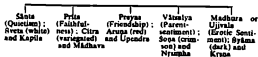


2. Gauṇa Sthāyī of Kṛpā-rati

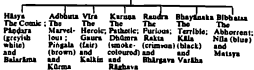


According to the above classification of Kṛpā-viṣayā Rati, as the Sthāyī, the resulting types of Bhakti-Rasa (with their respective coloured figuration and their presiding deities) would be:

1. Mukhya Bhakti-rasa



2. Gauṇa Bhakti-rasa



(The coloured figuration of each Rasa and the attribution of a presiding deity are in accordance with the orthodox rhetorical tradition).

1 The *Asaṅgama-madhūri* has also this sixfold classification of Hāsa; but the classification is as old as Bharata (*Nāṭya-Mīmāṃsā*, ed. Kāśyapaśāstrī, vi. 32).

This concludes the Dakṣiṇa-vibhāga of the work. The Pācīma-vibhāga continues the topic, and devotes its five Lāharis respectively to the consideration of the five Mukhya Bhakti-rāsa, which are by far the most important in Vaiṣṇava Rāsa-sāstra; and their respective Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas, Sāttvikas, Vyabhicāri-bhāvas and Sthāyi-bhāvas are named, characterised and illustrated to the minutest detail. They may be summarised in the following tabular form:

I. *Sānta* (Quietistic Devotion)

It may be of two kinds: Parokṣa (where a direct beatific vision is not attained) and Sākṣātkāra (where such vision is attained); accordingly

Its Sthāyi-bhāva, which is Śuddhā Kṛpā-viṣayā Ratī, may be Sama (equable) or Sāndra (compact).

Its Vibhāvas: (a) Ālambana—Caturbhuja Nārāyaṇa and the two kinds of Śāntas, viz. Ātmārāmas (emancipated Rṣis like Saṅka, Saṇadana etc.) and Tāpatas (ordinary ascetics). (b) Uddīpana—listening to the Upaśāda, residing in a lonely place, company of the wise devotees etc.

Its Anubhāvas: all acts of a mendicant (Avadhūta), fixing one's eyes on one's nose in concentrated meditation, Aṅguṣṭha-mudrā (different kinds of disposition of fingers in Pūjā) etc.

Its Sāttvikas: thrilling of the body, sweating, trembling, fainting etc.

Its Vyabhicāri-bhāvas: self-disparagement, equanimity, joy, resolve, recollection, longing, flurry, doubt etc.

The author notes that although Sama is not admitted in the drama by rhetoricians, it can be accepted as a Bhakti-rāsa inasmuch as it involves Śānta-ratī.

II. *Pṛita* (Devotion as Faithfulness)

It may be of two kinds: Sambhrama-pṛita, involving servitude (Dāsatva), and Gaurava-Pṛita, involving the feeling

of being brought up as a younger relative (*Lālanīyatva*). They are separately treated:

1. Sarpbhrama-Prīta

Its *Sthāyi-bhāva*: *Prīti*, affection, due to honour (*sarpbhrama*) or esteem (*ādara*) towards Kṛṣṇa as a Master or Lord.

Its *Vibhāvas*: (a) *Ālambana*—Kṛṣṇa and his Servants (*Dāsa*s). The latter are either *Adhikṛta* (Controlled, e.g. Śiva, Brahmā, Indra, etc.), *Ākrita* (Protected), *Pārṣada* (Courtiers or Assistants, e.g. Uddhava, Dāruka etc.) and *Anuga* (Servitors in Vraja or Dvārakā). (b) *Uddīpana*—receiving Kṛṣṇa's favour (*anugraha*), taking the dust of his feet, eating the remnants of his meal etc.

Its *Anubhāvas*: entire application of self, freedom from jealousy etc.

Its *Sāttvikas*: all the *Sāttvikas*, beginning with stupefaction (*Stambha*).

Its *Vyabhicārī-bhāvas*: all excepting the following nine, namely, *Mada*, *Śrama*, *Tiṛsa*, *Apasmāra*, *Ālasya*, *Ugratā*, *Krodha*, *Aśūyā* and *Nidrā*, which have hardly any scope.

2. Gaurava-Prīta

Its *Sthāyi-bhāva*: *Prīti*, affection, due to the sense of (inferior) personal relationship to Kṛṣṇa.

Its *Vibhāvas*: (a) *Ālambana*—Kṛṣṇa and the persons related to him as *Lālanīyas*, either as *Kanugha* (younger brother, e.g. Śaraṇa, Gada etc.) or as *Putra* (son, e.g. Pradyumna etc.). (b) *Uddīpana*—Kṛṣṇa's fondness, his smile etc.

Its *Anubhāvas*: sitting under Kṛṣṇa, following his footsteps, obeying his orders, obeisance (*praṇāma*), humility etc.

Its *Sāttvikas*: *Stambha* etc. as above.

Its *Vyabhicārī-bhāvas*: those mentioned under *Sarpbhrama-Prīta*.

Both these types of *Prīti* can become *Preman* (love), *Sneha* (affection) and *Rāga* (attachment) according to the degree of development and the circumstances.

[Jīva Gosvāmin adopts a slightly more elaborate classification of *Prīti Rasa* into *Āśraya-bhakti*, *Dāśya-bhakti* and *Pratraya-bhakti*. See ch. v below].

III. *Preyas* (Devotion as Friendship)

Its *Sthāyi-bhāva*: *Sakhya-rati* or the feeling of friendship and confidence (*vikrambhāsmā*).

Its *Vibhāvas*: (a) *Ālambana*—Kṛṣṇa and his friends of the same age (*vayasya*), either in *Vraja* (*Śrīdhāman* etc.) or elsewhere (*Arjuna* etc.). The friend, according to the difference of age and circumstances, may be *Suhṛt* (a little older in age), *Sakhī* (a little younger in age), *Priya-sakhī* (same age), and *Priya-narma-sakhī* (assistant in love-affairs). A long list of their names, duties and characteristics is given. (b) *Uddīpana*—age, appearance, flute (*Veṇu*), pleasantry, sport, etc.

Its *Anubhāvas*: various sports and pastimes, pleasantry, close companionship in sleep and waking etc.

Its *Sāttvikas*: *Stambha*, *Sveda* etc. as are suitable.

Its *Vyabhicāri-bhāvas*: all excepting *Ugratā*, *Trāsa* and *Ālasya*, some appearing during union and some in separation.

The *Preyas* may develop into *Prapaya*, *Preman*, *Sneha* and *Rāga*.

IV. *Vātsalya* (Devotion as Parent-sentiments)

Its *Sthāyi-bhāva*: *Vatsala-rati* or parental affection of kindness and pity (*anukampā*).

Its *Vibhāvas*: (a) *Ālambana*—Kṛṣṇa, and his Elders (*Gurus*) such as *Nanda*, *Yasodā*, *Varodeva* etc. (b) *Uddīpana*—His age, appearance, childishness, smile etc.

Its *Anubhāvas*: touching the head and the body, blessing, ordering etc.

Its Sāttvikas: all the eight usual Sāttvikas and the flowing of the breasts (*stana-srava*) in persons standing in *loco maternus*.

Its Vyabhicāri-bhāvas: all mentioned in *Prita*, along with *Apasmāra*.

It may appear like *Premān* (*premanav*), *Socha* (*sochanav*) and *Rāga* (*rāganav*).

The author notes (p. 815) that some writers on Dramaturgy admit this *Rasa*, and quotes in support *Vilāvanātha* (*Sāhitya-darpana*, iii, 251); but *Vilāvanātha* is perhaps singular in this respect, and it is possible that his views were themselves influenced by Vaiṣṇava ideas. [See S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, 2nd ed. ii, p. 276. It may be noted in this connexion the *Rudraṣa* mentions *Preyas* (Friendship), which *Rasa* is accepted by *Bhoja*. Some writers, like *Bhānūdatta*, would even add *Śraddhā*, along with *Bhakti*. These indicate the very reluctant admission of these Vaiṣṇava conceptions into the conventional eight or nine categories of orthodox Poetics].

V. *Madhura Rasa* (Devotion as the Erotic Sentiment)

As this topic is reserved for more detailed treatment in *Rūpa Goavāmin's* next work, *Ujjvala-nīlamanī*, it is only briefly dealt with here. Its classification into *Sambhoga* (love in union) and *Vipralambā* (love in separation) and their further sub-divisions are only just referred to. This is, however, the most important *Rasa* and is styled in the later work as *bhakti-rasa-rāj*.

Its *Sthāyi-bhāva*: *Priyatā*, love, or *Madhurā Rati*, the sweet feeling, which inspires the mutual (*mīrhaḥ*) enjoyment (*sambhoga*) of *Kṛṣṇa* and his *Gopīs*.

Its *Vibhāvas*: (a) *Ālambana*—*Kṛṣṇa* and his Beloved *Gopīs*, of whom *Rādhā* is the chief. (b) *Uddīpana*—the sound of his flute etc.

Its *Anubhāvas*: side-long glances, smile etc.

Its *Sāttvikas*: the usual eight.

Its *Vyabhicāri-bhāvas*: all except *Ugratā* and *Ālasya*.

Having thus given a detailed exposition of the Primary or Mukhya Bhakti Rasas, the Uttara or last Vibhāga of the work proceeds, in its nine Lāharis, to consider the seven Secondary or Gauṇa Bhakti Rasas, their mutual relation and opposition as subsidiary or contrary sentiments, and lastly, the semblance (Ābhāsa) of these Rasas. Although Rūpa Gosvāmin admits a total of twelve Bhakti-rasas, he tells us that in the authoritative Purāṇas and other scriptures, one finds in fact only the first five Mukhya or primary Bhakti-rasas,¹ that these five are considered as the real Bhakti-rasas, and that the seven Secondary Rasas of Hāsa etc. are generally ancillary to them.² The septet of Secondary or Gauṇa Rasas includes, however, seven out of the nine conventional Rasas, the remaining two alone being admitted into the Primary or Mukhya. The exposition, therefore, of the seven Gauṇa Rasas follows in the main the treatment of orthodox Poetics, and need not be summarised here in detail, especially as they are not regarded as Rasas of primary importance in Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra. They are secondary, because they are not always present (*kādācitkodbhavarvina, jiva*). Thus, Heroism is not essential to Kṛṣṇa-rati, but Heroism which involves Kṛṣṇa-rati becomes a Rasa for that very reason. It is also maintained that these seven Gauṇas can be easily included (*antah-pāta*) in the scope of the five Mukhyas. Thus, the Adbhuta (Marvellous) is included in all the five; the Hāsa (Comic) in the Sakhya; the Karuṇa (Pathetic) in the Vātsalya; the Vīra (Heroic), in its different aspects, in the Sakhya and the Vātsalya; the Bhayānaka (Terrible) in the Vātsalya and the Prīta (Dāsyā); the Bībhatsa (Abhorrent) in the Śānta; and the Raudra (Furious) partly in the Vātsalya and partly in the Mādhura. The conflict and comity of the Rasas, which constitute the next topic dealt with, can

1 *raṣṭaśaśeṣe purāṇāṁśu pañcādhaiva vilokyaṁ*, p. 601.

2 *ani pañcalva dāntādyā harer bhakti-rati madhā/ eṣu hāsaśayak
prāya bībhatsi vyabhicāritām//*.

be easily inferred from this relationship to one another. Of the five Mukhya Rasas, the Śānta and the Prīta are mutually agreeable; the Vātsalya is agreeable to none; the Sakhya and the Vātsalya are neither agreeable nor disagreeable to each other; the Madhura and the Prīta are antagonistic. Hence, it is possible that more than one of these Rasas can reside in the same person. Thus, the Sakhya, Prīta (Dāsyā) and Vātsalya are found in Balarāma; the Vātsalya and Sakhya in Yudhiṣṭhira and Bhīma; the Sakhya and Prīta (Dāsyā) in Arjuna, Udhava, Nakula and Sahadeva; and so forth.¹ The five Mukhya and seven Gauṇa Rasas are supposed to react on the mind in five different ways. Thus, the Śānta fills the mind completely (Pūrṇi); the Prīta, Preyas, Vātsalya, Madhura and Hārya develop (Vikāśa); the Vīra and the Adbhuta expand (Vistāra); the Karuṇa and the Raudra distract (Vikṣepa); and the Bhayānaka and the Bibhatsa repel (Kṣobha). This is a further working out of the attributes of Vistāra (expansion), Vikāśa (pervasion) and Druti (melting) of orthodox poetics.

The topic of Apparent Sentiment (Rasābhāsa) is next taken up; but the treatment is original. The Rasābhāsa occurs where the ingredients of the Rasa are either insufficient (*aṅga-hīnava*) or improperly developed (*aṅga-vairūpya*). Three cases are distinguished: (i) Upa-rasa, where the Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas and the Śābhyi-bhāva are improper (*virūpaś-prāpta*), e.g. the Rasa developed in inanimate beings, etc. (ii) Anu-rasa, where the Vibhāvas etc. have no reference to Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇa-sambandha-varjita*), and (iii) Apa-rasa, where the Rasa is developed in persons hostile to Kṛṣṇa (*tat-pratipakṣa*).

The learning displayed in the work is indeed varied.

1 *Prīti-samudāhāra*, pp. 41ff.—The Rasābhāsa is defined more comprehensively by Jīva Govindācārya as the conflict of the dominant Rasa with an improper Rasa as well as with improper Vibhāva, Anubhāva, Vyabhicārīya etc.

extensive and well digested ; but it is of a limited and miscellaneous kind. The sources are chiefly the Purāṇas and other authoritative Vaiṣṇava scriptures. There is indeed much analytical acuteness ; and the scholasticism, which created the Navya Nyāya at about the same period of time, is very much in evidence, in its zest for formal definitions, nice and hair-splitting distinctions, elaborate classifications, and industrious collection of suitable poetical illustrations. But even if analytical, the attitude is hardly critical ; and in spite of its anxiety to do justice to facts of actual experience, its extreme formalism cannot be doubted. Even if there is psychologising, there is too much of dissection and elusive chasing of protean complexes ; and the essentials are sometimes apt to be smothered by the overwhelming mass of wearisome details. The concern is, no doubt, with the peculiar psychology of Vaiṣṇava emotions, but not a single philosophical work is cited ; and as Jñāna in the orthodox sense is rigidly excluded, philosophical discussions are naturally out of court. The *Bhagavad-gītā* is cited only twice ; and there is hardly any reference to other schools of Vaiṣṇava thought. Of the Pāñcarātra, only late and apocryphal works like the *Nārada-pañcarātra* is quoted but not very frequently. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is cited only once, the *Mahābhārata* four times and the *Harivaṃśa* only five times. Of the classical Sanskrit poets, Māgha is quoted twice ; Bhartṛhari's *Vairāgya-śarada* once ; and our author's taste for poetical literature is curiously circumscribed to such works as the *Śiṅgama-karṇāmaṛṣa* of Līlākṛta, the *Mukunda-mālā* of Kuladekhara and the *Gīta-govinda* of Jayadeva. His own religious dramas and poems furnish many illustrative quotations. Rūpa Gosvāmin shows an undoubted mastery of the principles and technicalities of Sanskrit Poetics, but his chief sources appear to be Bharata (quoted twice), the *Dada-rūpaka* (quoted once), the *Rasa-sudhākara* (quoted once, *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* of Śiṅgabhūpāla) and probably Viṭṭala-nātha's *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, which is anonymously quoted with

approval¹ in one place. With the Purāṇas and Upa-purāṇas he displays an extensive acquaintance, but here again the largest number of quotations comes from the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* (especially the Daśama), the *Padma* and the *Skanda*, all of which are canonically accepted in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. There are nearly four hundred poetical quotations in the work, which by themselves constitute an almost encyclopaedic anthology of Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-rasa. We give here a classified index of the works and authors cited in the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*, which will give an idea of the author's erudition and his literary taste and interests.²

(The references are by page, as the numbering of the verses in the printed edition is not regular).

(1) *The Epics etc.*

Mahābhārata 39, 154, 258, 392; Rāmāyaṇa 605; Harivaṃśa 260, 421, 436, 441, 834; Bhagavad-gītā 39, 70.

(2) *The Purāṇas and Upa-purāṇas:*

Śrīmad-bhāgavata (especially the Daśama or the Tenth Skandha)

12, 14, 17, 18, 26, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 37, 43, 46, 47, 48, 49-56, 59, 60, 64, 69, 70, 71, 78, 83, 94, 96, 101, 102, 103, 104, 114, 115, 124, 126, 129, 132, 135, 138, 140, 142, 147 (praise of the work), 152, 154, 160, 163, 168, 190, 191, 195, 197, 199, 214, 216, 232, 240, 257, 265, 271, 286, 287, 291, 293, 297, 298, 300, 301, 303, 310, 312, 318, 319, 321, 322, 323, 341, 346, 348, 349, 352, 359, 384, 387, 390, 395, 406, 407, 412, 415, 422, 423, 442, 444, 446, 447, 448, 453, 457, 465, 467, 473, 478, 480, 484, 485, 486, 490, 491, 499, 502, 505, 506, 511, 513, 514, 534, 581, 618, 651, 656, 657, 659, 662, 669, 675, 676, 687, 688, 690, 691, 715, 732, 735, 765, 766, 770, 773, 787, 788, 790, 792, 801, 808, 829, 864, 867, 874, 933.

1 In his *Nāṭya-candrikā* (ed. Rasavihari Saṁkhyā-tīrtha, Kāśmīr-barar 1907), however, Rūpa Govardina does not speak favourably of Viśvanātha's work. At the outset of this work, he states that in composing it he consulted the *Bhārata-mūlra* and the *Rasa-ratnāvalī*, and generally rejected the treatment of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* as being opposed to Bhārata's views. It must, however, be noted that Rūpa has, both in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta* and *Ujjvala-nīlamanjari*, departed very materially from Bhārata, and sometimes quotes Bhārata merely to criticise him.

2 This and the following indices are not meant to be exhaustive, but it is hoped that no important entry is overlooked.

Padma 16, 19, 20, 34, 56, 66, 82, 87, 88, 93, 95, 96, 106, 109, 110, 117, 118, 134, 136, 137, 143, 144, 177, 188, 192, 200, 213, 351, 354, 501 ; Skanda 79, 82, 83, 93, 96, 100, 106, 107, 109, 112, 122, 130, 131, 132, 135, 159, 194, 196, 660, 764 ; Nāradiya 81, 84, 98, 102, 123, 193 ; Nārasiṃha 109, 117, 130, 211, 669 ; Brāhmaṇḍa 98, 133, 167 ; Viṣṇu 116, 505 ; Āgneya 113, 225 ; Varāha 89, 112 ; Ādi-Varāha 133 ; Mahā-Varāha 333 ; Kaurma 332 ; Mahā-Kaurma 180 ; Bṛhad-Viṁśa 317 ; Ādiparvā 135, 143 ; Brāhma 83 ; Brāhma-valvarta 83 ; Bhavvyūṭara 98, 113, 137 ; Liṅga 103 ; Garuḍa 114 ; Purāṇātara 99, 118.

(3) *Other Religious Treatises and Commentaries:*

Vijñānārṇava 104, 285 ; Viṣṇu-dharmottara 111, 118, 628, 922 ; Viṣṇu-rahasya 86, 103 ; Viṣṇu-yāmala 334 ; Brāhma-yāmala 79 ; Vaiṣṇava Tantra 333 ; Nārada-pañcarātra 11, 23, 59, 107 ; Nārāyaṇa-pañcarātra 218 ; Pañcarātra 36, 129, 213, 216, 217 ; Śukra-saṃhitā 195 ; Agastya-saṃhitā 71, 111, 125 ; Brāhma-saṃhitā 305 ; Kāśyāpasa-saṃhitā 86 ; Tantra 21, 24, 111, 170, 187 ; Bhāvirāṭa-dīpikā 27 ; Śrīdhara-vivṛita (author of above) 630 ; Hari-bhakti-sūbhāṣya 23, 27, 99, 100, 141, 198, 639, 677, 866 ; Hari-bhakti-viṭāka 72, 129 ; (Bhagavan-)Nāma-kauṇḍī 630 ; (Hari-)Bhakti-vivēka 127.

(4) *Stotras:*

Haya-Śrīya-Nārāyaṇa-vyūha-stava 57, 58, 182 ; Aparīkṣa-bhāṣana 638 ; Śūvamaṅgala-stava 626 ; Śaivavallī 374, 507 ; Yāmunaśrīya-stotra 127, 267, 307.

(5) *Poetical Works:*

Bhakti-ratnā, Vairāgya-śataka 503 ; Śilupālā-radha 267, 279 ; (Kṛṣṇa-) Karpāmrta 202, 203, 379, 670, 671, 674 ; Śūvamaṅgala 296, 346, 456, 472. Gita-govinda 314, 881, 821, 829 ; Govinda-villāsa 571 ; Mukunda-māli 567.

Rūpa Govindāśaṭa's own works (poetical and dramatic):

Uddhava-saṃpāda 883 ; Hama-dūta 479, 649, 876 ; Lalita-mādhava 281, 290, 303, 322, 372, 453, 470, 471, 632, 789, 808, 822, 939, 946 ; Vidagdha-mādhava 320, 496, 510, 654, 791, 808, 880, 889, 930, 934 ; Dāsa-keli-kauṇḍī 441, 553, 749, 821 ; Padmāvallī 203, 254, 295, 460, 487, 512, 639, 821, 823, 825, 828, 830, 831.

(6) *Rhetorical Works and Authors:*

Bhārata 592, 593 ; Dattarāṇḍa 865 ; Śāhitya-darpana (anonymously) 815 (=S.D. III. 251) ; Rasa-radhākara 451 (=Rasāra-radhākara of Śiṅghapūṭa, on II. 13) ; Nāṭyāśrī 922.

(7) *Authors quoted by name only, excluding those already indexed:*

Haridāsa 58 ; Sadeva 630 ; Śrīmat-Prabhu (=Śaṅkara Govindāśaṭa) 300.

(8) Anonymous References:

Purāṇastara, see above. Granthāntara 160 ; Prīcidm 434 ; Nāṣṭā-cāryāḥ, see above ; Tantra and Vajrapara-tantra, see above.

3. The *Uj्ज्वाḷa-nīlamani*

Against this background of a complicated scheme is to be studied the next work, the *Uj्ज्वाḷa-nīlamani*,¹ in which the Uj्ज्वाḷa, or Madhura, or Śṛṅgāra Bhakti-rasa, the Erotic Love of Kṛpṣa, among the five primary Rasas, has been baptised into transcendence. The very importance of this Rasa is borne out by the fact that it required a separate and specialised enquiry in a supplementary work, which, if it did not exceed in volume the original treatise, did far outshone it in the complication of details and profusion of illustrations. As before, the entire theme is planned and modelled upon that of the Śṛṅgāra Rasa of Sanskrit Poetics, and the general terminology and main concepts belong to its current stock-in-trade. The fundamentals of the whole doctrine of the Erotic Rasa and its rhetorical psychology are worked out from the point of view of Kṛpṣa as an ideal hero (*nāyaka-cūḍāmaṇi*) ; and as the hero and the heroine in their various moods, aspects and situations form the ground of this erotic sentiment, the work is really an exhaustive dissertation not only upon the sentiment itself, but also upon the *minutiae* of the hero and heroine, their adjuncts and associates, as well as an analysis of their various attributes and expressions of love.

The basic feeling (*Sthāyi-bhāva*) of the Uj्ज्वाḷa or Madhura Rasa is, as we have already noted, the *Priyatā* or *Madhurā Rati*, the fondness or sweet feeling which inspires the mutual (*mithah*) erotic enjoyment (*sambhoga*) of Kṛpṣa

1 Our references are to the Kāvya-mālika edition (Bombay 1913) of the work, with the commentaries of Jīva Goṣvāmī (*Locana-varaṇi*) and Vidyānātha Cakravartin (*Ānanda-candrikā*). Vidyānātha also wrote a summary of this work, entitled *Uj्ज्वाḷa-nīlamani-kṛpṣa* ed. Prāṇapala Goṣvāmī, Navadvīpa 1927), to which occasional references are also made by us.

and the Gopis.¹ This feeling of Kṛṣṇa, being brought to a state of relief in the heart of the Bhakta² by means of its appropriate Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas etc., becomes the erotic Madhura Rasa, which is styled "the chief among the Bhakti-rasas (*bhakti-rasa-rāj*)."³ The work, therefore, proceeds at once to the detailed analysis of the Vibhāvas etc. of this Rasa.

The Ālambana Vibhāva, or the material ground and object of this feeling, is supposed to be Kṛṣṇa himself and his beloved Gopis (*vallabhāḥ*). As the Nāyaka or hero of this feeling, a long list of Kṛṣṇa's twenty-five attributes as a lover is given, although most of these are already included in the previous list of his sixty-four general excellences which we have mentioned above. The orthodox classification⁴ of the hero, appearing as the beloved (*kāmaivena sphuran*, Jiva), into Dbirodhita etc. is accepted; but Kṛṣṇa may figure either as Pati (husband) or Upa-pati (lover), and it is on the latter aspect that the excellence of his love is supposed to rest.⁵ As an amour with a married woman is hardly permitted by orthodox theory⁶ to form the dominant theme of a play or poem. Rūpa Gosvāmin cites Bharata in support, and states that if some older authorities have spoken lightly of the Upa-pati, such remarks should be understood to have an application to the ordinary hero (*prākṛta nāyaka*), and not to Kṛṣṇa, who incarnated himself for tasting the essence of the Rasa.⁷

1 *mīṭha harer mṛgāḥyādi ca sambhogasyādi-kāraṇam/ madhura-pura-paryāṭhā pṛyatāḥyoditā ratih*//. Of the two aspects of the Līlā (or divine sport) of Kṛṣṇa, namely, Aīvarya (power) and Mīdhurya (sweetness), Jiva Gosvāmin, in his *Prīti-saṃdarbhā* (pp. 704-715) declares the superiority of Mīdhurya. Hence the supreme excellence of Madhura Rati follows as a corollary.

2 *mādyatāp ārdi bhaktānām ānata*.

3 See S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, 2nd ed. II, p. 269.

4 *śraiva paramātharīya śṛṅgārasya pratīṭhiraḥ*.

5 Rūdraṇa xiv, 12-13; Rūdrabhāṭṭa, II, 40; also *Dada-rūpaka* li. 19, (*nāyayāḥbhāgi-rasa āvati*). But Śiṅgabhūpālā (*Rasānanda-sudhākara*, I. 79) classifies the Nāyaka into Pati, Upa-pati and Vaidika.

6 *rasa-mīṣṭāsa-māddritham a-ardhigī*.

The Paraklyā (=belonging to another) heroine, who is the object of the Upa-pati's love, may however be a maiden (Kanyakā) or a married woman (Parodhā). Even if orthodox Poetics deprecates love to a married woman,¹ she is, according to Vaiṣṇava ideas, the highest type of the heroine, and forms the central theme of the later Paraklyā doctrine of the school, in which the love of the mistress for her lover becomes the universally accepted symbol of the soul's passionate devotion to God. Kṛṣṇa as a Nāyaka, again, is conceived to be the most complete (Pūrṇatama) in Vraja, more complete (Pūrṇatara) in Mathurā, and complete (Purṇa) in Dvārakā. In their character as a lover, both the Pati and the Upa-pati, may be (following orthodox classification) the faithful (Anukūla), the gallant whose attention is equally divided among many (Dakṣiṇa), the sly (Śaṣṭha) and the saucy (Dhṛṣṭa). Thus ninety-six different aspects of Kṛṣṇa as the hero are obtained by this elaborate classification.

The ordinary classification of the Nāyikā of classical Poetics is accepted, but some complication is introduced by conceiving the heroine as the Beloved of Kṛṣṇa (Harivallabhā) from the devotional point of view. The Nāyikā may be Svīyā (one's own) or Paraklyā (another's) according as the hero is husband (Pati) or lover (Upa-pati). Mention is made of Kṛṣṇa's sixteen thousand wives in Vraja and one hundred and eight in Dvārakā, although we are assured that the actual number is infinite! We are told (pp. 41f) that the Gopīs of Vraja were in fact married according to Gāndhārva rites (self-choice), and as such they should be taken as Svīyā heroines, but they are generally considered (prāyena vīṣṇuḥ) in Kṛṣṇa's Prakaṣa-līlā (Manifest Sport) as Paraklyā, because

1 Rāpa Govindas explains that this is because in orthodox Poetics the concern is with the ordinary hero (not in *vyāṅgya-prakāśa-kṛudra-nāyikāśyamasūtrāḥ*). He says similarly in his *Nāyaka-vanditā* (ll. 11):
*naṭṭi yad arjuni rasā kavibhīḥ parodhā/ tad gokulāmbujadyatām kāmam
 antareṣu/ āmanyaḥ rasavīdheḥ avatāritāḥ/ kṛpāśrīḥ rasika-
 maṇḍala-icchareṣu/*. This verse is quoted anonymously at p. 80.

of the secrecy of their love (*pracchanna-kāmaid*) and the unmanifest character of the marriage (*avyaktarvāḍ vivāhāya*).¹ There was, however, no jealousy on the part of the Gopas towards Kṛṣṇa for sporting with their wives, because through the Māyā of Kṛṣṇa each had an apparent wife with him (cf. *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, x. 33. 37) ; and the immaculateness of the Vrajadevīs is declared by the assumption that they never had any real union with their husbands.² Each of these two kinds³ of the heroine, the Svīyā and the Parakīyā, is classified again, in accordance with the scheme of classical Poetics, into the adolescent and artless (*Mugdā*), the youthful (*Madhyā*), and the mature and audacious (*Pragalbhā*). Of these, the *Madhyā* and the *Pragalbhā*, according to their capacity for Māna, may be *Dhīrā* (self-possessed), *Adhīrā* (not self-possessed) and *Dhīrādhīrā* (the partially self-possessed),

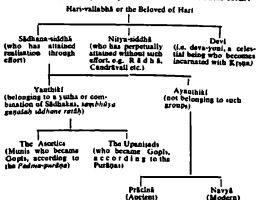
1 Viṭṭalaśaṅka Cakravartin adds (*Kīrṇā*, p. 34) : *kīṇanyāḥ gokeṣu svīyā api pīṇāḥ-lakṣyaḥ parakīyā eva*. Jīva Gosvāmī deals in some detail with this question of the relation of the Gopīs to Kṛṣṇa in his *Prīti-saṃdarbhā* (pp. 678-686, 936), for which see below, chap. v. It is differentiated from ordinary sexual relation (*prāṇīya lāma*) and characterised as pure love (*śuddha-prema*), and the distinction of Svīyā and Parakīyā is said to be possible only in Prakāśa Līlā (*varuṣaḥ parama-śrīyā api prakāśa-līlāyāṃ paratīyamānāḥ śrī-vrajadēvyāḥ*, p. 936). In his *Śrīkṛṣṇa-saṃdarbhā* (ed. Prāṇagopala Govarami, Nadiya 1923, pp. 347f.), Jīva offers the mystical-philosophical explanation that the Gopīs, as well as Kṛṣṇa's wives in Mathurā and Dvārakā, are really his *Svarūpa-lakṣa*. The Parakīyā-bhāva of the Gopīs is not a reality but a mere semblance (*Abhāsa*) which, occurring only during the Prakāśa Vṛndāvana-līlā, is short-lived.

2 *na jīva vraje-dvīpāṇaṃ paribhīḥ uka saṃyamaḥ*.

3 The third kind, the *Siddhāraṇī*, or *Sīmānyā* or *Vaiyā* (Courtesan), is omitted. The *Kubjā*, who is extolled (p. 83) for her feeling towards Kṛṣṇa, is apparently regarded as Parakīyā (*bhāva-yogāḥ sa saimeśvri paratīyāya saṃyamaḥ*). But Jīva Gosvāmī (*Prīti-saṃdarbhā*, p. 933) would frankly regard her as *Sīmānyā*, whose Dīpa (anointing Kṛṣṇa's body) was raised into *Madhura Rasa*. As her desire was for Kṛṣṇa, it was directed towards a worthy object and therefore praised ; but, being selfish and frankly sensual, it is deprecated in comparison with the love of the Gopīs, which was free from these traits.

They are further arranged, according to the eightfold diversity of their condition or situation in relation to the hero, into (i) the *Abhisārikā*, who goes out and meets the hero in assignation, (ii) the *Vāsukā-sajjā*, who adorns herself in expectation of the hero, (iii) the *Utkaṣṭhā*, who is disappointed by his non-arrival through misadventure or involuntary absence, (iv) the *Vipralabdā*, who is deceived of her expectation by unfaithfulness, (v) the *Khaṇḍinī*, who is outraged by the discovery of marks of unfaithfulness in the hero, (vi) the *Kalabāntarītā*, who is separated by quarrel, (vii) the *Proṣṭha-bhāṛtṛkā*, who pines for the absence of the hero gone abroad, and (viii) the *Svādhīna-bhāṛtṛkā*, who has the hero under absolute control. They may again, according to the rank each holds in the affection of the hero, be *Uttamā*, (best), *Madhyamā* (middling) and *Kaniṣṭhā* (lowest).

All this follows pretty closely the older rhetorical convention : but a further classification from a different theological point of view is also attempted. This classification of the Beloved of Kṛṣṇa may be represented thus in a tabular form :



Of these Rādhā, as the Vṛndāvanetvarī and eternal consort of Kṛṣṇa, is the foremost Beloved. A whole section is devoted to her, in which she is identified with the Hlādinī Mahāśakti of the Tantra (*tantra pratīṣṭhitā*): and a big list is given of her attributes and excellences, with the final remark that her characteristics, like those of Kṛṣṇa, are incapable of enumeration (*samkhyāhīna*). Although the name of Rādhā is not found in general literature before *Hlaḍa-saptatārī*, an attempt is made to prove her antiquity by a reference (p. 60) to such late neo-vaṣṇava Upaniṣads as the *Gopāla-tāpanī* and to the apocryphal *Rk-parīṭiṣṭa*, as well as to the canonical *Padma-purāṇa* (cf. *Prīti-saṃdarbhā* pp. 364-9). Her five kinds of companions, namely, Sakhi, Nitya-sakhi, Prīya-sakhi, Priya-sakhi and Parama-preṣṭha-sakhi, are then mentioned, and their individual names are recorded (p. 79).¹

According to their luck in love (*saubhāgya*), each of the heroine may be again Adbhikā (excessive), Samā (even) and Laghvi (light). According to her Svabhāva (temperament), she may be again Prakharā (sharp), Madhyā (equable) and Mṛdvi (mild). According to her attitude to her rivals, she may be Śva-pakṣā (interested in herself), Suhṛi-pakṣā (partial to her friend), Tajarthā (indifferent) and Vipakṣā (hostile). Of these, the second and the third are not conducive to Rāsa, but are incidentally mentioned; they may be either Iṣṭa-

1 The *raison d'être* of this classification is not mentioned in the text; but Viṭṭalanātha Cakravartin ('*Kīrtana*, p. 39-40) explains it thus: One who is more partial to Kṛṣṇa is Sakhi, but the Nitya-sakhi is more partial in her affection to Rādhā. Among Nitya-sakhis, those who are the chief are called Prīya-sakhis. The Priya-sakhi is not defined, but among Priya-sakhis the chief are Parama-preṣṭha-sakhis. In his *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-paṇḍita-dīpikā* (ed. Radhakrishnan Press, Berhampur-Murshidabad, 1223 B.E. = 1916 A.D.), Rūpa Govindāśrama enlarges upon this topic of the antithesis of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.—The Sakhya-bhāva in the case of the Nityā is direct enjoyment (*sāṅgīdaḥ upakhyogātmakaḥ*), but in the Sakhi, according to Jīva Govindāśrama (*Prīti-saṃdarbhā* p. 1046) it is vicarious, consisting of an approval of the enjoyment (*śaṅka-anumodanātmakaḥ*).

sādhakā (doing good) or Anigā-bādhakā (averting evil). The hostile type may be Iṣṭa-bāhtri (an obstacle) or Anīṣṭakari (active maker of mischief). Jīva Goṣvāmī's classification (p. 959) into Sakhi (companion), Subhṛt (well-wisher), Tapaśthā (indifferent) and Prātipāṅkiki (rival) is much simpler. But this classification on the basis of partisanship also applies to the Sakhi (Companion) by herself and as a messenger (Dūtī), according to her attitude to the cause of Kṛpā or of Rādhā.

Of the assistants (Sahāya) in love-affair, the Nāyaka has his usual Ceta (servant, e.g. Bhaṭṭa, Bhṛṅga etc. in Vraja), Viṣa (courtier, e.g. Kaṭāra, Bhāraṇḍabandhu etc.), Pijhamarda (comrade, e.g. Śrīdhama) and Vidūṣaka (buffoon, e.g. Madhumāṅgala in Rūpa Goṣvāmī's *Vidagdha-mādhava*), to which is added a fifth, Priya-nama-sakhi (dear and intimate friend, e.g. Subala and Arjuna). The Sakhi or companion of the Nāyikā has already been mentioned above.¹ But her messengers of love (Dūtī) and the nature of the message take

1 The Sakhi is an important person in the Rām-āitre and theology of Cāṇakyaism. Without her the blissful erotic sport of Kṛpā and Rādhā is not nourished, nor does it expand. No one has access to the sport except the privileged Sakhi and those devotees who imitate (through Rāgīnugā mode) their attitude. Hence the devotional fancy of the faithful Vaiṣṇava adopts the way of the Gopī and thinks on the sport, day and night, manifested in various erotic forms. It is for this reason that in the hagiology of the sect, as we have already noted, the great Vaiṣṇavas are figured as incarnations of the Sakhi,—a curious sublimation of the Gopī-myth! In the Kāvya, Nāṭka, Śloka and Campa of Kavīkarpūra, Raghunātha-dāsa, Rūpa and Jīva, we shall see presently, the Sakhi naturally play an important and ubiquitous rôle.

up an entire long section of the work. The classification of the Dūti may be tabulated as follows:

Dūti (Messenger of the Heroine)

Svayam
(where the person acts
as her own messenger)

The self-effort may take the forms of postures, words or looks. The postures, are of many kinds: cracking of the fingers, artfully covering up one's limbs, drawing figures on the ground with one's toes, scratching the ears, dance of the eye-brows, biting one's lips, etc. The words, consisting of hints, may be direct or artful, or they may concern Kṛṣṇa himself or something relevant, etc. The looks are analysed into smiling with the eyes, glancing with half-closed eyes, rolling the eyes, side-long glances, etc.

Āpā
(where a friend is
employed)

Amāṁśrīthā Nityāṁśrīthā Parāṁśrīthā

They may be *Śilpikārī* (woman artist), *Dāvāṁśrī* (woman astrologer), *Liṅgī* (woman ascetic, e. g. *Paṇḍurāmā*), *Paricārīkā* (maid-servant), *Dhātreyī* (hostess), *Sakhī* (companion), *Vasudevī* (the prevailing deity of the forest) etc. [cf. *Rasdarśana-sūdhākara*, I. 160-161].

The message may be directly expressed (*vācya*) or suggested (*vyāpṛya*). The suggested may be spoken before the heroine or behind her, and may be either direct (*sākṣār*) or artfully spoken (*vyāpadeśina*), etc.

So much about the *Ālambana Vibhāvas*. The *Uddīpana Vibhāvas*, which serve to foster the feeling by conditions of time, place and circumstance, constitute a much less extensive topic, but involve an equal elaboration of detail. Under this section come mainly the definition and classification of the various excellences of Kṛṣṇa and his beloved Gopis, as well as such eternal (*ajayanta*) objects (e.g. spring, cloud, moon etc.) as would excite the feeling of love. The excellences of Kṛṣṇa having been already catalogued and illustrated in the previous work, the present work confines itself to an elaborate definition and illustration of the excellences of Kṛṣṇa's Beloved, which may be either physical (*Kāyika*), mental (*Mānasaika*) and verbal (*Vācika*). The mental and verbal characteristics are dismissed in a few words; but of physical excellences such as beauty (*Rūpa*), complexion (*Lāvanya*),

softness (*Māṛava*) etc., prominence is given to the description of the three stages of youth (*Yauvana*), namely, *Navya* (fresh), *Vyakta* (manifest) and *Pūrṇa* (complete), along with *Vayah-saṃdhi* (adolescence).¹ Other excellences of Kṛṣṇa refer to the peculiarities of Name (*Nāman*), Exploits (*Carita*), Sports (*Līlā*, e.g. playing on the flute, milking the cows, lifting of the Govardhana hill etc.), Mapṇana (embellishments), and other relevant (*saṃbandhin*) and related (*saṃvhitā*) characteristics, including a description of Vṛndāvana, its rivers, groves, trees, flowers, birds and beasts. *Tapasvī* *Uddīpana*, as we have said above, include the conventional external objects (such as the cloud, full moon, southern breeze, etc.) which excite the feeling of love.

Three kinds of *Anubhāva*, which consist of such outward manifestations of the feeling as follow and strengthen it, are distinguished, namely, twenty-two *Alaṃkāras*, seven *Udbhāsvaṇas*, and twelve *Vācikas*. Of the twenty-two *Alaṃkāras* or embellishments, the three physical ones (*Bhāva*, *Hāva* and *Heḍā*) refer to the degree of awakening and manifestation of love in a nature previously exempt; then there are seven inherent (*Sattvaja*) qualities, such as brilliance of youth, beauty, sweetness, courage etc.; and ten natural (*Svabhāva*) graces, such as *Līlā* (playful imitation of the beloved), *Villāsa* (playful gestures), *Vicchitti* (decoration), *Moṇḍāyita* (clear expression of desire) etc., conclude the list. All this is conventional;² but the seven *Udbhāsvaṇas*, which are new, include such gestures or physical expressions of love as unconscious untying of the knot of the lower garment (*nīrī-vīṣaṃvṛana*), dropping of the upper garment (*uttarīya akhalana*), yawning (*jṛmbhā*), loosening of the hair (*keda-saṃvṛana*), etc. These are really aspects of *Villāsa* and *Moṇḍāyita* mentioned above, but they are separately treated because they have a charm of their own. The twelve *Vācikas* or conversa-

1 The *Rasbhāṣya-vadāhāra* (i. 164) speaks of four stages of *Yauvana*.

2 See S. K. De, *Sanskrit Portico*, II, pp. 271-72.

tional attributes are *Ālāpa* (agreeable and flattering talk), *Vilāpa* (lamentation), *Saṃlāpa* (dialogue), *Prālāpa* (vain or meaningless words), *Anulāpa* (repetition), *Apālāpa* (contrary application of a spoken word), *Saṃdeśa* (message), *Atideśa* (taking another's words as one's own), *Apadeśa* (hinting), *Upadeśa* (instruction), *Nirdeśa* (pointed reference) and *Vyapadeśa* (artful expression of one's desire).¹

There is nothing novel in the treatment of the *Sāttvikas* which are really kinds of *Anubhāva*. The eight orthodox *Sāttvikas* are accepted and are illustrated chiefly with respect to the heroine. But each is considered as a result of different subsidiary or auxiliary feelings : e.g. *Stupefaction* (*Stambha*) is illustrated as caused respectively by fear, wonder, sorrow, impatience etc. As in the previous work, the *Sāttvikas* are classified as *Smouldering* (*Dhūmāyita*), *Burning* (*Jvalita*), *Brightly Burning* (*Ōpta*) and *Flaming* (*Uddīpta*).

The section on the *Vyabhićāri-bhāvas* or accessory feelings is a fairly long one, but the conventional thirty-three of these are accepted and illustrated, with the exception of *Ugratā* (sternness) and *Ālasya* (indolence), which, in the opinion of our author, are inapplicable to *Śṛṅgāra*. As in the case of the *Sāttvikas*, each of these is described as caused by different feelings, e.g. fear, wonder, anger, shame, contempt, sorrow, etc.² After this, a brief reference is made to the *Commencement* (*Utpatti*), *Commixture* (*Saṃdhi*), *Conjunction* (*Śabalatā*) and *Allaying* (*Śānti*) of different *Bhāvas*.

The work then proceeds to the detailed consideration of the *Sthāyi-bhāva*, the root-emotion, of the *Madhura Rasa*, and the treatment is entirely original.

The natural or worldly (*laukika*) circumstances which

¹ This classification of *Vācika* follows *Rasāṅga-saṃhāra* (ed. Trivandrum, I, 120f).

² This procedure follows that of the *Rasāṅga-saṃhāra*.

give rise to the feeling of love or Madhurā Ratī, according to the degree of excellence, are :

- (i) Abhiyoga, manifestation of the feeling, either directly or through a messenger.
- (ii) Viśaya, object of the senses, e.g. sound (*śabda*), touch (*sparga*), smell (*gandha*) etc.
- (iii) Saṃbandha, sense of glory in beauty, lineage, etc.
- (iv) Abhimāna, sense of desirability of a particular pleasing object.
- (v) Upamā, resemblance, however slight.
- (vi) Svabhāva, nature or temperament, which does not depend upon outward cause. This may again be Nisarga (instinctive and deep-rooted habit) or Svarūpa (causeless self-accomplished essential). This Svarūpa may centre either on Kṛpā (*kṛpā-niṣṭhā*) or on the Gopā (*śalāṇā-niṣṭhā*).

But the Madhurā Ratī, according as the heroine is Sādhārāṇī (a courtesan), Śyāṇī (wife) or Parakīṇī (a maiden or a married woman) respectively, may be :

- (a) Sādhārāṇī, general, e.g., in the case of the Kumbhā, where the enjoyment is entirely for oneself (*ātma-tarpanaika-rūparyā*, Jīva). It extends up to the Preman (see below) stage of love.
- (b) Samāñjanī, well-proportioned, as in the case of the conjugal love of Rukmiṇī etc., where the enjoyment is as much for Kṛpā as for oneself. It extends up to the Anurāga stage.
- (c) Samaribhā, capable, as in the case of the Gopā where the effort is entirely for the pleasure of Kṛpā. It extends up to the final Bhāva or Mahābhāva stage.

The Madhurā Ratī, in its different aspects or conditions, may again be, successively according to its stages of growth or intensity of manifestation :¹

1 This classification follows that of the *Rasapravāha-saṁhāra* (IL 108f) which, however, speaks (in order) of Preman, Mīlā, Soka, Rāga and Anurāga, omitting Bhāva or Mahābhāva.

I. *Preman*, defined as the bond of feeling (*bhāva-bandhana*) which is the indestructible seed (*biṛja*) of love and which according to its degree may be *Praugha* (mature), *Madhya* (middling) and *Māda* (slight).

II. *Socha* which is affection sublimated from *Preman* and causing melting of the heart (*hṛdaya-drāvṇa*) on sight, hearing or recollection. It may also be the best (*śreṣṭha*), the middling (*madhyama*) and the lowest (*kanīṣha*), according to its intensity. This *Socha* is of two kinds: (a) *Ohṛta-socha*, constant fondness, solidifying like *Ohes* but impotent in itself in producing the taste, or (b) *Madhu-socha*, constant fondness like honey, strong and in itself potent in producing its sweetness.

III. *Māna*, affected repulse of endearment due to excess of emotion and causing a variety of amatory feelings. This may be *Udāṭṭa*, the high-spirited impulse of *Ohṛta-socha*, or *Lalita*, the sportive and tortuous impulse of *Madhu-socha*.

IV. *Prapaya*, friendly confidence (*vīrambha*), which may be *Maitra*, friendship characterised by humility, or *Sakhya*, fellowship free from apprehension. By a contact with the *Udāṭṭa* and the *Lalita Māna* respectively, these two kinds of *Prapaya* may again be *Su-maitra* and *Su-sakhya*. The interrelation or evolution of one from the other is thus indicated: *Socha*→*Prapaya*→*Māna* or *Socha*→*Māna*→*Prapaya*, the two *Prapaya* and *Māna* acting as mutual cause and effect.

V. *Rāga*, erotic transmutation of sorrow into joy, which, in coloured figuration, may be either *Nilima* (dark-blue) or *Raktima* (crimson). The *Nilima Rāga* may again be *NIli rāga*, indigo-coloured, unchangeable and not outwardly manifesting itself, or it may be *Śyāmā-rāga*, dark-coloured, accomplished slowly and manifesting itself a little. The *Raktima Rāga*, on the other hand, may be *Kusumbha-rāga*, saffron-coloured, quickly diffusing itself and reflecting other *Rāgas*, or it may

be *Madhijha-rāga*, coloured like madder, durable and independent.¹

VI. *Anurāga*, love as constant freshness. Its aspects are: (a) *Paravaśābhāva*, self-surrender, (b) *Prema-vaicitṭya*, loving apprehension of separation, (c) *Aprāpi-janma*, desire for birth as inanimate matter connected with the beloved, and (d) *Vipralambha-viśphūrṭi*, vision of the beloved in separation.

VII. *Bhāva* or *Mahābhāva*, supreme realization of love such as can be realised only by the Gopīs of Vraja. It may be:

- (1) *Rūḍha*, where the *Sāttvikas* have reached the highest form of excitement (*Uddipta*). Its characteristics both in union and separation are (a) incapacity for bearing separation even for a moment (*Nimeṣāsahatā*), (b) capacity to stir the hearts of all present (*Āsanna-janatā-hṛd-viloḍanatva*), (c) capacity to make a whole age appear as a moment, and a moment as a whole age (*Kalpa-kṣaṇatva* *kṣaṇa-kalpatva*), (d) languishment through apprehension of malady even in the presence of happiness (*Tat-saukhye'pyārti-lāṅkayā kṣinnatva*), and (e) forgetfulness of self and everything even in the absence of actual fainting (*Mohādyabhbhāve'pyātmādi-sarva-vimarsanatva*).
- (2) *Adhīrūḍha*, involving a special sublimation of the characteristics of *Rūḍha* mentioned above. It is again twofold: (i) *Mohana*, involving a special heightened charm of the *Sāttvikas* (*uddipta-saujghava*), and is found only in the *Rūḍhā*-group. It deepens into *Mohana* in separation, which causes a deeper heightening (*uddipta*) of the *Sāttvikas*.

1 *Rasapravāsa-sudhātara* (li. 117f), following Bhoja, speaks only of *Kuumbha*, *NTD* and *Madhijha Rāga*. See also *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, iii. 195-97.

Its characteristics are: the hero's fainting even in the embrace of the heroine (*kāntālligge'pi mūrchanā*), desire for happiness even by undergoing unbearable suffering (*asahya-duḥkha-avikāraḍ api tat-sukhākāmirā*), causing sorrow to the whole world (*brahmāṇḍa-kṣobha-kāritva*), weeping of the animal world (*īraścām api rodanam*), craving death for elemental union with Kṛṣṇa (*mṛtyu-avikāraḍ avābhūtair api tat-saṅga-irṣṇā*), and lastly, divine frenzy (*divyanmāda*). This divine frenzy may take the form of various helpless acts and movements (*udghṛṇā*) and of deeply anxious and resentful words on meeting a friend of the hero, here Kṛṣṇa (Citra-jalpa). The Citra-jalpa may take ten forms:

Prajalpa (spitting out of words on the incompetence of the hero, in contempt prompted by impatience, jealousy or pride), Parijalpa (display of skill in chiding the hero's cruelty), Vijalpa (jealous irony laced with resentment), Ujjalpa (proud and jealous declaration of the hero's deception), Samjalpa (regretful and ironical declaration of the hero's ingratitude), Avajalpa (jealous declaration of the unworthiness of the hero's love on account of his hard-heartedness, lust and deception), Abhijalpa (hinting the propriety of giving up the hero, which words bring sorrow even to birds), Ājalpa (disparaging declaration of the hero's crookedness, which causes sorrow to self and joy to those who experience his association), Pratijalpa (honouring the messenger and humbly declaring inseparability from the hero) and Sujalpa (enquiry, inspired by simplicity, gravity and humility, after the hero). (ii) *Mādana*, which is pleasant with the sprout of all the feelings (*bhāva*) and which is always found in Rādhā only. Its characteristics are excess of jealousy even when there is no cause for jealousy and remissness con-

templation of everything related to the hero even in a state of enjoyment.

This *Sthāyi-bhāva* of *Madhurā Ratī* becomes the *Madhura* or *Śṛṅgāra Rasa*, the highest type of Erotic Love. It is two-fold according as it is Love-in-union (*Sambhoga*) and love-in-separation (*Vipralambha*). The *Vipralambha* may take various forms¹ :

- (1) *Pūrva-rāga*. Incipient Love, that is, love before actual union, consequent upon first sight, hearing, dream, or looking at the picture of the beloved, etc. Its various attendant feelings and conditions, succeeding each other in order of intensity and leading even up to death, are minutely described and illustrated. It may be either *Praudha* (developed), *Samaśjasa* (well-proportioned) or *Sādhāraṇa* (general). The sending of love-letters (*Kāma-lekha*) is also incidentally discussed. The ten stages of the *Praudha Pūrva-rāga* are : *Lālasā* (ardent desire), *Udvega* (anxiety), *Jāgara* (sleeplessness), *Tānava* (thinness of the limbs), *Jaḍimā* (stupidity), *Vaiya-grya* (impulsiveness), *Vyādhī* (pale ness, heat etc. of the body), *Unmāda* (dementedness), *Moha* (unconsciousness) and *Mṛtyu* (death). Of the *Samaśjasa* the ten stages are : *Abhilāṣa* (desire), *Clintā* (reflection), *Smṛti* (recollection), *Gaṇa-kīrtana* (recital of qualities of the beloved), *Udvega* (anxiety), *Villāpa* (lamentation), *Unmāda* (dementedness), *Vyādhī* (illness), *Jaḍatā* (stupidity) and *Mṛti* (death). Of the *Sādhāraṇa Pūrva-rāga*, the stages consist of the first six of the *Samaśjasa* mentioned above, beginning with *Abhilāṣa* and ending with *Villāpa*.

1 The *Rasapravartakādikāra*, following *Bhoja*, speaks also of four kinds of *Vipralambha*, viz., *Pūrvānūrāga*, *Māna*, *Pravāna* and *Karuṇa* ; but its *Karuṇa* is not the same as the *Prema-vaicitṛya* of our author.

- (ii) *Māna*¹. Resentment as a bar to the realisation of love. It may be (a) *Sa hetu* (having a cause), the cause or ground of resentment being something seen (*dṛṣṭa*), heard (*śrūta*) or inferred (*anumīta*), or, (b) *Nirhetu* (without a cause) or *Kārapābhāsa-saṁhita* (with the semblance of a cause). The causeless resentment is easily allayed, but the caused resentment may be allayed by sweet words (*Sāma*), offering of presents (*Dāna*), glorification of oneself (*Bheda*) and neglect (*Upekṣā*), or by the sudden accession of other feelings (e. g. sudden fear).
- (iii) *Prema-vaicittya*, apprehension of separation, through excessive love, even in the presence of the beloved.
- (iv) *Pravāsa*, psychological effect of separation due to the absence of the hero gone abroad. The separation may be either deliberate (which may again be present, past or future)² or forced; and the exodus may be to a place which is very distant or not very distant. The ten stages of this condition are: *Cintā* (reflection), *Jāgara* (sleeplessness), *Udvega* (anxiety), *Tānava* (thirstiness), *Malinābhgātā* (paleness of the limbs), *Pralāpa* (lamentation), *Vyādhī* (illness), *Unmāda* (dementedness), *Moha* (unconsciousness) and *Mṛtyu* (death). With regard to *Pravāsa*, the author adds that in his eternal sport (*Nitya-līlā*), there is no real separation of Kṛṣṇa and the *Vraja*-devīs, for their union is perpetual; but the condition

1 The *Māna* which looms so large in Vaiṣṇava *Padāvallī* has, like the word *Rasa*, hardly any equivalent in modern amatory vocabulary. A curious mixture of joy and sorrow, fear and hope, pride and anger, love and repulsion, it involves also an element of *châta*, an indefinable playfulness, which is wayward and yet alluring. It is not pride, anger, mere displeasure of resentment; it is neither the French "amour propre" nor Testonic "Empfindelci". A psychological composite like this is untranslatable.

2 So in *Rasapravāsa-saṁhita* (il. 216).

of Pravāsa is described according to the manifest sport (Prakāṣa-mā) of Kṛṣṇa, in which he appears to go to Mathurā. In other words, there is an apparent sojourn to Mathurā, but the association with Vṛndāvana is real and permanent.

The Sambhoga or Love-in-union is either directly (*mukhya*) or indirectly (*gauṇa*, as in a dream) fulfilled. Of each of these, again, four stages¹ are marked in order of intensity : Samp-
kṣipta (brief e. g. occurring after Pūrva-rāga), Sampkīrpa (mixed
with contrary feelings, e. g. occurring after Māna), Sampanna
(developed, e.g. occurring after return from near Pravāsa), and
Sampṛdhiṃśat (complete and excessive, e. g. occurring after
return from distant Pravāsa). Its various elements are sight,
touch, words, barring the way, Rāsa, sport in the river, steal-
ing of garments, stealing of the flute, kissing, embracing etc.
leading up to sexual union.

The number of works cited for poetical quotations in the *Ujjvala-nīlamanī* is much fewer. The number of such quotations hardly exceeds two hundred and fifty, as against nearly four hundred of the previous work.² As the erotic sentiment

1 The *Rasapravāsa-sūktikāra* speaks of Sampkṣipta, Sampkīrpa, Samp-
panna and Sampṛdhiṃśat Sambhoga. Jīva Govvāmin (p. 1071) speaks
of four kinds of Sambhoga occurring after Pūrva-rāga, viz. Samparīkṣa
(sight), Sampasāra (touch), Sampalpa (conversation) and Samprayoga
(inter-course).

2 We have stated that Rāpa Govvāmin himself compiled an antho-
logy of Vaiṣṇava poems, the *Paṇḍarāvatī*. It contains about four hundred
typical places culled from different sources. But the six hundred and
fifty (or more) poetical quotations in these two works of his, by them-
selves, constitute a varied and exhaustive anthology of Vaiṣṇava
devotional literature.—It is doubtful if the recently printed *Bhakti-
rasamṛga-draṇ* (see above, p. 158) is the lost work of the same name
by Jīva Govvāmin. The thirteen prologue-verses do not contain the
name of the author, nor is it given anywhere in the body of the text
or the colophon. The date of composition (although the editor thinks
that it is the date of copying of the MS) is given as Śaka 1618 (*Śaka
varṇa-kāra-rūḍha*)=1796 A.D.; but Jīva could not have been alive at
the time. The work deals, not with Bhakti-rasa, but with Kāya-rasa,

is its theme, there is more scope here for citations from general literary works and less from the Śāstras. The quotations from the Purāṇas and other Vaiṣṇava scriptures are indeed not many, but the author strictly confines himself to such general poetical works as possess a decided Vaiṣṇava leaning, or concern themselves with the theme of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Thus, works like the *Gita-govinda* of Jayadeva or *Śrīkṛṣṇa-karṇāmya* of Līlādhara are freely drawn upon for illustration of the different phases of the Rāsa, but the largest number of quotations is supplied by the poetical and dramatic works of Rūpa Gosvāmin himself, which appear thus to have been composed with the special object of illustrating the different phases of Kṛṣṇa-līlā. The works and authorities cited are:

(The references are by page, as the numbering of the sections and verses in the printed edition does not facilitate any other way of reference)

(1) *The Epics and Purāṇas* :

Harivaṃśa 40, 253, 432 ; Śrīmad-bhāgavata 40, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 254, 264, 265, 272, 283, 285, 290, 296, 297, 307, 308, 311, 312, 336, 342, 357, 381, 384, 385, 411, 418, 470 ; Padma-purāṇa 52, 60, 460, 40 (Kārtika-māhātmya) ; Viṣṇu-purāṇa 252, 271, 289, 361 ; Bhāgavāmāna 52.

in seven Prākāśas respectively on Kāvya-lakṣaṇa, Vākya-svarūpa, Dhvani-bhāda, Śabdāntarāptāra, Dosa, Guṇa and Rīti, omitting the subject-matter of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* iii, v and vi ; to which rhetorical work it acknowledges its indebtedness in the opening verses (*sāhitya-darpaṇe darpaṇam api saṃkalpitaṃ karīryām*). It is, in fact, an unoriginal compilation of traditional definitions, most of which are derived directly from the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, which it closely follows ; but, we are told, since the latter work is defective on account of its not being dedicated to Kṛṣṇa, the author takes pains to insert illustrative verses in glorification of the deity, and sometimes even changes old verses freely into Vaiṣṇava words and ideas. For instance, the last two lines of the well known old verse *nīlajayā-cyāna-randanaṃ* (Māmaśa, 1) are thus modified, hardly to its advantage :

nīlajayā jalpaṃ goṣṭi-bandha-janard-vañci-trīpāṭiyāñcī

īryāñcī (!) andam ita gaurā na punas saṃ goṣṭi-kāmaṇam !

The author may have utilized the *Alaṅkāra-kāuśubha* of Kavihara-

(2) *Other Religious Texts and Commentaries :*

Brahma-saṃhitā 57 ; *Krama-dīpikā* 5-9 ; *Gopālistara-dīpaṇī* 60 ;
Viṣṇugupta-saṃhitā 43 ; *Tāntira* 61 ; *Āṭi-parīkṣā* 60.

(3) *Rhetorical Works and Authors :*

Muni (*Bharata*) 11, 32 ; *Rasa-sudhākara* 91, 231, 232, 242, 291
(= *Rasāṅkura-sudhākara* of *Singhabhūṣiṇī*) ; *Prāśastya* 87 ; *Prāśastya*
86 ; *Dāsa-rūpa* 30 ; *Rudra* 41.

(4) *Poetical and Dramatic Works :*

Saptasatī (of *Hāla*) 468 ; *Gita-govinda* 113, 162, 175, 183, 243, 273,
276, 284, 287, 301, 310, 314, 496 ; (*Śrīkṛṣṇa*)-*Kaṇṭakī* 493 ;
Bīṣṇavaśāṇa (author of above) 277, 285, 435, as *Prāśastya* 24 ;
Vopadeva and his *Mukūṭphala* 450 ; *Jaganātha-vallabha* (of
Rāmananda-vīṇa) 302, 430 ; *Govinda-vallabha* 320 ; *Rukmiṇī-*
vraja-sūtra (*Īṣṭara-parīkṣā*) 272, 274 ; *Mukūṭ-carita* (of *Raghu-*
nātha-dāsa) 261 ; *Chanda-māṇḍari* (of *Gaṅgādāsa*, on *Prose*)
252, 268.

Rūpa Govindin's own works :

Padmāvatī 10, 301, 162, 181, 228, 241, 263, 277, 287, 300, 303, 306, 364,
392, 393, 396, 417, 453, 454, 490, 491 ; *Vidagdha-mādhava* 34, 64,
68, 69, 95, 108, 160, 182, 184, 187, 222, 235, 236, 250, 251, 254, 262,
263, 279, 282, 283, 289, 292, 296, 299, 303, 304, 305, 310, 311, 319,
322, 323, 371, 417, 450, 451, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 462 ;
Lalita-mādhava 57, 77, 83, 181, 209, 228, 233, 234, 235, 237, 239, 240,
241, 251, 278, 284, 291, 293, 294, 299, 302, 304, 309, 318, 333, 338,
393, 451, 453, 455, 474, 485, 487, 493 ; *Dāsa-heli-kauṇḍī* 161, 222,
231, 234, 256, 270, 321, 358, 360, 373, 375, 410, 484, 488, 492 ;
Uddhava-saṃpāda 93, 102, 147, 161, 238, 240, 282, 296, 298, 302,
347, 439, 451, 452, 469, 492 ; *Rasam-dāsa* 189, 286, 304, 309, 316,
324, 454, 456, 470, 484.

It will be clear from what is said that the mood of erotic mysticism, which seeks to express religious longings in the language and imagery of earthly passion and which is a characteristic feature of later Vaiṣṇavism in general, is seen in its full bloom in these treatises and indeed forms one of the basic inspirations of Caitanyaism. In the older works like the *Bhagavad-gītā*, the mood of Bhakti is presented as an ethical and mystical feeling of an intensely personal *pūra* and the *Śāhīya-kauṇḍī* commentary (on *Mammata*) by Baladeva Vidyābhāṣa. It quotes the *Gopīya-saṃpāda* of *Rūpa* and the *Citra-pāṇya* of *Rūpa* from *Śāhīya-sāhī* (pp. 614-20). As it does not deal with Bhakti-rasa, we need not consider this work here.

character, rather than as an impersonal intellectual conviction adduced by mere knowledge, but the attitude there is more speculative than passionate. The Bhakti in the *Mahābhārata* in general is often explained by the analogy of the love of the wife for her husband; and the term Bhakti in the later Sūtras of Nārada and Śaṅḍilya is made interchangeable with the terms *Prīti*, *Bhāva*, *Rāga* or *Anurakti* as expressions of ardent love and yearning; but the passionateness of earlier theistic devotionism was never entirely divorced from intellectual satisfaction or moral earnestness. Though not identical with it, knowledge or belief is still acknowledged as a preliminary to the emotion of Bhakti, and selfless action is not excluded. The mediæval expressions of the passion, however, dispense with *Jñāna* and *Karma* in the orthodox sense, and take their stand exclusively upon mystical emotional realisation (*Rasa*). All worship and salvation are regarded as nothing more than a blissful enjoyment of the divine sports, involving personal consciousness and relation, direct or remote, between the enjoyer and the enjoyed. But in the emphasis laid on the erotic sentiment in the sports of Kṛṣṇa, the attitude borders definitely upon sense-devotion, and leans perceptibly and dangerously towards the erotic passion. The ultimate felicitous state is conceived as an eternity of enjoyment of the erotic sports of *Vṇḍāvana*, in which the faithful serve Kṛṣṇa as did the Gopīs. The corrective is, no doubt, supplied by theologically representing the erotic relationship as the sport of the Śaktimat with his own Śaktis or Energies, in their *Hlādinī* or blissful state; but, however figuratively or philosophically the doctrine is interpreted, the erotic emotionalism is essential and prominent in the devotional writings as a literal fact. In the hands of these erotic emotionalists there is a fresh accession and interpretation of romantic legends; and the Purāṇic life of Kṛṣṇa being brought to the foreground, the older Epic figure of Yāmadeva-Kṛṣṇa is transformed beyond recognition. The ancient epic spirit of godly wisdom and manly devotion is replaced by a

new spirit of mystical and theological fancy, of tender rapture over divine babyhood, and of sensuous and erotic passion of ecstasy over the loveliness of divine adolescence ; and its god is moulded accordingly. The essential truth of the doctrine of *Vṛndāvana-āṣā*, no doubt, lies in its appeal for a more emotional religion and in its protest against the unsatisfying intellectuality of mere metaphysics ; and the whole theory of *Bhakti-rasa* appeals to the exceedingly familiar and authentic intensity of human moods and sentiments. But we have also a marked development of the dubious erotic possibilities of the attitude in an atmosphere of highly passionate and sensuous life and literature. In Bengal *Vaiṣṇavism* the tendency goes a step further. It seeks to realise, in its theory and practice, the actual passion of the deity, figured as a friend, son, father or master, but chiefly and essentially as a lover. The too ardent tendency of the position lapses into sensuousness of a refined type, but the mystical sensibility is chiefly vicarious. The doctrine, no doubt, attempts to transfigure the mighty sex-impulse into a deeply religious emotion, but the way of realisation insists upon an abnormal mental state, which seeks the highest satisfaction in a vicarious enjoyment of the erotic sports of *Kṛpā*, contemplated not merely in a figurative but also in a vivid literal sense. It is important to note that *the Vṛndāvana-āṣā is not a mere symbol or divine allegory, but a literal fact of religious history*. The *Rādhā-Kṛpā* myth, as depicted in the *Purāṇas* and elaborated in the *Kāvya*, *Nāṭka* and *Campū*, as well as in the *Rasa-āṣṭra*, of the sect as the basis of its theology and devotional life, is taken as a vivid historical, as well as super-historical, reality ; and there is no suggestion of its being an allegory. The pressure of modern thought has, no doubt, induced some modern writers on the subject to the desperate method of allegorical interpretation, but the theologians and poets of the sect never think it necessary to spiritualise the myth as a symbolism of religious truth ; for the *Purāṇic* world to them is manifestly a matter of religious history.

This fervent quasi-amorous attitude, in spite of its subtle and elusive juggling with psychological complexes and theological refinements, inspires not only the Śāstras and professedly devotional works of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, but also enlivens its mass of resplendent lyrics in Sanskrit, as well as in Bengali, with the practical possibilities of its mystical erotic impulse. Whatever may be the devotional value of this attitude, the literary gain was immense. This last reach of Vaiṣṇava Bhakti, transmuted in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism into Preman or love, became an unfailing and rich source of literary inspiration, as well as of religious emotion : for it was personal in ardour, concrete in expression and original in appeal. Along with its metaphysics and theology was also produced a psychological rhetoric of the endless diversity of the passionate condition, which reproduced, no doubt, the classical phraseology and ideas of Sanskrit rhetoric of Rasa, but whose erotic-religious application and subtilising of emotional details were novel, intimate and inspiring. These aesthetic and emotional conventions were implicitly accepted in its literary productions. In spite of its psychological formalism, its rhetoric of ornament and conceits and its pedantry of metaphysical sentimentalism, there can be no doubt that the inspiration supplied by the erotic emotionalism of such works as those of Rūpa Goṣvāmin (with their hundreds of poetical illustrations) to later Vaiṣṇava literature, especially the lyrics composed in Bengali, must have been of a deep and far-reaching character. Even the abstruse dogmas, formulas and shibboleths have had their effect on literary conception and phrasing, but there was an essentially human appeal in its religious attitude, which imparted to its literary effusions an enduring emotional and poetical value. The wistfulness and amazement of its devotional ecstasy, the richly romantic idealism of its mystical erotic sensibility, lifted the lyric literature of Caitanyaism into a high level of artistic and passionate expression, which was endowed, by the virtue of these attributes, with as much human as transcendental value.

CHAPTER V

THE THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY OF BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM

1. *General Characteristics*

It is difficult to give a proper exposition¹ of the philosophy of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism without a detailed reference to the sacred texts which are cited throughout as revealed and indisputable, and on which indeed the faith elaborately bases its philosophical ideas. The whole system is built up on a direct explication of its own peculiar sectarian texts ; and absolute faith in their interpretation by its acknowledged theologians is essential for an acceptance of their truth. Such entire reliance upon verbal authority and verbal interpretation makes it difficult in any exposition to steer clear of the texts which are quoted at every step, but it also impairs the value of its theology and philosophy as an independent system of thought. The usual procedure is to make a dogmatic statement, and then support it not so much by argumentation, which is held at discount, as by a compilation of authoritative texts, chiefly derived from the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata Purāṇa*, and by interpretation of those texts in the light of the peculiar dogmas and doctrines of the school. The basic theory of the threefold Śakti of the Supreme Being, for instance, is founded upon a text of the *Vīṣṇu-purāṇa*, amplified by other texts, while its other fundamental doctrine of the threefold aspect of the deity as the Brahman, Paramātman and Bhagavat is entirely based upon a system of interpretation of a single text of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*. The same remarks apply to its central postulate of the highest and exclusive divinity of Kṛṣṇa, while

1 For a brief account of the theology and philosophy of Caitanya-ism, as well as of its Rāsa-Utsava, see S. K. De, introd. to the *Padyaṁśa* (Dacca 1934), pp. lii-civ.

its doctrine of Bhakti is deduced from a peculiar theory of emotional realisation which is based entirely upon a series of devotional texts and dogmatic statements.

It is true that in some older systems of Indian philosophy mere Tarka or discursive reasoning is deprecated as a means of attaining ultimate truth ; and in most systems, belief in Śruti or revelation and interpretation of revealed texts are at least theoretically accepted as the proper mode. But in the speculations of the Bengal school, this attitude of reverence for infallible testimony appears to have been carried to its extreme limit, and theological heresy is counted as a grievous sin. The Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism, believing that everything is revealed by the grace of a personal god, theoretically rejects all Pramāṇas (sources of knowledge) excepting Śabda or revealed word, but Śabda as a source of belief has a peculiar significance in this school. We shall have occasion later on to explain its theory of Pramāṇa, but briefly speaking, the appeal is not to reason but to a peculiar system of scriptural authority. It is true that theoretical homage is paid to Śruti or the Veda in the wider sense of Indian philosophy, but the term Śabda in practice denotes other kinds of sectarian scriptures which, as Smṛti, are hardly admitted by older philosophical schools. The Pramāṇa is practically circumscribed to a few Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas and other sectarian texts ; but it is curious to note that these texts are regarded as revealed or authoritative chiefly on the strength of statements to that effect contained in these texts themselves. Older Śruti texts, when convenient, are indeed cited with respect, but we are told that the sense of the earlier Śrutis is unfathomable, and that the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas, which can explain them properly, are the only kinds of revelation which are accessible at the present decadent age. In the compilation and exposition of the Purāṇa and Smṛti texts, again, the same dogmatic attitude is prominent. Non-vaiṣṇava texts are rejected as *adharmaika* and untruthful ; and even among Vaiṣṇava texts the *Srīmad-bhāgavata* alone is regarded as the quintessence of all Śāstras and

as possessing the supreme authority. Other schools of Vaiṣṇavism propound their doctrines by writing elaborate commentaries on the *Vedānta-sūtra* and interpreting it in their own way ; but the Bengal school regards the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* as Vyāsa's own commentary on his *Vedānta-sūtra*, and therefore confines itself to an interpretation of this Purāṇa in its own light, instead of composing a separate commentary on the Sūtra. The Bengal school, therefore, proceeds almost entirely on an explication of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. If some of the texts cited from this or other sources are apocryphal, this fact makes no difference so long as they fall in with the peculiar doctrines of the school. Even of Vaiṣṇava texts there is a careful selection and arrangement of those which are favourable ; and inconvenient texts are sometimes quietly forgotten or glossed over and sometimes twisted in an ingenious way to suit its particular views. These methods are not unfamiliar to students of sectarian religious literature, but they possess little philosophical interest. The details of such a method may prove interesting and valuable to the faithful devotee, but they hardly appeal either to the general reader or to the critical enquirer.

It would appear, therefore, that as it is chiefly a system of mystical-emotional dogmatics, the strictly philosophical views of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism are intimately mixed up with the details of its devotional theologism and its emotional erotic mysticism, which are set forth in its pious text-books of legend and fancy. Its purely speculative thought, therefore, cannot be easily disentangled from its sentimental and mythical envelopment. The Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, no doubt, presents itself as a deliberate historical religion promulgated by a definite founder, but in the practical working out of the system by the Vṛndāvana Gopālmata the direct intuitive realisation of the teachings of the Master¹ hardly find a place.

¹ Teachings are imputed, no doubt, especially by Kṛṣṇadāsa Karikāṇḍa, a disciple of the Vṛndāvana Gopālmata, but these teachings

Except the usual obeisance and homage to Caitanya and general passages testifying to his identity with the supreme deity, there is nowhere in the extensive works of Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva any direct reference to his personal views and teachings. These theologians and philosophers are chiefly concerned with the godhead of Kṛṣṇa and his Līlā as revealed in their older scriptures, and Kṛṣṇa in their theory is not an Avatāra but is alone the supreme deity himself (*svayam bhagavat*). They are almost entirely silent about Caitanya-līlā and its place in their devotional scheme, and it is somewhat strange that in presenting a system of religion in his name they rely upon older sources and do not refer at all to his direct realisation of spiritual truths. The divinity of Kṛṣṇa as the exclusive object of worship is elaborately established, but the divinity of Caitanya, which is implicitly acknowledged in Namaṅkriyās and other devotional verses, is hardly ever discussed. If Jīva Gosvāmin wrote a *Kṛṣṇa-saṁdārbha*, he never wrote a *Caitanya-saṁdārbha*. It is said in the Bengali biography of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja that these works of the Gosvāmins were not only inspired but were directly communicated to these disciples by Caitanya himself; but even then there is no direct acknowledgment of this fact by the Gosvāmins themselves¹. There cannot be any doubt that the devout life of Caitanya inspired these faithful disciples, but in the building up of their systems of theology and philosophy there is no reference to the life, personality or views of Caitanya himself. There is, on the other hand, an entire dependence upon a complicated system of text-interpretation, rather than upon any direct and vivid spiritual illumination. It must be admitted that in these treatises we reach a high level of the emotional Bhakti-doctrine in the setting of a vital and practical system of religious beliefs, and

are, as we have stated above (pp. 75, 85), clearly those of the Gosvāmins themselves.

¹ See above, p. 115.

the life and personality of Caitanya must have been to his devout followers a powerful exemplification of these beliefs and doctrines ; but we still move in an indefinite haze of mythology, sentiment and speculation, derived from Purāṇic tradition ; while the intellectual seriousness or the ethical nobility of the tenets is hardly propounded with the force of direct realisation, inasmuch as they are completely merged in a floating mass of uncertain myths, legends and traditional beliefs.

The theology and philosophy found in the writings of the Navadvīpa disciples are vague and unsystematic, and can be briefly summarised here. They are concerned more with simple and direct faith than with elaborate discussion ; and their aim is to depict chiefly the passionately devotional life of Caitanya, rather than to set forth his teachings. Unlike the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīs, they take Caitanya as the centre of their thought and emotion, and regard him as the highest reality and object of adoration of their faith. This has been characterised as the *Gaura-pāramya-vāda*, which (whatever may have been their personal attitude) the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīs never discuss or set forth in their theological treatises. In the eyes of the contemporary composers of *Padas* on Caitanya, for instance, Caitanya is Kṛṣṇa himself who, in his recollection of Vṛndāvana, pines for Rādhā. They also believe in the Rādhā-bhāva of Caitanya, that is, they regard Caitanya as both Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in one personality. They do not, however, consider it necessary to discuss the question but take it as already established by Anubhava or personal experience. Narahari and his disciple Locana, however, develop a doctrine of *Gaura-nāgara-bhāva*,¹ in which the devotee (in the Rāgā-nugā way) regards Caitanya as the Nāgara and himself as a Nāgarī ; but this doctrine receives little credit in the orthodox circles. Murāri considers Caitanya as an incarnation (Avatāra) of the Bhagavat. He believes in two kinds of Avatāra—

1 See above, pp. 39, 63.

Yugāvatāra and Kāryāvatāra. In the four Yugas, the different Avatāras. In his opinion, are respectively Sukla, Yajña, Priṭu and Caitanya : the ten Kāryāvatāras are Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nṛsiṃha, Vāmana, Bhārgava, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalkin, in which list (slightly different from that of Jaya-deva) Caitanya's name does not appear (i. 4. 18-33). Elsewhere (i. 8. 9-10), Murāri accepts Caitanya as an Āveta-Avatāra ; and like his other biographers, he regards Caitanya as having manifested divine character from the very beginning. He thus speaks of Caitanya as an Āman of Hari (i. 5. 4), but, not very consistently, as the Bhagavat himself (i. 15. 1), and bows to him as the Caturbhuja Viṣṇu (i. 1. 14). Kavikarṇapūra, on the other hand, regards Caitanya definitely as Dvibhuja Kṛṣṇa. *śrīmad-vraja-vāraṇadhya-prāṇanātha* (Kāvya I. 8), and believes that his descent was for the purpose of saving men from suffering (ibid. xvii. 7), for refuting Advaita-vāda (drama i. 7), and for teaching devotion to Hari, that is, to himself (ibid. i. 28). In his introductory Namaskriyā to his *Ānanda-vṛndāvana-campū* (dl. 3), he pays homage to Caitanya as his family deity and as Hari himself (*deva naṣ kula-dalvataṁ vijayatām caitanya-kṛṣṇo hariḥ*). The faith of the biographers of Caitanya in his divinity is axiomatic and does not require demonstration ; but they seek to establish it partly by recording personal feeling and experience of his followers and partly by the enumeration of Caitanya's devotional and miraculous acts. Kavikarṇapūra distinguishes the Vaidhī from the Rāgānugā Bhakti (drama iii. 19), but thinks that the Rāgānugā can never follow a fixed course. He never considers Advaita Mukti as the *summum bonum*, but states (drama i) *mukti-tadbo'ira pāṇada-svarūpa-parah*, and regards Samparkīrtana to be the sole means of Bhakti. In his *Gaura-gaṇoddeta*, however, he elaborates a complete hagiology of the faith and purports to develop Svarūpa Dāmodara's doctrine of Pañca-tattva, which regards Caitanya, Nityānanda, Advaita, Gadādhara and Śrīvāsa as the five Tattvas of the faith, but which considers Caitanya as the Mahāprabhu, and Advaita and

Nityānanda as Prabhu. Vṛndāvana-dāsa, accepting the divinity of Caitanya as manifested from his very birth (in which view Locana and Jayānanda also agree) and his identity with Kṛṣṇa, does not consider it as worth discussing, but models the early life of Caitanya (before his Saṁnyāsa) on the Vṛndāvana life of Kṛṣṇa. He rejects, however, the Gaurāṅgāra doctrine with contempt and rules out erotic traits from Caitanya's life as Kṛṣṇa, although occasionally, following the Rāgāṅgī doctrine, he describes the Rādhā-bhāva of Caitanya. All the biographers are concerned more with the description of the inner emotional life of Caitanya than with outward doctrine. A short theological work, called *Śrīkṛṣṇa-bhaṣaṇa-mṛta*¹ is ascribed to Narahari Sarkār Thākur. It is composed in prose, with interspersed verses, and discusses such questions as the diversity of Vaiṣṇava devotees ; conduct towards the Dīkṣā-guru and the Śikṣā-guru respectively ; the incarnation of Balabhadra in relation to Kṛṣṇa ; Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva as Guṇāvatāras of Kṛṣṇa ; Lakṣmī, Rukmiṇī, Jānakī and Rādhā as consorts of the deity, and so forth. Although the work pays homage to Caitanya and regards him as an Avatāra of Kṛṣṇa, there is no trace of the Gaurāṅgāra-vāda or Gaurāṅgāra-vāda which is prominent in the Padāvalī ascribed to Narahari as a Navadvīpa devotee of Caitanya. The genuineness of the attribution is, therefore, open to doubt, and its theology offers nothing new, being obviously influenced (which indication is somewhat strange) by the views of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīns. In the following pages, we need, therefore, confine ourselves to the systematic exposition given by the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīns in their laborious theological treatises.

Having regard to the peculiar method and standpoint of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism, it would not be possible for

¹ Published in Bengali characters and with a running Bengali translation by the Raghunāṇḍana Samiti, Shrikhanda, Bardwan B.E. 1309.

us to refer in detail to the large mass of texts cited in the works of the Gopāmins for scriptural justification and interpretation. The more or less scholastic disquisition of words and phrases are neither profitable nor possess general interest. The learning displayed in these works is amazing, but it is learning of a limited sectarian kind. The theological acumen is praiseworthy, but the whole discussion and its pot-pourri method are marked more by intellectual subtlety than intellectual virility. All that we can do here is to give a rapid résumé of the main dogmas and doctrines, and indicate only generally the way in which these are sought to be established. As our object is chiefly historical, we shall, as far as possible, avoid criticism and discussion, and confine ourselves to a descriptive exposition of the essential features of its philosophical and theological ideas. Historically again, Bengal Vaiṣṇavism derives a great deal, in an eclectic spirit, from previous Vaiṣṇava systems, especially from the doctrines of the Rāmānuja sect; but with our limited object in view, it will be necessary for us to avoid all comparative observations and maintain an attitude of descriptive objectivity. We shall also limit ourselves to an account of the subject chiefly derived from the theological and philosophical works of Rūpa, Sanātana and Jīva, excluding its further development in the much later works (18th century) of Viśvanātha Cakravartin and Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa.

The main theological presuppositions of the school are set forth in Sanātana's *Bṛhad-bhāgavadgītā*, and its supplement *Saṃskṛpa-* or *Laghu-bhāgavadgītā* written by his brother Rūpa, although most of their implications find a place in the *Samdarbhas* of their nephew Jīva, more especially in the latter's *Śrīkṛpā-saṃdarbha*. We shall, therefore, begin with a brief survey of the two *Bhāgavadgītās*¹ and pass on to the more professedly philosophical treatises of Jīva.

1 Our references are to the only available edition of the *Bṛhad-bhāgavadgītā* published by Nityānanda Brahmachari in Devanagari characters, (Brisdavana?) 1904; and to the Murshidabad edition of the

2. THE BRHAD-BHĀGAVATĀMṚTA

This work has the form of a Purāṇic narrative, with occasional descriptive and poetical flights of fancy, in the course of which there is an exposition of the theology of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism. The exposition is sometimes direct, but more often implied in the narrative and description; and the work is accompanied by an elaborate *Digdarśanī* commentary by the author himself, which is intended to bring out the theological ideas imbedded in the poetical text. The work begins with obeisance to Kṛṣṇa, the Gopīs including Rādhā, Caitanya, Mathurā, Vṛndāvana, Yamunā and Govardhana, assigning one verse to each of these objects of reverence, and then proceeds to praise Kṛṣṇa-bhakti and Kṛṣṇa-nāman. It then makes a general acknowledgment of its inspiration to Caitanya, but does not refer to any special instruction, alleged to have been received from him, in Bhakti-mātra (I. 1. 10-11).

The work is supposed, in the manner of the Purāṇas, to have been narrated by Jaimini to Janamejaya as a supplement to the *Mahābhārata* itself! Uttarā, mother of Parikṣit and devoted to Kṛṣṇa, requests her son to impart to her the essence of the instruction regarding Kṛṣṇa, which was related to him by Śukadeva: Śaṅkara's poetico-theological venture purports to be a report of that course of instruction subsequently narrated by Jaimini to Janamejaya. The design is bold and ambitious, but it is possible for pious zeal to dare a great deal. As the work naively claims to embody the *Amṛta* churned from the ocean of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* by such great devotees as Śuka and Nārada, it professes, according to the commentary, to be the gist of all the Vedas! Al-

Saṅkara-bhāgavatāmṛta, with the *Rasika-raṅgadā* commentary of Vṛndāvana-candra Tarkīṇīkāra, Radhakrishnan Press, B.E. 1303 (=1896 A.D.). A better edition of this latter work is that published in Bengali characters by Gauracandra Bhāgavata-darśanīkāra, which contains, besides Vṛndāvana-candra's commentary, also the *Sīraṅga-raṅgadā* commentary of Baladeva Vidyābhāṣya (Calcutta 1934).

though the narrative portion is mostly invented to illustrate certain theological dogmas, there can be no doubt that the author's mind was steeped in the fancies and ideas of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, and he attempts deliberately to reproduce its style and treatment ; but it is doubtful if his work attains, as a devotional poetical document, the same level of excellence or the same power of religious appeal.

The work is divided into two parts or *Khaṇḍas*, of which the first part deals with the imaginary narrative of a quest of Nārada for the greatest favourite and Bhakta of Kṛṣṇa. Leaving aside the large amount of descriptive, narrative and theological matter, the main story is brief and simple. Once upon a time as the great Rṣis were sitting on the banks of the Ganges at Prayāga, a certain Brahman devotee of the Bhāgavat came there with the purpose of entertaining them with his generous hospitality. When he was returning after accomplishing his object, Nārada came there, praised him for his devotion, and hailed him as the greatest Bhakta and favourite of Kṛṣṇa. The Brahman replied in humility that he did not deserve that honour and that the grace of Kṛṣṇa would be found showered in profusion upon a certain prince of the South. With his curiosity excited Nārada hastened to the South to meet this princely devotee of Kṛṣṇa, but the Southern prince in his turn told him that the honour was undeserved ; for what mortal could attain the grace of Kṛṣṇa in the same way as Indra in heaven did ? (Ch. I). Nārada repaired to Indra's heaven, but he was told there by Indra himself that the real favourite and Bhakta was Nārada's own father, Brahmā. Having met Brahmā in the Brahma-loka, Nārada learnt from Brahmā that his quest must now lead him to Śiva who was a greater favourite and Bhakta ; for was not Śiva reputed to be in close friendship with Kṛṣṇa ? In course of the conversation Brahmā gives an account of Śiva-loka (Ch. II). The indomitable Nārada thereupon flies to Śiva's place, but Śiva and Pārvatī deny that they are the greatest favourites. They instruct

him in a great deal of theology and direct him to Prahāda, living in Sotala, as a greater Bhakta of Kṛṣṇa (Ch. III). In this way the quest goes on from Prahāda to Hanūmat, who has attained Dāśya or state of servitude to the Lord (Ch. IV) ; from Hanūmat to the Pāṇḍavas, whom Kṛṣṇa himself served as a charioteer, counsellor, friend, messenger and courier (Sakhya and Sevā) ; from the Pāṇḍavas to the Yādavas at Dvārakā who illustrate the attitude of Prīti, Preyas etc. (Ch. V) ; from the Yādavas to Uddhava who is the chief Bhakta among them (Ch. VI) ; from Uddhava to the Gopas and Gopis at Vṛndāvana. Here Nārada discovers at last that the most beloved of Kṛṣṇa are the Gopis who have attained the Madhura Bhāva, and among whom the chief is Rādhā (Ch. VI-VII). Here therefore ends his quest, and with it the first part of the work concludes. The narrative is obviously intended to explain the characteristics of a Bhakta, and the different stages of devotional attainment, ending in the Madhura or erotic attitude of the Gopis towards Kṛṣṇa.

The second part gives a more complicated and elaborate poetical narrative with a larger amount of descriptive and theological matter. It is concerned not with the Bhakta's attaining the grace of Kṛṣṇa, but with Kṛṣṇa's mode of manifesting himself to his Bhakta. It thus reverses the process described in the first part, and deals with another kind of quest, namely, the search after the place and form in which Kṛṣṇa reveals himself most perfectly to his Bhakta ; but in the end the conclusions agree, for it is to the highest type of Bhakta that Kṛṣṇa manifests himself most perfectly.

Without going into the details of the story narrated in the second part, it can be outlined briefly. There was a Brahman of Prāgjyotiṣa who worshipped the goddess Kāmākhyā, and through her grace obtained in dream a Mantra of ten syllables (Gopāla-mantra) to meditate upon Kṛṣṇa. He practised uttering of the Mantra, which gave him great peace of mind. Starting on a pilgrimage he comes to Benares where the goddess Kāmākhyā appears to him in a dream and directs him to

go to Mathurā. At Mathurā he meets a young Gopa or cowherd (Gopa-kumāra), who has received the grace of Kṛṣṇa and who now begins to relate his own history. The rest of the work is taken up with the story of the strange and varied devotional experiences of the Gopa-kumāra, which, in allegorical form, is a kind of *Pilgrim's Progress* perhaps of Sanātana's own spiritual experiences. He was the son of a Vaidya cowherd of Govardhana; and on one occasion he happened to meet on the banks of the Yamunā a pious Mathurā Brahman named Jayanta, an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa born in Gauḍa and greatly devoted to the worship of Kṛṣṇa. The Brahman becomes his Guru or religious guide, and gives him a similar Kṛṣṇa-mantra of ten syllables. The Gopa-kumāra is filled with a great desire to see Kṛṣṇa, and at the direction of his Guru goes to Puri where he stays for some time and worships the image of Jagannātha. In course of time he becomes the adopted son of the ruler of the province, but the adoptive father dies and the Gopa-kumāra succeeds him on the throne. One day Jagannātha appears to him in dream and bids him go to Mathurā (Ch. I). The second chapter describes how by means of his Mantra the Gopa-kumāra goes to Svarga-loka and sees Indra and his court there. About this time Indra disappears to do penance for having violated Ahalyā, and the Gopa-kumāra is unanimously elected, on the strength of his piety, to be the ruler of Svarga-loka. One divya year is spent in this way, but this temporary elevation to Indratva does not satisfy him, and he cannot forget his quest. The advent of Bhṛgu and other Maharṣis who were inhabitants of the Mahar-loka, inspires him one day with a curiosity to visit this superior paradise. He goes to Mahar-loka and worships the Yajñīvara form of Kṛṣṇa there. The great Rṣis of that Loka desire to bestow Brahmanhood on the Gopa-kumāra, but he refuses the honour. Then he proceeds to Jana-loka where reside the great devotees Sanaka, Sanatkumāra, Sanandana and Sanātana, whom he meets, but he is denied a sight of the form of the deity present in that Loka. One of the Rṣis,

Pippalīyana, however, instructs him as to the means of obtaining sight of the deity by great devotion and concentration of mind, and shows him the different divine forms in which the deity manifests himself. Then the Gopa-kumāra goes to Puṣkara-dvīpa and sees Brāhmā, who lives in the Satya-loka. There the Gopa-kumāra is instructed further in the Bhakti-śāstra, and is advised to return to Mathurā (Ch. II). After meeting his Guru at Mathurā, the restless Gopa-kumāra again resolves to start on his quest. By means of his Mantra he commences a highly allegorical journey. He goes through the disc of the Sun ; and penetrating through the six sheaths (Āvaraṇa), he gets a vision of the four Vyūhas and the Mahā-siddhis. This is followed by the appearance of Śiva and the Pāṇdas of Kṛṣṇa who have obtained Sārūpya or identity of form with their deity at Vaiṣṇava-loka. They instruct him in Bhakti-lakṣaṇa or characteristics of the devotional attitude, and tell him that Vaiṣṇava is attained by devoutly listening to the Līlā-kathā of the Bhagavat, reading the Bhāgavata scriptures and having faith in the efficacy of Kīrtana, which they extol as one of the best means in this decadent age. The Gopa-kumāra again returns to Mathurā (Ch. III). The third chapter deals with a similar visit to Vaiṣṇava and describes the place and its inhabitants. The deity whom the Gopa-kumāra meets there supplies the information that his Guru Jayanta was no other than the deity himself ; apparently it is an allegorical representation of Caitanya who was Sanātana's Guru. Nārada now comes on the scene and narrates to the awe-stricken Gopa-kumāra the wonders of Vaiṣṇava-loka, incidentally theologising a great deal on the theory of Avatāra and the worshipping of images (Pratimārcanā). Nārada advises him to go to Ayodhyā, Mathurā and Dvārakā, which places are next visited. At Ayodhyā the Gopa-kumāra meets Hanūmat worshipping Rāma ; and on Hanūmat's direction he goes to Dvārakā (Ch. IV). The fifth chapter describes the visit to the Yādavas at Dvārakā, where the Gopa-kumāra meets Uddhava. Nārada appears again, and advises the Gopa-kumāra

to visit Vṛndāvana, which is in reality the earthly Goloka ; he describes briefly the Līlā of Kṛṣṇa and instructs him as to the means of witnessing this eternal divine sport (Ch. V). The last two chapters (VI, VII) are occupied with the visit to Mathurā and Vṛndāvana, with a description of the entire eternal Nitya-Līlā of Kṛṣṇa, including Govardhana-dhāraṇa, Kāliya-damaṇa and Rāsa, and the whole is concluded with the attainment of the grace of the deity. The chief object, thus, of the second part is to establish that Vṛndāvana is the real paradise of Kṛṣṇa, where the unmanifest (Aprakāṣa) eternal sport of Kṛṣṇa becomes manifest (Prakāṣa) to him alone who is blessed with real Bhakti for the deity.

The significance of these narratives, versified in the Purāṇic style, cannot be mistaken. But it is not necessary to bring out and explain in detail the theological teachings involved in them, for the doctrinal implications are set forth in more precise and systematic manner of a Śāstra by Rūpa Goṣvāmin in his *Samkṣepa-bhāgavatāmṛta*. This latter work by its title professes to be a summary of the previous work ; but, as an epitome of the theological tenets of the school, it is, in spite of its derivative character, a largely original treatise. We shall now turn to this latter work of Rūpa Goṣvāmin, and by an analysis of its content give an outline of its principal doctrines.

3. THE SAMKṢEPA-BHĀGAVATĀMṚTA

This is a much shorter work composed, after the manner of Śāstric compendiums, in the form of Kārikās in the Śloka metre, accompanied by illustrative passages from various authoritative Vaiṣṇava scriptures ; but the author Rūpa himself informs us that his work really summarises (*samkṣepaṇa*) what is said at great length by Sanātana in his (*Bṛhad-*) *Bhāgavatāmṛta*. We are told that of all the adorable deities (*upāya*) Kṛṣṇa is the chief. As one of the most fundamental doctrines of the Bengal school is that Kṛṣṇa as the supreme personal god of the faith is not an Avatāra but the divine

being himself in his essential character, Rūpa Gosvāmin begins his work by a discussion of the essential selfhood or Svarūpa of Kṛṣṇa, which is one of the principal themes of his work ; and in this connexion he deals with the different manifestations and appearances of the supreme deity. Like its prototype, the work is divided into two parts, but the order in which the two aspects of the subject are discussed is reversed. Instead of dealing first with the Bhakta as we have it in the original work, the Svarūpa of Kṛṣṇa is propounded elaborately in the first part, while the second part, which is very short, determines the character and gradation of the Bhaktas, who are represented as equally adorable. The two parts are, therefore, respectively named Kṛṣṇāmṛta and Bhaktāmṛta.

At the outset the author records his intention to avoid the process of reasoning (*yukti-vistāra*), because he considers Śabda or 'testimony' to be the chief *Pramāṇa*¹ or source of knowledge ; and he thinks that this position is established by the *Pedānta-sūtra*, I. 1. 3 and II. 1. 11. As *Tarka* is discarded, the method which he follows is to make a dogmatic statement, which is often definitive, following it up by the process of analysis or classification, and supporting it by elaborate citations chiefly from the *Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas* or other *Vaiṣṇava* and *Tantra* texts. Sometimes the cited texts are further elucidated by means of explanatory *Kārikās*. The work is an epitome and convenient manual of the whole theological speculation of the school, but the most important part of its treatment is concerned with the doctrine of *Avatāra*² and its relation to the deity and the devotee.

1 *pradhānānti pramāṇeṣu śabda eva pramāṇyate.*

2 On the subject of *Avatāra* in general, see H. Jacobi, *Incarnation (India) in Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vii, p. 193f ; on the *Avatāra*-doctrine in the *Mahābhārata*, see G. A. Grierson in *Indian Antiquary*, 1908, p. 273 footnote and Mriśal Dasgupta in *INQ.* 1912, pp. 74-77 ; for some aspects of later development of the doctrine, see F. Otto Schrader, *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra*, Adyar Library.

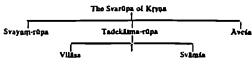
The Svarūpa of Kṛṣṇa, which is dealt with in the first part of the work, is defined and classified into three aspects:

1. Svayam-rūpa, which is not dependent on anything else (*ananyūpekṣī*), that is, self-existent (*svataḥ-siddha*).
2. Tadekāśma-rūpa, or hypostatic manifestation which is identical in essence and existence with the Svayam-rūpa, but seems different by its appearance (*Ākṛti*), attribute (*Vaibhava*), etc. This manifestation may be either (a) *Vilāsa*, which is of equal power with the Svayam-rūpa (*prāyeṣḍīma-samarṇa-śaktyā*), e.g. Nārāyaṇa who is a *Vilāsa* of the highest Vāsudeva (Later cult would regard Nityānanda as a *Vilāsa* in Gaurāṅga-III), and (b) *Svāmpā*, which is inferior in power (*nyūna-śakti*), e.g. Saṅkaraṇa or the Matsya.
3. *Āveśa*, which consists of appearance in the 'possessed' forms of inspired men and prophets, into whom the deity enters through *Śakti*, *Jñāna*, *Bhakti*, etc. Śeṣa is cited as an example of *Śakti-āveśa*, Sanaka of *Jñāna-āveśa*, and Nārada of *Bhakti-āveśa*.

The *Prakāśa* or mere appearance is not considered in the above classification. It occurs when one and the same form appears at the same time as many, which are really identical in essence (*tatavārūpa*), e.g. Kṛṣṇa at Dvārakā appearing at the same time in the rooms of all his 16,000 wives, as described in *Śrīmad-bhāgavat*, x. 70, 2. The deity who is two-handed (*dvi-bhujā*) sometimes appears as four-handed (*catur-bhujā*); this must be regarded as mere *Prakāśa*.

It must be noted that these forms are not Māyika or produced by illusion, but that they are real and eternal

(*nitya-rūpa*). The classification mentioned above may be represented thus in a tabular form:



Usually the Svāpāda and Āveśa forms appear as Avatāras, the Svayam-rūpa appearing only once in the Dvāpara Age as Kṛṣṇa. These appear as if in a new form (*apūrva iva*), either by themselves (svayam, e.g. in its self-manifestation as Tadākāśma-rūpa) or through some other means (*dvārānareṇa*, e.g. through a Bhakta like Vasudeva). The commentary explains that the phrase 'as if in a new form' implies that the deity exists at the same time in his essential eternal form. The *raison d'être* of an Avatāra is *viśva-kārya* or work of the world. The Avatāra is thus a partial descent or appearance of the supreme deity in the world with the object of performing some action in the world, either through or without the medium of a phenomenal being. The term *Viśva-kārya* is not explained by Rūpa Gosvāmin, but Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa explains it as signifying cosmic action or action done in the world,¹ which consists of (i) disturbance of the equilibrium of Prakṛti, followed by the evolution of Mahat etc.,² (ii) increasing the delight of the gods and other beings by suppressing the wicked³ and (iii) propagating the bliss of divine love among the expectant devotees and spreading pure Bhakti.⁴

The Avatāras may appear in various forms, but they are classified generally into three groups. The obvious object

1 *viśva-rūpam viśvaśūnam vā yat kāryam.*

2 *prakṛti-kṛobharmahadādyaśaśānam.*

3 *duṣṭa-vimardanena devādityeṣu satkṛte vīrandhanam.*

4 *samarāṅgaśāntiśānti śāntiśāntiśānti pramāṇanda-vistāraṇam vībuddha-bhakti-pravṛttaṇam ca.*

of this classification is to gather together all the Avatāras who are spoken of in legends or pious texts as having appeared or will appear in the world, and unify them as Vaiṣṇava manifestations of the supreme Kṛṣṇa. These three general groups are:

1. **Puruṣa Avatāras.** The first Avatāra is Puruṣa, who, though unconditioned, becomes the conditioned creator. This Puruṣa appears in threefold aspect: (i) as the creator of the Mahat (*mahatāḥ arastṛ*), who is known as Saṃkarṣaṇa, the Kāraṇodaka-śāyin, (ii) as existing in the cosmic egg (*aṇu/a-saṃvṛtita*), who is named Pradyumna, the Guṇodaka-śāyin, and (iii) as existing in all beings (*sarva-bhūta-sṛtita*), who is called Aniroddha, the Kṣitrodaka-śāyin. This is really a modification of the older Vyūha-doctrine of the Nārāyaṇya, which doctrine however is referred to independently later on (p. 203 f.).
2. **Guṇāvatāras.** These are Avatāras according to the three Guṇas, of which they are the respective presiding deities; viz. Brahmā as creator (Rajas), Viṣṇu as protector (Sattva) and Śiva as destroyer (Tamas).
3. **Līlāvatāras.** The character of these Avatāras is not defined, but these forms have been declared by the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, i. 3. They are twenty-four in number as follow: (1) Catuṣṣana, that is the four 'Sanaas,' who in four forms are really one, namely, Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana and Sanatsumāra, who appeared as Brahman ascetics to propagate Jñāna and Bhakti, (2) Nārada, the author of the Sātvata Tantra, (3) the Varāha, four-legged (*caturpād*), but also two-legged according to some (*dvīpād*), (4) the Matsya, (5) Yaśa, (6) Nara and Nārāyaṇa, (7) Kapila, (8) Dattātreya, (9) Hayaśirṣa, (10) the Haṃsa, (11) Dhruva-priya or Pṛaṇigarbha,

(12) R̥ṣabha, (13) Pṛthu, (14) the Nṛsiṃha, (15) the Kūrma, (16) Dhanvantari, (17) the Mohini, (18) the Vāmana, (19) Bhārgava (Parāśu-rāma), (20) Rāghava, (21) Vjāsa, (22) Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, (23) the Buddha and (24) Kalkin. These are also the Kalpa-Avatāras, as they appear in each Kalpa.

The Manvantara-Avatāras. At each of the fourteen Manvantaras there is an Avatāra who destroys the enemies of Indra and becomes the friend of the gods. They are in their order: (1) Yaśṭi, (2) Vibhu, (3) Satyasena, (4) Hari, (5) Vaikuṇṭha, (6) Ajita, (7) the Vāmana, (8) Śārvabhauma, (9) R̥ṣabha, (10) Viprakṣena, (11) Dharmasetu, (12) Sudhāman, (13) Yogesvara and (14) Brhadbhānu. Of these, Hari, Vaikuṇṭha, Ajita and the Vāmana are the chief (*pravara*).

The Yuga-Avatāras. A Yuga-Avatāra flourishes at each of the four Yugas. They are according to their individual names (*nāman*) and colour (*varṇa*): In Satya-yuga, Śukla (white), in Tretā, Rakta (red), in Dvāpara, Śyāma (dark) and in Kali, Kṛṣṇa (black).

In each Kalpa these Avatāras become fourfold in accordance with the condition of Āveta, Prabhava, Vaibhava and Paratva, which terms are now explained. The word Āveta literally means 'possession'. The Āveta-Avatāra has already been mentioned; but this kind of Avatāra, of which examples are the sages Śaṅkha, Sanandana etc., Kumāra, Nārada, and Pṛthu, is merely *upacārika*; that is, they are not real Avatāras but Avatāras by analogy; because here the Lord enters into particular Jivas and thus exalts them into Avatāras. Even Kalkin is supposed by some theologians (e.g. in *Viṣṇudharma*) as belonging to this order. The two terms Prabhava and Vaibhava practically mean the same thing, namely, power, but probably differ in the degree of the significance. This class of Avatāras is identical in essence

with the supreme deity (*avarūpa-rūpa*) and they are so called according to the degree of their Śakti or power (*lakṣaṇam āśrayam*), but they are inferior to the *Parāvatā* *Avatāra* (*parāvatārebhya ānakaḥ*). The *Prabhava-Avatāras* may again be classified according as (i) their appearance does not endure for a long period of time (*nāśīna-vyakta*), or (ii) their not having an extended reputation (*nāti-vīratā-kṛt*). The examples of the first kind are the *Mohini*, *Haṁsa* and *Sukla*, who disappeared as soon as their work was finished; the examples of the second variety include such *Śāstrakāra* seecties as *Dhanvantari*, *Rābha*, *Vyāsa* and *Kapila*. The *Valbhava Avatāras* are the *Kūrma*, the *Matsya*, *Nārāyaṇa* with *Nara*, the *Varāha*, *Hayagrīva*, *Prāṇigarbha*, *Balarāma*, and the fourteen *Manvantara-Avatāras* beginning with *Yajña*.

Each of these *Avatāra*, *Prabhava* and *Valbhava Avatāras* has a place of habitation of his own in a particular *Loka*. Thus the *Kūrma* lives in a lake in *Mahātala*, the *Matsya* in a lake in *Rasātala*, *Nara* and *Nārāyaṇa* in *Badarī*, the two-legged *Varāha* in *Mahar-loka*, the four-legged *Varāha* in *Pitṛloka*, the *Hayagrīva* in *Tālātala*, *Prāṇigarbha* above the *Jana-loka* of *Brahmā*, *Balarāma* in the same place as occupied by *Kṛṣṇa* (although his partial manifestation or *Avatāra* named *Saṁharaṇa* lives in *Pitṛloka*), *Vaiṣṇoḥita* in *Svarga-loka* (but also in *Vaiṣṇoḥita-loka* which he himself discovered), *Ajita* in *Dhruva-loka*, *Trivikrama* (who is distinguished from the *Vāmana*) in *Tapo-loka* and the *Vāmana* in *Bhuvan-loka*. But all the *Avatāras* live in a lower region than *Para-vyoman* or *Mahāvaiṣṇoḥita*, the highest paradise of the supreme beings. This is given in accordance with the *Vṛṣaḥarmottara*. The school, however, does not seem to possess any definite cosmology of its own, but follows the *Śūṅgavara*, *Padma* and other *Purāṇas* indiscriminately.

In this connection the author briefly discusses the alleged *Avatāras* of *Upendra*, the younger brother of *Indra*, and *Nārāyaṇa*, the twin-brother of *Nara*. This allegation however is not, in his opinion, acknowledged by learned people.

The *Parāvatā* is described as possessed of the *Para* or complete state (*sampārṇāvatā*), for these *Avatāras* possess all the six *Adhvaryas* and are comparable to a lamp lighted from the original lamp (*dīpād utpanna-dīpavat*). They are the *Nṛsiṁha*, *Rāma* and *Kṛṣṇa*.

With regard to the Nṛsiṃha the author cites the authority of the *Bhāgavata*, *Padma-purāṇa* and Śrīdhara (who is known to have been a worshipper of Nṛsiṃha), and notes that the Māhātmya or greatness of the Nṛsiṃha Avatāra is described in full in the *Nṛsiṃha-tāpani Upaniṣad*. The Nṛsiṃha lives in Janā-loka, but also in Viṣṇu-loka. Rāma lives in Ayodhyā and in Mahāvaiṣṇvtha. Some (e.g. *Viṣṇu-harmottara*) are of opinion that the four Vyūhas (Vāsodeva etc.) were incarnated in Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa etc.; but according to the *Padma-purāṇa*, the process of incarnation was as follows: Rāma = Nārāyaṇa, Lakṣmaṇa = Śeṣa, Bharata = the disc Sudarśana of Nārāyaṇa, and Saugandha = the Pāśupatya conch-shell of the deity. Kṛṣṇa, according to the Purāṇas, lives in four places, viz. Vraja, Mathurā, Dvārakā and Goloka.

In this connexion the author discusses the question whether Rāma and the Nṛsiṃha can be regarded as Parā-vastha-Avatāras of equal grade with Kṛṣṇa. A Viṣṇu-purāṇa text is quoted to equalise Rāvaṇa, Hiranyakaśipu and Śidupāla, who were hostile respectively to Rāma, the Nṛsiṃha and Kṛṣṇa, but it is shown that the first two of these (Rāvaṇa and Hiranyakaśipu) did not attain Sāyujya emancipation because they lacked true Bhakti for the deity. Texts are also cited to show that Kṛṣṇa is the deity himself (*bhagavān svayam*), and not an Avatāra. Rāma and the Nṛsiṃha have, no doubt, equal character or Svabhāva with Kṛṣṇa, but they do not possess the distinctive qualification of bringing emancipation to the enemy that is slain (*haṁtri-pari-dāyaka*); for while Śidupāla was finally emancipated, Rāvaṇa and Hiranyakaśipu had to suffer re-birth. Although all these Avatāras are perfect (*pūrṇa*), there is yet a difference in excellence according as all the Śaktis or Energies of the Lord find expression in them or not. An Amṛta is that Avatāra in which the all-powerful expresses only a part of his infinite power, while a Pūrṇa Avatāra occurs where all the powers are fully manifested. Although the Śakti is the same in the case of a lamp and a heap of fire for burning down a house, there is yet a difference in their respective virtue of bringing delight by the removal of cold, and so forth.

Incidentally Rūpa Gosvāmin discusses how contradictory qualities, like unity (Ekatva) and diversity (Prthakatva), fullness

(Aṃśitva) and division (Aṃśatva), can inhere in Kṛṣṇa. This is explained as being possible because the power of the godhead is incomprehensible (*acintya-lakṣaṇā*): and this position is supported by the citation of Purāṇa texts. The sixteen Kalās (i.e. parts or digits), assumed by the supreme being for the creation of the world (*bhuvandāraṃ śiṣṭaṣṭayā*), are spoken of in the Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-śāstras as his sixteen Śaktis or Energies. They are enumerated as Śrī, Bhū, Kīrti, Ilā, Līlā, Kānti, Vidyā, Vimalā, Utkarṣaṇī, Jāṇā, Kriyā, Yogā, Prahṛ, Satyā, Mānā and Anugrahā; but their respective characteristics are not explained.

A modification of the much older Vyūha doctrine is next mentioned by our author (pp. 205 f). The four Vyūhas in their order of emergence are given as:

Saṅkarṣaṇa presiding over Ahaṁkāra.

Vāsudeva presiding over Citā.

Pradyumna presiding over Buddhi.

Aniruddha presiding over Manas.

The author refers to the fact that in the Nārāyaṇa¹, Pradyumna is presented as presiding over Manas, and Aniruddha over Ahaṁkāra, but the above view, in his opinion, is supported by all Pāñcarātra scriptures. The four arms of Hari are said to represent the four Vyūhas. In some Śāivata Tantra, we are told, there is an enumeration of nine Vyūhas,² viz. Nārāyaṇa, Nṛsiṃha, Hayagrīva, Mahāvarāha and Brahmā, in addition to the four mentioned above; but the four appear to be the original and generally accepted Vyūhas. The Vyūha-doctrine is accepted by our author from these older sources, but its exact bearing upon the theology

1 On the older Vyūha-doctrine in the Mahābhārata, see Barnett, introduction to his English translation of the *Bhagavadgītā*, pp. 33-35; Nityal Dasgupta in *INQ.* 1932, pp. 68 f. For later development of the dogma, see Schrader, *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra*, pp. 35 f.

2 Also referred to in *Śrīkṛṣṇa-saṁdarbhā*, p. 134 (*śāivairdva vāsudeva - saṅkarṣaṇa - pradyumna/aniruddha-nārāyaṇa-hayagrīva-varāha-nṛsiṃha-brahmadā itī pañcā nārāyaṇāḥ*).

of his own school is not clearly explained. It appears, however, that the school does not accept fully the older position that each of these Vyūhas is a cosmic spiritual evolute or creative emergence in successive order, parallel to the order of cosmic material evolutes of Ahankāra etc.; but it would regard each of the Vyūhas (Samparkṣa etc.) as independent creative manifestation of the primal Puruṣa-Avatāra of the supreme being, each having (as already explained) a distinctive character and habitation of his own, like every other kind of Avatāra. Nor can each of these, in the opinion of the Bengal school, be regarded as corresponding to the series of cosmic material causation like Ahankāra, Manas and Buddhi, which are, in its theory, the result of the extraneous Māyā-śakti of the Bhagavat and are therefore non-conscious (jaḍa) evolutes. In other words, these Vyūha manifestations are aspects of the Puruṣa-Avatāra of the Bhagavat, who do not correspond but apparently have presiding functions over the creative evolutes of Ahankāra, Manas, etc.

The author next attempts to remove the erroneous view sometimes propounded that Kṛṣṇa is Vāruḍeva, the first of the four Vyūhas. He maintains that Kṛṣṇa is not an Avatāra but the deity himself, who is greater than Vāruḍeva; for Vāruḍeva is merely an aspect of the Puruṣa-Avatāra for creative purposes. Every other form or manifestation as declared by the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* (I. 3, 28) is Arpa and Kālā, but Kṛṣṇa is the supreme Bhagavat himself. This position is supported by a series of Purāṇa texts, which establish that inasmuch as there is an excess of qualities, especially of the quality of Mādhurya, Kṛṣṇa is superior in turn to Brahman, Puruṣa, Nārāyaṇa, and consequently to all other deities, Vyūhas and Avatāras. In this connexion the *Gopāla-tāpanī Upaniṣad* is cited as one of the greatest authorities. It is noteworthy that the Bengal school admits the reality practically of all deities mentioned in the Śāstras, as well as of all Vyūhas, Avatāras and other forms or manifestations

testified to by the Purāṇas ; but it denies their alleged superiority to Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa is *par excellence* the only supreme deity ; the other deities are there, but they are inferior to Kṛṣṇa and even derive their existence from him. Jīva Gosvāmin, for instance, states in his *Śrīkṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha*, that Brāhmā is the first Bhakta of Kṛṣṇa, but Śiva, being described in the scriptures as an ideal Vaiṣṇava, is greater than Brāhmā, while Lakṣmī who is the foremost embodiment of the teaching of Bhakti, is greater than Śiva, and is therefore admitted into the highest companionship (*parama-sakhya*).

The question as to how the Unborn can be born is answered by the mystical dogma of incomprehensible power (Vaiṣhava) and by the metaphor that although the fire remains hidden in the fuel, it comes into existence by friction. The cause of divine manifestation is found in the theory of grace or *Prasāda*, which the deity vouchsafes to his faithful devotee as an aspect of his inherent divine Śakti.

Then the author proceeds to discuss the Līlā or divine sport of Kṛṣṇa, which is a display of his inherent divine Energy or Śakti. This topic is further elaborated in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha* of Jīva Gosvāmin in its philosophical aspect ; but here the dogma is barely stated and supported by authoritative texts. The Līlā, as an aspect of divine Śakti or Energy, is real and eternal (*nitya*), whether it is manifest (*Prakāṣa*) or unmanifest (*Aprakāṣa*). Hence also are Kṛṣṇa's forms (*Mūrti*) and Avatāras real and eternal. His *Prakāṣa* Avatāra-līlā, that is, his manifest birth in its real and eternal character, is the result of his grace or *Anugraha* to the world, and he shows himself in the way in which his faithful devotee wishes to see him. As the Līlā is eternal, his true Bhakta even to-day sees Kṛṣṇa sporting in Vṛndāvana. His qualities or *Guṇas* are not *prākṛta* or phenomenal, because he is beyond the sphere of the three *Prākṛta* *Guṇas* of *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*. It is for this reason that he is sometimes called *Nirguṇa* or attributeless, but his real attributes are non-natural or supersensuous (*apṛākṛta*), being an essence of his

inherent self (*svarūpa-bhāva*). Hence his form (*Rūpa*) and name (*Nāman*), his greatness (*Aiśvarya*) and his retinue (*Pāṇḍas*) etc. have, through his display of *Līlā*, a super-sensuous reality, although in his essence he is formless (*a-rūpa*), nameless (*a-nāma*), etc.

That the *Kṛṣṇa-līlā* is real and eternal is laid down in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* and other Vaiṣṇava scriptures. The *Līlā*, which is a display of the divine Śakti or Energy, is of two kinds, namely, *Prakāṣa* or manifest, and *Aprakāṣa* or unmanifest; the one is cognisable in the external world (*prapañca-geśara*), the other is not. In the *Prakāṣa-līlā* *Kṛṣṇa* seems to go to and fro from *Vṛndāvana*, *Mathurā* and *Dvārakā*, but in the *Aprakāṣa-līlā* he stays eternally in *Vṛndāvana* which he never forsakes as his eternal habitation. Here he sports with one *Gopī* (*gopyaikayā*, p. 334) and appears as *Dvibhuja*, although elsewhere he is sometimes *Caturbhuja*. At *Vṛndāvana* he is *Kṛṣṇa*, but at *Mathurā* he becomes *Vāsudeva*, while at *Dvārakā* he manifests his *Pradyumna* and *Aniruddha* forms,—which theory is a curious mystical attempt to reconcile the old *Vyūha* theory with the new *Kṛṣṇa* legend. His birth as the son of *Devakī* appears in his *Prakāṣa-līlā*, but in his *Aprakāṣa-līlā* he is the eternal son of *Yatodā*. In the *Prakāṣa-līlā* there is an apparent separation from *Vṛndāvana* but during all this time he is really in union with his beloved ones. This union is of two kinds, namely, *Āvirbhāva* and *A-gati*. The *Āvirbhāva* occurs when he appears to his dear ones who long for him during separation: e.g. at the time of *Uddhava's* message, *Kṛṣṇa* appeared in *Vṛndāvana*, although he lived apparently in *Dvārakā*. When to prove the genuineness of his promise and to show his love to his dear ones he comes in his chariot to *Vṛndāvana*, it is called *A-gati*, e.g. the advent as described in *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, x. 39. 33 f. Thus by means of his manifest and unmanifest *Līlā* he remains at the same time in the three places, *Vṛndāvana*, *Mathurā* and *Dvārakā*. His habitation is in reality twofold, namely, *Vṛndāvana* and

Dvārakā, the former again being twofold, namely, Vṛndāvana and Mathurā. The Goloka or the highest paradise of the deity is really a Vaibhava, or display of Śakti, of Vṛndāvana itself. In all these places his Līlā is Nitya, but Vṛndāvana is the best because here he lives eternally in all his glory and sweetness. This sweetness or Mādhurya consists of his power (Aidvarya), his sport (Kṛidū), his flute (Venu) and his personal appearance (Mūrti), all of which exist in fullness in Vṛndāvana.

From what has been indicated in the two works of Rūpa and Sanātana mentioned above, as well as from other authoritative sources like the works of Jīva (to be discussed below), we can now summarise the theory of Avatāra propounded by the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism thus:

- (i) The supreme being, though one, can manifest himself in various forms, all forms being real, perfect, eternal and intelligential, but there are degrees of excellence in the character of the manifestations.
- (ii) The Avatāra is real and not illusory, but he is also supernatural (*dīvyā*) and eternally existent (*nitya*).
- (iii) The form or body assumed is non-natural and incorruptible (*apṛākṛta*) and has nothing of the grossness of earthly forms (*apṛthiva*). It is an intelligential essence (*jñānātmā*), but it consists of a Vighraha or concrete form of pure existence, bliss and intelligence (*saccidānanda-vighraha*) like the form of the deity himself. The Avatāra thus retains absolute knowledge, absolute existence and absolute bliss, as well as omnipotence and power to grant salvation (*mokṣadātva-mahāhva*). But
- (iv) The Avatāra assumes human nature in two ways, namely, the shape and form of man (*manuṣya-saṃvīdharva*) and the ordinary human acts (*manuṣya-cessā*).
- (v) The humanity is real, but it is human reality without its imperfections. Hence Jīva Gosvāmīn

speaks of Aprasiddha-mānuṣātva and Aprākṛtātva of the Avatāra.

- (vi) As the Avatāra retains divine power and perfection, he is capable of performing superhuman (*aśimarmya*) acts.
- (vii) Although some of the Avatāras appeared in past ages, yet being eternal they are still worthy of worship. Each Avatāra has not only a distinctive form or body, but also a place of habitation in a particular Loka.
- (viii) The Avatāra is a partial descent or manifestation in the sense that the deity exists at the same time in his essential and complete form. The obvious object of descent is to do good to the world,¹ but since the supreme being cannot be regarded as having a particular motive, the descent occurs as an aspect of his grace (*Prasāda*), which is a display of his inherent Śakti, to his faithful devotees.

It is clear that this theological dogma rests ultimately on a curious combination not only of mythology and philosophy but also of the natural and the supernatural, of the real and mystical,—a trait which characterises the whole religious literature of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism; for the Vṛndāvana legend is taken not as religious myth but as religious history.

The second part of Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Saṅkṣepa-Bhāgavatāmṛta* is a very brief section: and, as its title *Bhaktāmṛta* implies, it deals entirely with the theme of the Bhakta or devotee of Kṛṣṇa. It gives us the gist of the first part of the *Bṛhad-Bhāgavatāmṛta* of Sanātana Gosvāmin and practically summarises it in a precise form.

1 It should be noted that the Avatāras are not taken as ideals of perfection to which humanity moves in gradual evolution (cf. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 343-43). On the contrary, the whole theory suggests implicit pessimism regarding the capacity of humanity by requiring the appearance of an Avatāra from time to time to rescue it!

It lays down at the outset that the adoration of Kṛṣṇa's Bhakta is as indispensable as the adoration of Kṛṣṇa himself. The neglect of the Bhakta would be deemed a religious fault or demerit. A list is given from the *Padma-purāṇa* enumerating the chief Bhaktas famed in myth and legend, namely, Mārkaṇḍeya, Ambariṣa, Varu, Vyāsa, Bibhiṣaṇa, Puṇḍarikā, Bali, Saṃbhū, Prahlāda, Vidura, Dhruva, Dālibhya, Parāśara, Bhiṣma, Nārada and others. Various Purāṇa texts are further cited to establish the worship of the Bhakta; for he alone is the greatest Bhakta who is a Bhakta of Kṛṣṇa's Bhakta; and he who worships Kṛṣṇa but does not worship his Bhakta must be deemed an arrogant and misguided person.

Of the Bhaktas, Prahlāda is the chief, but the Pāṇḍavas are greater than Prahlāda on the testimony of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* itself. Some of the Yādavas, again, are greater than the Pāṇḍavas. But of the Yādavas, the chief Bhakta is Uddhava, whose greatness is praised in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*. The Vraja-devīs or Gopīs of Vṛndāvana, however, are greater than Uddhava, who himself desired to possess the sweetness of their love for Kṛṣṇa. Hence those who desire to worship Kṛṣṇa must also worship the fair damsels of Vraja. But of these Vraja-sundarīs, again, Rādhā is the greatest; which conclusion indicates that there is no greater Bhakta of Kṛṣṇa than his eternal consort Rādhā.

These are the principal theological dogmas of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism. The works mentioned above either give a poetical account of them in the form of imaginary narratives, or set them forth in the form of precise and systematic statements, supported by illustrative or explanatory Purāṇic texts; but they hardly attempt any elaborate philosophical justification of them. Such an attempt, however, is made in the six *Samdarbhās* of Jīva Gośvāmī, with its supplementary *Sarva-saṁvādinī*, as well as incidentally in his *Krama-samdarbha* commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*. We now turn to these six *Samdarbhās* and their supplementary works.

Śaṅkara's *Bṛhad-Bhāgavatāmṛta* being a poetical work composed in the style of the Purāṇas, hardly gives any scope to the citation of authorities, but Rūpa's more systematic supplement contains a larger number of quotations and references. The following index of works and authors, actually cited by name in the *Samkṣepa-Bhāgavatāmṛta*, will give a rough idea of its sources and authorities. The largest number of quotations is of course derived from the Purāṇas, chiefly the *Bhāgavata* and the *Padma-purāṇa*, and these constitute the principal original authorities. Some Tantra works as well as sectarian devotional treatises are also cited, but these form secondary authorities.

[The references are by pages to the Murshidabad edition of the work, printed at the Radhakrishnan Press, B.E. 1303 (=1886 A.D.)]

The Epics and the Purāṇas:

Mahābhārata (Mokṣa-dharma, Nīlīyaśloka only) 30, 54, 268, 306, 308-10; *Harivaṃśa* 112, 126, 157-59; *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* (especially *Dalana*) 19, 21, 23, 27, 30, 31, 50, 53, 57, 58, 60-64, 69, 71-85, 87-89, 91, 93, 96, 99, 101, 104-7, 124-5, 132, 136, 138, 169, 171-73, 181, 182, 190-93, 197-98, 210, 213, 220, 221, 223, 227, 235, 261, 263-68, 275, 280-81, 283-86, 288-89, 301, 314-15, 317, 328 (anon.), 332-33, 338-40, 365, 372-74, 378-81, 384-88, 392; *Padma* or *Padma-purāṇa* (generally *Uttara-khaṇḍa*) 22, 43, 54, 56, 70, 73, 96, 112, 123, 135, 141, 170, 208, 227, 242, 244, 246, 249, 284, 303, 304, 307, 313, 321, 342, 344, 358, 359, 370, 376, 377, 393; *Skanda* 123, 179, 220, 286, 320 (*Madhuri-khaṇḍa*), 345-46 (*Ayodhya-khaṇḍa*), 379; *Vīṣṇu-purāṇa* 24, 54, 91, 93, 144 f., 159, 226; *Bṛhad-vaiṣṇava* 303; *Brahmāṇḍa* 53, 76 (anon. but this according to commentary), 96, 264, 273, 286, 296, 302, 368, 370; *Ādi-purāṇa* 378; *Mahāvārha* 59, 165; *Karma-purāṇa* 171, 274, 279; *Bṛhad-vimāna* 369; *Purāṇa* 66 (*Māyā*, according to commentary), 143, 293, 301, 315, 393; *Paurāṇika Upākhyaṇa* 284 (*Padma-purāṇa*, according to commentary).

Tantra and Āgama:

Saṃmohana Tantra 346; *Śivata Tantra* 25, 190, 209; *Śrī-yāmala* 334; *Bhārgava Tantra* 244; *Tantra* 374; *Svāyambhūta Āgama* 165, 219; *Āgama* 393.

Other Devotional Texts and Commentaries:

Gitā 161, 228; Vedānta-sūtra (two sūtras cited anonymously) 13, 178; Mahārṣi Brahma-sūtra-ṭīkā 13, 178; Brahma-saṃhitā 15, 28, 44, 47, 49, 196, 232, 287, 355, 356; Viśuḍḍha-Upaniṣad 305; Viśuḍḍhādhyaṭma 307; Nārīyaṇādhyāṭma 312; Madhvācārya-bhāṣya 310; Gopāla-dīpanī 368; Nṛsīṃha-dīpanī 134; Viṣṇu-dharma 113; Viṣṇu-dharmottara 51, 66 (Mārkandeya's bhāṣyāḥ), 110, 111, 117, 141, 200-201, 273, 274; Pañcarātra 208, 243; Nārada-pañcarātra 166; Śrīrāmā, Śrīrāmī-pāda or Śrīdhara-vṛāmā 24 (from the commentary on Viṣṇu-purāṇa), 68, 131 (from Bhāṣyārtha-dīpikā), 191, 383; Brahma-tarka 226 (evidently a work on Logic, but it is not known elsewhere; Rūpa and Jīva perhaps got their reference to this work from Madhva's writings); Bhakti-viveka 186; Hari-bhakti-sūtrodaya 377; Bālvamaṅgala 142; Krama-dīpikā 219; Rāmadāsa-candrikā 134.

Anonymous Citation:

Bhāgavatāḥ purāṇāḥ 331.

4. THE SAMDARBHAS OF JIṬA GOŚVĀMIN

These works give us the entire philosophy as well as theology of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism in a systematic form. They consist of six Samdarbhas, viz. *Tattva-*, *Bhagavat-*, *Paramārtha-*, *Śrīkr̥ṣṇa-*, *Bhakti-*, and *Prīti-*; there is also a supplementary work on the first three Samdarbhas, called *Anuvyākhyā* and named *Sarva-saṃvādinī*,¹ which contains explanatory comments on obscure points and dilates upon

1 Our references are to the following editions of the texts: *Tattva*, *Bhagavat*, *Paramārtha*, Radhakrishnan Press edition, Murshidabad, B.E. 1317, 1324, 1335 respectively; *Śrīkr̥ṣṇa*, edited by Prāṇagopal Goṛāma, Navadvīpa, B.E. 1332; *Bhakti*, edited by Syamal Goṛāma (along with the five other Samdarbhas), Calcutta Saka 1822; *Prīti*, edited by Prāṇagopal Goṛāma, published from Noakhali (no date); *Sarva-saṃvādinī*, edited by Rasik Mohan Vidyābhūṣaṇ, Vāṅghya Śāhitya Parīṣad, Calcutta B.E. 1327-1920 A.D. All the Samdarbhas has been published by Gauḍīya Mādhva Maṭh (with notes and indices). The *Krama-samdarbha* has been printed along with the text (and the commentaries of Śrīdhara and Vīṇavāṇtha Cakravartin) by the Radhakrishnan Press, B.E. 1310 (=1903 A.D.).

topics which have been imperfectly dealt with in the original texts. Jīva Gosvāmīn also wrote a running commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, but since these *Saṁdarbhās* profess to give an exposition of the speculative ideas of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism chiefly by a direct explication of texts, skilfully selected and arranged from that work according to the philosophical design of the cult, they constitute in reality a sectarian commentary on a considerable portion of the *Bhāgavata*; and the general name of this collection of *Saṁdarbhās* is therefore appropriately given by its author as *Bhāgavata-saṁdarbha*. The word *Saṁdarbha* means a systematic stringing together or collection; and the work in question, though considerably original in its outlook and presentation, is deliberately designed to possess this characteristic. After acknowledging the inspiration of the work to Rūpa and Sanātana, the author informs us that a Bhaṭṭa friend of theirs, belonging to the South (Dākṣiṇātya Bhaṭṭa), had already composed a work on the subject, compiling it from the treatises of old Vaiṣṇavas (*Vyḍḍha Vaiṣṇava*). This acknowledgment is repeated at the commencement of each of the six *Saṁdarbhās*; and we are told that from this original, the present *Saṁdarbhās* were composed on the same lines but in a more orderly form and sequence. Jīva Gosvāmīn himself explains in his *Sarva-saṁvādinī* that the phrase *vyḍḍha vaiṣṇava* includes what is written by old Vaiṣṇava writers like Rāmānuja, Madhvācārya, Śaṅkharavālmīn and others, and that there is nothing in it which is a figment of his own imagination. Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa informs us that this Dākṣiṇātya Bhaṭṭa was Gopāla Bhaṭṭa who was one of the six Gosvāmīns and associates of Rūpa and Sanātana. Rūpa and Sanātana, again, not only preceded Jīva in life and thought but were also his acknowledged preceptors in the Vaiṣṇava doctrine and practice. In spite of this customary appeal to old authorities and modest disclaimer of originality, the work, however, is not a mere compilation but betrays a systematic plan and execution, as

well as originality in its ideas and methods, and in spite of considerable affinities it cannot be regarded as belonging to the same schools of thought as those of Rāmānuja or Madhva. To Jīva Gosvāmī belonged the whole heritage of Vaiṣṇava philosophical thought, upon which, as a matter of fact, he freely draws, besides utilising Śruti (chiefly Upaniṣadic) and Purāṇa texts : and no important proposition is laid down which is not supported by some such text. But the system which he builds up on this foundation is essentially his own and deserves an independent consideration. As the work, however, consists chiefly of a string of *Bhāgavata* quotations and of a system of interpretation of that authoritative text, it is in appearance at least a series of *Saṁdarbhā* or systematic collections.

The scope and object of the work are indicated by the author himself in the *Tattva-saṁdarbha*, which informs us that they are identical with those of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, of which his own work is merely an exposition. He states accordingly that the main *Tattva* or principle to which his work, like the *Bhāgavata*, is related (*Sambandha*) is *Kṛpā-tattva*, which is higher than any other *Tattva* ; that its subject-matter (*Abhidheya*) is *Bhakti* or the devotional attitude by which alone that *Tattva* is attainable ; and that its motive (*Prayojana*) consists of *Prīti*, or love for *Kṛpā* as a means of worship. The six *Saṁdarbhā* are consequently arranged on this śāstric plan. The first four are devoted to the *Sambandha-tattva* and are intended to establish *Kṛpā* as the highest deity and the most exclusive object of worship ; the *Bhakti-saṁdarbha* deals with the *Abhidheya-tattva* which is *Bhakti* ; while the last *Prīti-saṁdarbha* is concerned with the *Prayojana-tattva*, which is *Prīti* considered as the best way of divine worship. In other words, Jīva Gosvāmī is concerned in the first *Saṁdarbha*, with a theory of knowledge (*Pramāṇa*) which leads on, in the next three *Saṁdarbhā*, to a theory of ultimate reality (*Tattva*), while the last two *Saṁdarbhā* are devoted to a theory of *summum bonum*

(Nihedreya or Paruṣārtha) and the means of attaining it. In the survey we propose to make in the following pages we shall generally follow this order of treatment, and give a brief résumé of the successive works with a view to setting forth the main doctrines in their general outline; but for convenience and continuity of treatment we shall occasionally have to gather together and deal in one place our author's remarks on various topics which are sometimes scattered over the different books. The method which Jīva Gosvāmin follows of laying down principles by the explication of texts naturally involves a great deal of repetition and digression. We shall try to avoid them as far as possible, although in any faithful account of his works they are to a certain extent unavoidable.

B. THE TATTVA-SAMDARBHA

The *Tattva-samdarbha*, which is preliminary, deals chiefly with Pramāṇa or source of knowledge, and concludes with a general discussion of the Prameya or subject to be known, this last topic being further elucidated and elaborated in the succeeding Samdarbhas.

Jīva Gosvāmin's theory of Pramāṇa, which is widely accepted by the school, is very simple. He rejects without much ceremony the conventional six or eight Pramāṇas, namely, Perception (Pratyakṣa), Inference (Anumāna), Testimony (Śabda), Analogy (Ūpamāna), Postulation or Assumption (Arthāpatti), Non-recognition (Abhāva or Anupalabdhi), Equivalence (Sambhava) and Tradition (Ātubhya), on the ground that they are all, with the exception of Śabda, defective and unreliable. In his *Sarva-saṃvādinī*¹ he discusses the

1 Here he speaks of ten Pramāṇas, adding Āra (i.e. knowledge derived from the sayings of Gods and Rṣis) and Ceyṣā (i.e. knowledge derived by physical effort, e.g. by lifting a thing) to the above eight; but Āra may be included in Śabda and Ceyṣā in Pratyakṣa. The Ceyṣā is accepted by Tālic writers.

question at some length¹ and takes pains to show the limitations of each of these Pramāṇas, except Śabda. Besides, the ordinary man is naturally liable to four kinds of error, namely, Bhrama (error due to wrong perception of one thing for another), Pramāda (error due to heedlessness), Vipralipsā (error due to the wish to deceive) and Karmāpāpāva (error due to the insufficiency of the senses). The Pramāṇas are also not capable of comprehending the incomprehensible and superphysical. Jīva's analysis easily leads him to the conclusion that the other Pramāṇas being defective and insufficient, Śabda or Testimony alone as a Pramāṇa is valid: for in his opinion Śabda is free from these defects and is independent of

1 Of the ten Pramāṇas with which Jīva Gosvāmī is concerned here, the Pratyakṣa or Perception is said to be of five kinds based respectively upon the five senses, but to these is added Mīmāṃsā Pratyakṣa or internal perception, which is independent of the sense-organs. Apart from the fact that each of these six kinds of Pratyakṣa may be either *avivakṣa* or *nir-vivakṣa*, the Pratyakṣa may also be either *vaiddya* or *avaiiddya* according as it belongs to the learned or the non-learned. While the former is free from error and becomes the basis of Śabda itself when it is the Pratyakṣa of the great seers, the latter is liable to error and is thus very defective as a Pramāṇa. The so-called universal Pratyakṣa, which is supposed to consist of what is perceived by all, can never be discovered as the standard of truth, because it is not possible to bring together the whole of the perceiving world. The Pratyakṣa can be accepted as a Pramāṇa only when (as in the case of *Vaidya*) it involves Śabda, and not otherwise. The *Anumāna*, again, is essentially syllogistic, but syllogistic inference does not always lead us to truth. The validity of the *Anumāna* depends on that of the *Vyāpti* or invariable concomitance of the major and middle terms, but the *Vyāpti* is not always invariable. The existence of fire cannot invariably be inferred from the existence of smoke, for smoke may also arise where the fire is just extinguished. The *Vyāpti* is only probable and never certain: the *Anumāna*, therefore, is at best only a source of probable knowledge. The other Pramāṇas hardly require detailed consideration. They are not independent Pramāṇas at all but are valid in so far as they involve Pratyakṣa, *Anumāna* or Śabda, and can be accepted as Pramāṇas only to that extent. These minor Pramāṇas can never give us the knowledge of higher realities.

the other *Pramāṇas*, which can never supersede it. Moreover, *Śabda* can touch things which the other *Pramāṇas* cannot. It must, however, be noted that the other *Pramāṇas* are not absolutely rejected, but they are rejected only as *Independent* sources of knowledge. They may be employed as *Pramāṇas* subsidiary to *Śabda*. Thus, Inference is not altogether rejected as a *Pramāṇa*, and the author himself largely employs argumentation. But Inference, according to the *Vaiṣṇava* theory, is not a *Pramāṇa* if it is independent of the testimony of the scriptures. If it is based on the scriptures, the inferential process is a valuable aid to knowledge. It is clear, however, that even this attitude, by making the other *Pramāṇas* subordinate, exalts *Śabda* as the chief and infallible *Pramāṇa*.

It is concluded, therefore, that as a source of knowledge the only authentic and reliable *Pramāṇa* is *Śabda*, which is the source of all superphysical knowledge and which consists of revealed words (*apṛākṛta-vacana-lakṣaṇa*). This position, in the opinion of our author, is supported by the *Vedānta-sūtra-kāra* by the *Sūtras* ii. 1. 11 (*tarkāpratipāhāt*), i. 1. 3 (*śāstra-yonitvāt*) and ii. 1. 27 (*śrutiḥ tu śabda-mūlervāt*), as well as by the *Vaiṣṇava* scriptures. This is indeed the general position of the *Vedānta*, but the earlier *Vedāntists* appear to have believed not in *Śabda* in general but in *Śruti*, which denoted pre-eminently the *Vedas* and the *Upaniṣads*. But in later sectarian schools the word *Śabda* came to be employed in an extended sense so as to indicate other kinds of scriptures which the earlier philosophers regarded as *Śruti*s but which now came to be recognised as of equal value with the *Śruti*s. It is argued that the *Vedas* in the present decadent age are difficult to master and understand, and the sages who interpret them do not agree. The scriptures which can rightly determine this obscure sense of the *Vedas* are the *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa*, which therefore constitute the only kind of *Śabda* that is practically more valuable to us and, being of equal authority, the only authentic source of knowledge in the

present age. The Purāṇas were brought into existence, for this specific purpose of rendering the unfathomable sense of the Vedas comprehensible to the ordinary mortal, by the great sage Vyāsa, who was himself the classifier of the four Vedas and an incarnation of the supreme being for that purpose. The Purāṇa is so called because it completes or fulfils (*pūrṇa*) the sense of the Veda. It is argued that a complement cannot be different from that which it completes ; the defective parts of a gold bangle can be made good by gold alone and not by any baser metal. It is further stated that those topics of the Veda which are called Ākhyāna, Upākhyāna, Gāthā and Kalpa are elaborately dealt with in the Purāṇa ; and in this sense also the Purāṇa elucidates and amplifies what is vaguely or implicitly contained in the Vedas. Thus, those who know the four Vedas with the Upanishads and the Vedāṅgas, but do not know the Purāṇas cannot, in the opinion of our author, be regarded as truly learned men. The two sets of scriptures, the Veda and the Purāṇa, are both revealed and are ultimately identical in purport, but they are sometimes regarded as different because of the use of accent (*svara*) and some peculiarities of arrangement (*krama-bheda*) in the earlier texts. But apart from its greater intelligibility and accessibility, the Purāṇa is even superior to the Veda, because it can be studied not only by the twice-born male (Brāhmaṇa) but also by women and Śūdras and does not suffer from the limitation of caste, sex or age. By these indications the denotation of the word Śabda as a Pramāṇa is not confined to Śruti alone, but is extended to the Itihāsa and Purāṇa, which must be regarded as a part (and in practice the most authentic part) of the Veda. This position is supported by a skillful compilation of texts, but as the texts are mostly selected from the Purāṇas we have the curious method of establishing their authenticity chiefly on the strength of statements made by themselves.

Of the Itihāsa and Purāṇa, again, the Purāṇa is to be preferred as a source of knowledge. But we are told that in

the present age the individual Purāṇas are not all available in their completeness, and they celebrate different gods. Hence, the average poor mortal is too puzzled by their diversity to understand their real sense. The doubt regarding the admissibility of some of them naturally arises from the fact that the different Purāṇas appeared at different periods of time, and that though they were suitable for the epoch for which they were composed, they are not all suitable for the present age. We find, therefore, the classification of Purāṇas into Sāttvika, Rājāsika and Tāmasika groups. Verses from the *Matrya-purāṇa* are quoted to explain that the Sāttvika Purāṇas deal with the greatness of Kṛṣṇa, the Rājāsika with that of Brahmā, and the Tāmasika with that of Śiva. There is a fourth miscellaneous kind (*saṃskṛta*) which speak of Sarasvatī, the Piṭṛs and other deities or semi-divine beings.¹ In his *Bhāgavat-saṃdarbha* (p. 143) Jīva Gosvāmī points out that Purāṇas like Skanda are sometimes full of errors,² and states that such Purāṇas as deal with the glory of Śiva and other gods should not be accepted by Vaiṣṇavas.³ It is the Sāttvika Purāṇas alone, which are devoted to Kṛṣṇa, that should be regarded as authentic. In other words, Jīva Gosvāmī would make us accept only those Purāṇas which are explicitly or implicitly Vaiṣṇava; for, like most other sectarian apologists, he believes that the Purāṇas of his own school alone are capable of revealing the entire truth to be found in the Vedas, the other Purāṇas either failing to understand or misrepresenting the import of the Śruti.

Even among the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas, the highest place of

1 The words ascribed to the Buddha are not regarded as valid śabda-pramāṇas; for the scriptures which ascribe divinity to him also state that his words were meant to delude the demons (*Sarva-saṃvādinī*, p. 5). In his *Gopāla-campī* (Uttara, p. 1079), Jīva speaks of *śākyā-dervāḍya*, which may be good alliteration but perhaps not good taste.

2 *skandāṇaṃ kvacid bhṛmakaṃ asti*.

3 *śākhāridhaṃ śrīśrī-pratipādekam śāstram ca na vaiṣṇavair grāhyam*.

authority is assigned to the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, which can on no account be superseded. It may be objected that since Vyāsa composed his *Brahma-sūtra* with the special view of determining the sense of all Veda, Itihāsa and Purāṇa, why should this treatise be taken as authoritatively final? In reply, it is stated that the *Brahma-sūtra* has not been accepted by the followers of the other sages who have composed other Sūtra works. Moreover, the Sūtras are brief and cryptic, and have been differently interpreted. Hence it is held more reasonable to accept one great available Purāṇa, which is revealed scripture, which gives us the essence of all Veda, Itihāsa and Purāṇa and which forms in reality Vyāsa's own commentary of the *Brahma-sūtra*. Such a Purāṇa, it is maintained, is the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, which is accepted as the one supreme authority and the greatest of all Pramāṇas¹ although our author very conveniently forgets that the *Bhāgavata* also, like the *Brahma-sūtra*, is not acknowledged on all hands.

This exclusive authority of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* is maintained on the supposition that Vyāsa himself, after having composed the *Brahma-sūtra* and having brought the different Purāṇas into existence, was not completely satisfied; he therefore composed the *Bhāgavata* which he obtained through Samādhi or spiritual meditation. In this final work he found a synthesis of all Śāstras, and it forms the only genuine commentary of his own Sūtras.² The work proceeds with an exposition of the Gāyatri, which forms the essence of the Vedas; but the chief reason of its authoritativeness is found in the fact recorded by itself that it was revealed to Vyāsa in his spiritual meditation. Because of this direct revelation by the Bhagavat (*śākṣād bhāgavatodita*), it is the most Sāttvika of all the Purāṇas, dear to the Lord and desired by all his devotees. The theory of the school, thus, believes

1 *sarva-pramāṇa-cakravartibhāṣam*.

2 *aijya-sūtrāṇām akṣiptima-bhāṣya-bhāṣam*.

that the themes of the *Brahma-sūtra* and the *Bhāgavata* respectively are identical, for what appeared to Vyāsa's mind in a subtle shape and was expressed by him in the form of brief Sūtras, is alleged to have been amplified in the *Bhāgavata* in the form of an extensive Bhāṣya on these Sūtras. To demonstrate the correctness of this belief, Jīva Gosvāmin makes several attempts to show directly that some of the *Bhāgavata* verses have the same meaning as some of the Sūtras of Vyāsa. In his *Paramārtha-saṁśodhha*, pp. 257 f. for instance, he gives a detailed exposition of the first verse of the *Bhāgavata* as containing the entire gist of the *Brahma-sūtra* and the Gāyatri. As the *Bhāgavata* is thus taken to be the only genuine and original Bhāṣya of the *Brahma-sūtra* written by Vyāsa himself, the other commentaries, written by later scholars according to their limited light, have to be rejected in its favour. It is for this reason that the *Bhāgavata* is studied with belief and devotion by those who desire to realise spiritual truths, for this work has undoubtedly attained the position of the lord of all scriptures.¹ The extensive popularity of the work, which has been widely accepted, praised and commented upon, also testifies to this position. A series of commentaries written by great scholars and devotees exists, and Jīva Gosvāmin gives a brief enumeration of those which he found most noteworthy, namely, *Tantra-bhāgavata* (mentioned in the *Hayagrīva-pañcarātra*), *Hanūmad-bhāṣya*, *Vāsanā-bhāṣya*, *Sambandhokti*, *Bṛhat-kāmadheya*, *Tattva-dīpikā*, *Bhāvārtha-dīpikā*, *Paramahansa-prīṭhā* and *Suka-hṛdaya*; besides these, there are works on the *Bhāgavata*, such as *Muktāphala*, *Hari-Ṛta* and *Bhakti-ratnāvalī*, all of which are worthy of consideration.

One might ask in this connexion as to why the great Śaṅkara did not accept the *Bhāgavata* as the original Bhāṣya of the *Brahma-sūtra*. This question is answered by a pious appeal to a mythical legend. We are assured that Śaṅkara

¹ *śāstra-sūtra-cakravartī-padam dīptam*.

did not entirely disregard the *Bhāgavata*, but for a special reason he only concealed his own predilection for the superior teaching of Bhakti and preached deliberately a doctrine of non-duality which tended to obscure it. This special reason is found in the pious legend recorded in the *Padma-purāṇa* that Śaṅkara was an Avatāra of Śiva, who in Vaiṣṇava scriptures is a devotee of the Bhagavat, and was entrusted with the mission of making men disbelievers in order that the progress of the world might be continued.¹ Śaṅkara, however, is taken to have given expression to his true personal views on the matter in such works of his as the *Govindāṣṭaka*, which is concerned with Kṛpā-līlā as described in the *Bhāgavata*. He has thereby implicitly subscribed to doctrines to which he appears to be explicitly indifferent in his other works. Even if he did not comment on it, Śaṅkara thus recognised the value of the *Bhāgavata* by writing hymns inculcating Bhāgavata ideas. Moreover, Madhvācārya, who was a direct pupil (*sākṣāc chīṣyaḥ prāptaiḥ*)² of Śaṅkara, wrote a commentary on the *Bhāgavata* in order to combat wrong

1 The verse occurs in the *Padma-purāṇa*, *Uttara-lhaṇḍa*, Ch. 62, 31, and cited in the *Paramārtha-saṁdarbha*. It purports to be an address of the Bhagavat to Śiva: *svāgamaḥ kṛpitaḥ naiv hi jante mad-vimukhān kuru/ mām ca gopya yena yda yadā nṛtatarastatā* //

2 These words are omitted in some editions of the text (e.g. in editions by Nityanarup Brahmachari and by Satyaśaṇḍa Goswami) possibly to avoid an historical error on Jīva Gosvāmī's part. The words, however, occur in the Berhampore edition, as well as in the manuscripts of the *Tattva-saṁdarbha* which we have consulted in the Dacca University collection. That the words must have occurred in the original is clear from the fact that otherwise the word *ananta* in the immediately following sentence (*ta-chīṣyānāṁ-puṣyāgrāyādī-vīlāp-vyākhyā-pravāda-kāṣṭha*) would be meaningless. It appears that, in Jīva's opinion, Madhva in his commentary followed what Jīva considers to be the real teaching of Śaṅkara as embodied in such works as *Govindāṣṭaka* and thereby counteracted the evil effects of commentaries written by Śaṅkara's other disciples like Puṣyāgrāya, who followed the Śaṅkara-bhāṣya at Kṛpā's bidding to serve a particular purpose of the deity.

views promulgated by such other pupils of Śaṅkara as Puṇyāraṇya, who advocated Śaṅkara's Advaita-vāda.

Having thus established the superiority of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* as the chief, original and unerring source of revelation and as the best of all Pramaṇas, Jīva Gosvāmin proceeds to state that in his own *Samdarbbha* he has only explained the drift of the *Bhāgavata* for determining the highest truth. This description is correct in so far as he proceeds to build up his doctrines on a system of interpretation chiefly of that religious text. It does not indeed mean that he has given us the true sense of the *Bhāgavata*. He may or may not have done so ; but it certainly means that his own elaborate system is entirely based upon a direct explication of the *Bhāgavata* in the light of the peculiar tenets of his school. Other schools have also attempted explanations of the *Bhāgavata* but they have hardly gone to this extreme limit of basing their fundamental doctrines solely on the interpretation of that text. No doubt, the Bengal school, by this method, has attempted to secure for itself the authority of one of the greatest and most universally revered religious works of mediaeval times ; but this gain has been counterbalanced by the fact that its doctrines stand or fall according as the *Bhāgavata* is accepted as possessing such exclusive authority or not. Indeed, the unquestioning acceptance of the *Bhāgavata* must be regarded as one of the fundamental postulates of the school ; and even if there may be other interpretations, that of its own theologians must be unquestionably accepted. In this respect the commentary of Śrīdhara-svāmin is acknowledged by this school *minu*s its Māyā-doctrine. Referring to this commentary, which attempts to reconcile the Advaita-vāda of Śaṅkara with the Bhakti-vāda of mediaeval Vaiṣṇava sects, Jīva Gosvāmin explains, in accordance with the belief of his school, that the real object of Śrīdhara was not to effect such a reconciliation but to teach the doctrine of Bhakti. If the great commentator diversified this teaching with Advaita-vāda it was done in order to lure the innumerable Advaita-vādis

of the Madhya-dēśa. The exposition of Śrīdhara, who is called a Parama Vaiṣṇava, is therefore accepted by this school in so far as it follows the pure Vaiṣṇava tradition. The Bhāṣya of Rāmānuja in the same way is accepted with great respect as coming from the South, which is a great stronghold of Vaiṣṇavism, although it cannot be said that, in spite of occasional borrowings, the peculiar tenets of Rāmānuja and his sect have been accepted in their entirety. As to the Advaita theory of Saṃkara, Jīva Gosvāmin does not think it necessary to refer to it in detail in his work, as it is fairly well known. We are also informed that all the Vedic and Purāṇic texts cited are given as he found them himself in the original works; but some texts, which he himself had not seen, are derived from previous works of such Madhya writers as Vijayadvaja, Brahmasūtrītha and Vyāsaśūtrītha, who have written commentaries respectively on the *Bhāgavata*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Brahma-sūtra*.

Having stated his theory of Pramāṇa, his sources and his method, Jīva Gosvāmin proceeds to indicate briefly the chief Pramēya or object of knowledge. In this connexion he states the Saṃbandha, Abhidheya and Prayojana of his work, which we have indicated above, and which, the author himself informs us, is identical with those of the *Bhāgavata*. They are respectively the Bhagavat-tattva or Kṛpā-tattva and the Prīti-tattva elaborated successively in the two succeeding Saṃdarbhās. In connexion with this statement of the scope and object of his work, Jīva Gosvāmin tells us about the origin of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, which arose from the extraordinary illuminating Samādhi (or Īvara-prapiddhāna, as the *Yoga-sūtra* puts it) of Vyāsa, in the course of which he obtained a complete revelation of the highest spiritual truth described in the work. Jīva Gosvāmin, by way of indicating the central themes, now discusses the character of that beatific vision and details some of the principal truths revealed to Vyāsa. This Samādhi is described in the *Bhāgavata* I. 6. 4-11, which is now quoted and its chief implications considered. Vyāsa had vision not only of

the two partial aspects of the supreme being, namely, Brahman and Paramātmān, but also of the Bhagavat who represents the most complete manifestation as the Perfect Person. This distinction, to be explained fully later on, forms one of the fundamental doctrines of the Bengal school, but the authority for this doctrine is found in the *Bhāgavata* itself, of which it is supposed to form the *Sambandha-tattva*. Vyāsa also realised the essential difference or duality, as well as identity, between the Jīva and the Paramesvara, which forms the very foundation of his inspired work : for, from Vyāsa's own words it appears that, although the Jīva consists of pure consciousness (*cit-rūpa*), it is yet overpowered by the *Māyā-śakti*, which is the cause of *Saṃsāra*, while *Māyā*, being an extraneous *Śakti* of the Bhagavat, the Bhagavat is superior to it and is untouched by its influence. Hence the Jīva and the Bhagavat are perceived as different in essence (*Svarūpa*) and capacity (*Sāmarthya*). In this connexion our author takes some pains to refute the view of the Advaita-vādins that the difference is not real but is due to a difference in attributes (*Upādhi*), by means of which the unconditioned Brahman conditions itself (*Pariccheda-vāda*) or limitedly reflects itself (*Pratibimba-vāda*)¹ as Jīva. As the implications of these theories are discussed more fully later on, it is not necessary to linger over them here. Our author does not in the same way believe in the theory that the Brahman is the only one so-called Jīva (*Eka-jīva-vāda*). He maintains, on the authority of the *Bhāgavata*, that there is a plurality of Jīvas. Each of the individual Jīvas, as pure consciousness, forms a part of the highest being, but it is also an agent and enjoyer of its own action. This capacity for activity, however, does not make the Jīva independent of the Lord, for the Jīva,

1 Explained as the theory which believes that the conscious principle which reflects itself in *Vidyā* is Brahman, and which reflects itself in *Avdyā* is Jīva, like the sun reflected respectively in an open lake and in a closed pitcher. The theory is discussed more fully in *Sarva-samvādin*, p. 113 f.

as a subordinate or servant, merely carries out the will of the master. This relation of master (Sevya) and servant (Sevaka) of the Paramātmān and the Jivātmān is a real and eternal distinction ; and it continues even when the bondage, which is due to the Māyā-śakti of the Lord, is removed and his grace is obtained. As Bhakti or devotion to the Lord is the highest good, Mokṣa or emancipation is indeed a small matter, and the Jiva in its duality continues as a separate worshipping entity even after emancipation. In this way is established the Abhidheya of the *Bhāgavata*, namely, the necessity of worshipping the Bhagavat (Bhagavad-bhajana or Bhakti).

From the same indications is also affirmed the necessity of divine love or Prīti as the Prayojana or motive of the *Bhāgavata* ; for the removal of the fetters of Māyā is possible only by this means. The *Bhāgavata* was specially composed to induce and direct deluded Jivas to such worship as lead them to Bhakti, which is the sole way of salvation. The means of worship, of course, relates to Sādhana-bhakti, that is, Bhakti which arises from direct instruction of the Śāstra (*upadeśāpekṣa*), but Sādhana-bhakti is the first step to Prema-bhakti which arises only from the grace of the deity (*viprasādhāpekṣa*). Even Jñāna or divine knowledge, such as the Advaita-vādin speak of, is not possible without Bhakti.¹ Thus, the Bhakti-tattva consists of the Upāya (the deity to be worshipped), the Upāsaka (worshipper) and the Upāsānā, (worship). The object of the *Bhāgavata* is to establish clearly that the only Upāya is Kṛṣṇa, who is not an Avatāra but the Bhagavat or supreme deity himself. That the attainment of divine love (Bhagavat-preman) is a higher bliss than the bliss of attaining Brahman (Brahmānanda) or Mokṣa-nirvāṇa is also shown by the fact that Vyāsa composed the *Bhāgavata* with the express purpose of teaching it to Śuka, who had already attained Brahmānanda, and leading him further to

1 *Mānāntre tu bhakti-sāpekṣasvām eva.*

Bhagavat-preman. The case of Śuka also indicates that it is possible to worship the Bhagavat even after the so-called emancipation consequent upon the attainment of Brahman.

Jīva Gosvāmin then proceeds to show from the *Bhāgavata* that the spiritual truths or Tattvas, which Vyāsa attained in his Samādhi, are such as have been accepted by all Tattvajñas or philosophers, for they are testified to by the experience of all emancipated devotees.¹ The highest of all these Tattvas, which forms the central theme of the *Bhāgavata*, is stated briefly in Ī. 1, 2 and Ī. 2, 11, to the elucidation of which, as a fundamental principle, Jīva Gosvāmin now turns his attention. In the first of these verses it is stated that the Reality or Vāstava Vastu can be known only from the *Bhāgavata*, while the second verse describes what this Reality or ultimate principle is in the following terms:

*vadanti tat tattva-vidas tattvaṃ yaḥ jñānam advayam /
brahmeti paramātmetye bhagavān iti śabdyate / /*

"The Tattva which the knowers of reality call *advaya jñāna* is expressed by the designations of Brahman, Paramātman and Bhagavat."

This verse is said to sum up the concept of absolute reality as propounded by the *Bhāgavata*, of which it forms, as it were, the main Sūtra. At any rate, it is accepted as such by Jīva Gosvāmin who practically deduces his whole philosophy on its basis; for the Advaya-jñāna-tattva, referred to in the first line of this verse, is now explained in the rest of his *Tattva-saṃdarbha*, while the three aspects of the divinity, embodied in the three concepts of Brahman, Paramātman and Bhagavat and mentioned in the second line of the verse, are dealt with in the three succeeding Saṃdarbhas. A preliminary analysis of the verse, therefore, is important from this point of view. In the first line of the verse the ultimate reality or Tattva is spoken of as Advaya-jñāna-tattva, while the second line designates three concepts of the same reality as Brahman, Para-

1. *śaśvatīrāmānubhavaḥ sa-śrutiḥ.*

māitman and Bhagavat. It will be necessary to understand at the outset what is signified by the main concept Advaya-jñāna, which is the pivot round which the Vaiṣṇava concept of absolute reality propounded by Jīva Gosvāmin revolves. The rest of the *Tattva-saṁdarbha*, therefore, is devoted to the elucidation of this fundamental Tattva, from which fact the *Saṁdarbha* itself receives its name.

The term Advaya-jñāna does not signify Nirguṇa Advaita-jñāna of the monistic idealists of the Advaita school, but a dualistic Saguṇa interpretation is given of the phrase. The term Jñāna is explained as consisting of pure consciousness (*cideka-rūpa*) which is self-luminous (*sva-prakāśa*). The word Advaya does not mean 'sole' or 'without a second,' but it signifies 'that like which there is no second Tattva or Reality.' The ultimate reality is called Advaya because there is no other self-existent conscious or unconscious principle which is similar to it.¹ The Jīva is no doubt a conscious principle similar to it, but the Jīva is not self-existent inasmuch as it is subordinate to the Paramāitman as the ultimate conscious principle. Nor is there any other self-existent unconscious, that is, material, principle which is similar to it; for such principles as the phenomenal world, time, space etc., are not in their turn independent of the ultimate principle. Thus, there is nothing equal to it, as Jīva Gosvāmin further explains in his *Sarva-saṁvādinī*, in the same (*svajātya-bheda*) or different (*vijātya-bheda*) category. In itself also (*svagata-bheda*) the ultimate reality is Advaya, because it is an indivisible substance in which there is no difference between the essence and the form, such as is found between the conscious principle and the organic body in a human being. It is also called *advaya* in the sense that its own infinite Śaktis or Energies are the only things which accompany it (*sva-śaktyeṣa-sahāyatrū*), but which cannot exist without its ultimate existence (*tena vinnāśādām anuddharvār*). But the ultimate reality as the

1. *svayamprakāśa-cideka-rūpa-śarīra-śarīra-sādhāraṇa-bhāvāt*.

Advaya is not mere consciousness ; it is a unity of consciousness, existence and bliss. In other words, the word *tattva* or essential principle, indicating the highest good (*parama puruṣārtha*), implies by the qualification of *advaya* the unity of the highest knowledge or consciousness (*jñāna*) and the highest bliss (*Parama Sukha*), as well as of eternal reality (*Nityatva*). The Advaya-jñāna-tattva is finally identified with the Bhagavat as the highest and most perfect manifestation of the Absolute ; and as such it forms the essential theme of the *Bhāgavata*.

It is necessary to understand the true nature of the Jiva as a conscious principle in order to realise the nature of the Paramātmān of which it is a part, and with which, as an eternal, pure and indivisible conscious principle, it is identical. As this subject, however, of the relation of the Jiva to the Paramātmān is dealt with in more detail in the *Paramātma-saṁdarbha*, we shall advert to it later in that connexion. But since the Paramātmān far transcends the Jiva and forms its ultimate support, it has been designated the Āśraya or the ground by the *Bhāgavata* (ii. 1. 70). In this connexion it is pointed out that the Purāṇa deals with ten topics, viz., Sarga, Visarga, Sthāna, Poṣaṇa, Ōti, Manvantara, Uśānakathā, Nirodha, Mukti and Āśraya. These terms are explained in the *Bhāgavata* ii. 10. 3-6 (also xii. 7. 10-15) : Jiva Govāmin discusses them but shows that of these the last is the most important. This theory of Āśraya, however, is established by the mystical conception of the three kinds of Puruṣa (*Bh* ii. 10.8-9). It is shown that the Ādhyātmika Puruṣa or Jiva is identical with the Ādhidaivika Puruṣa (e.g. Sūrya) ; while the Ādhibhautika Puruṣa is the visible body, the word *puruṣa* in the last case meaning only the Upādhi of the Jiva. None of these can be the ultimate ground or Āśraya, as they are dependent on each other. It is the Paramātmān who is self-existent (*svayam-siddha*) and independent of every other Āśraya (*ananyāśraya*) ; he alone can be the Āśraya of these as well as of everything else. If the

Jīva is sometimes called Āśraya, it is only because the Jīva is a part (*aṃśa*) of the Paramātmān. Throughout the *Bhāgavata*, especially in its tenth book, *Śrīkṛṣṇa*, as the Paramātmān, is described as the sole Āśraya.

5. THE BHAGAVAT-SAMDARBHA

The principal object of this *Sāṃdarbhā* is to establish and explain the concept of the Bhagavat. Having explained the concept of the Absolute as implied by the phrase *advaya-jñāna-tattva* in the verse cited above from the *Bhāgavata* (i. 2. 11), Jīva Gosvāmī now turns to an interpretation of the second line of the same verse, which further amplifies that concept. The line signifies that although the Absolute is one and indivisible, it has threefold aspect, according to the particular capacity of realisation of the devotee (*upāsaka-yogyatā-valiṣṭyena*). The same ultimate reality, therefore, can be viewed respectively as Brahman, Paramātmān and Bhagavat, although it is never, as Jīva Gosvāmī carefully notes, designated by the term Jīva. Our author now proceeds in this *Sāṃdarbhā* to explain these three concepts of the Absolute, which he takes as three stadiums or gradations of one and the same Reality. Here he deals principally with the concept of Bhagavat as the highest and most perfect manifestation of the *Advaya-jñāna-tattva*. It is not perfectly clear if this peculiar doctrine of graded Trinity is actually and consistently implied in the *Bhāgavata*; but it is, at any rate, one of the fundamental postulates of the school which Jīva Gosvāmī represents. It is possible to find conflicting texts existing on the subject, but our author attempts to reconcile them, partly by rejecting those which go against the theory, partly by ingenuities of interpretation, and partly by presuming that the apparently contradictory terms or ideas are to be taken in different senses in different contexts; for instance, by presuming that some apply to the concept of the Brahman, some to that of the Bhagavat.

The concept of the Paramātmān and its relation to Prakṛi

and Jiva are dealt with in detail in the *Paramānu-saṃdarbha*; the present *Saṃdarbha*, as its title implies, has for its principal theme the concept of the Bhagavat. There is no need for a *Brahma-saṃdarbha*, for if the concept of the Bhagavat is clearly realised, that of the Brahman will also be understood, and the latter concept has already been fairly fully explained by the school of Advaita philosophers. The Brahman (neuter) is in fact the *nirvīṣya* state of the Bhagavat, and as the non-differentiated substance it corresponds to the Brahman of the school of Saṃkhya. But the Bhagavat represents the highest being in the hierarchy of spiritual manifestations, the most perfect person in whom all the *vīṣyas* are most perfectly developed. In other words, the Brahman is unqualified, but the Bhagavat is infinitely qualified by an infinity of blessed and perfect attributes. In the Bhagavat all the divine Śaktis or Energies eternally come into full play, but in the Brahman they remain in a potential or indiscrete state.¹ The essence of the Bhagavatā or Lordship consists in this actualisation of the Śaktis, the nature of which will be explained later on; and the Bhagavat, as the religious concrete, can be realised in the full display of his distinctive features, potencies, attributes, dwelling places and associates. The Brahman, on the other hand, is the philosophical Absolute, in which these attributes and powers remain undifferentiated; it is devoid of all *vīṣyas*² and forms an

1 *avivikta-takti-takṣmaṇā-bhūdatayaḥ prapñāyamaṇam*.

2 The idea of *Vīṣya* is not specifically mentioned by Rūpa Goṣvāmīn, in his *Saṃkṛtya Bhāṣya-saṃgraha*, although we are not sure if it is not already there by implication. But it is difficult to believe that Rūpa and Jīva could differ on such a fundamental issue. The theory of *Vīṣya* or differentiation, however, is dealt with in some detail by Rādhādhimodara in his *Vedānta-nyamavivarta* (ed. U. C. Bhattacharya, Lahore 1930, pp. 11-12), a work which, in spite of its name, belongs to the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism and attempts to reconcile Vedānta doctrines with its sectarian tenets. The *vīṣya* is also explained by Baladeva Vidyābhāṣya in his *Siddhānta-varṇa* (ed. Saravarat Bhārata Texts, Benares 1917). According to these writers the *Vīṣya* is

are the philosophers of the Advaita school, but the Bhaktas proceed a stage further. There is, however, no absolute difference between the two forms : for the difference is one of degree only, and the limitation is in relation to the capacity and stage of realisation of the devotee.

In order to elucidate the concept of the Bhagavat further, Jiva Gosvāmin proceeds to discuss and analyse its attributes and explain its divine Energies or Śakti. He begins by showing that these attributes reside really and eternally (*nitya*) in the Bhagavat in intimate or inner relation, which is understood in philosophical terminology as the Samavāya (perpetual co-inherence) relation, as opposed to the mere Saṃyoga or separable relation. In other words, the Guṇas and Śaktis are not adventitious or *droṣita*, but essential or *svarūpa-bhāva*. In this connexion the author refers to the etymology or Nirukti of the word Bhagavat and shows, on the authority of the Purāṇas, that the various syllables indicate the various attributes and Śaktis which go to make up the concept! Thus, the syllable *bha* in the name implies the sense of supporter and protector (*bhartṛ* or *sambhartṛ*) and refers to his creating and sustaining the Bhakti of his devotee ; while the syllable *ga* bears the sense of leading (*gamayṛ* or *netṛ*) and signifies the idea of his making the devotee attain the bliss of divine love (Premānanda). Altogether the name is made to imply the totality of the virtues of Aśvarya (power), Vīrya (potency), Yaśas (fame), Śrī (prosperity), Jñāna (knowledge) and Vairāgya (non-attachment), which constitute the sixfold lordliness of the Bhagavat.² The terms are thus explained: Aśvarya = power to subjugate all (*sarva-vāṭikārīṇā*), Vīrya = magical potency similar to that of precious stones, magic spells etc. (*maṇi-manirūḍḍer iva prabhāvah*), Yaśas = fame arising from excellent qualities of mind, body and speech (*vañ-maṇah-śarīrādṛṣṭy ādguṇya-khyātih*), Śrī =

2 In another Purāṇic version these six virtues are enumerated as Jñāna, Śakti, Bala, Aśvarya, Vīrya and Tejas.

all kinds of prosperity (*sarva-prakāra-sampad*), Jñāna = omniscience (*sarva/jarvam*) and Vairāgya = non-attachment to the things of the phenomenal world (*pūṣaṇa-vastvanāśaktiḥ*). These attributes, however, must be conceived as having received their perfect and infinite development in the Bhagavat.

But Jīva Gosvāmin takes pains to show that the three Prākṛta Guṇas (Sattva, Rajas and Tamas) can be predicated only of the Jīva, and not of the Bhagavat, who is beyond their sphere. We shall see later that these Guṇas are due to the Māyā-śakti of the Lord, but having eternally subjugated or transcended this Śakti, which is extraneous to his essential self, the Lord himself is entirely unaffected by its influence. If therefore he has any Guṇa, it is *apṛākṛta* or non-phenomenal. We are told that in the Vaiṣṇoṭha where he dwells, there is no Sattva, Rajas or Tamas; but there is only a function of his Svarūpa-śakti or Intrinsic Energy, namely, a pure existence or Śuddha Sattva, which is *prākṛtīrta* or beyond the sphere of the phenomenal world. It is called Pure or Śuddha because it is untouched by the influence of his extraneous Māyā-śakti, to which are due the evolution of Prakṛti and the Guṇas. The absence of Rajas indicates, we are further informed, that the Lord is incapable of being created (*asṛjyaiva*), that of Tamas implies that he is indestructible (*anūdarva*) and that of Sattva signifies that he consists of pure existence (Sat), pure consciousness (Cit) and pure bliss (Ānanda).

In order to understand the concept of the Brahman and the Bhagavat, as well as of the Paramātmā, it would be necessary to understand the nature of Śakti or Divine Energy, upon whose degree and quality of display the distinction really rests. Jīva Gosvāmin now turns to the peculiar theory of Śakti which his theistic school teaches; but he points out at the outset that the Śaktis possess the two characteristics of Acintyaṭva and Svābhāvikaṭva. By Acintyaṭva is meant that the Śaktis in themselves are inscrutable and beyond the reach

of human thought and reason (*tarkāsaha*) or that they are capable of bringing about impossible effects (*darbhata-gṛahakatva*): but it also refers to the peculiar relation in which these Śaktis stand to the Śaktimat, the possessor of the Śakti, and which consists of an inscrutable relation of difference in non-difference (*acintya-bhedābheda*). By Svābhāvikatva is meant that the Śaktis are natural to the Lord and constitute in their totality his very self or essence, although in his infinite power he actually transcends them. These ideas will be made clear as we proceed with a detailed consideration of the theory of Śakti.

The Śakti or Divine Energy of the Bhagavat is viewed in three aspects and is accordingly grouped into three classes, namely, Śakti as Svarūpa, Śakti as Tapasthā and Śakti as Bahiraṅgā. These are successively called Parā or Svarūpa-śakti, Tapasthā or Jiva-śakti, and Bahiraṅgā or Māyā-śakti. The division bases itself upon a text of the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* which style them respectively as Parā, Kṣetrajñā and Avidyā. The present *Saṃdarbha*, which is concerned chiefly with the question of the Svarūpa of the Bhagavat, deals naturally with the Svarūpa-śakti, leaving the consideration of the other two Śaktis to the *Paramārtha-saṃdarbha* to which they are primarily relevant. The Svarūpa or Parā Śakti, as the name itself implies, may be described as that Energy which constitutes the intrinsic perfect selfhood of the Bhagavat and is therefore inseparable from him. This Energy is thus Anuraṅgā or intrinsic, as opposed to the other Māyā-śakti which is Bahiraṅgā or external and never affects his true self. This Māyā-śakti causes the creation, sustenance and dissolution of the phenomenal world, and consists of an aspect of Bahiraṅga Vaibhava or extraneous power in the form of the material Prakṛti or Pradhāna. Although unconnected with the essential self, this Energy is as real as the other, and not a power of illusion such as the Advaita-vādin presume: the resulting phenomenal world therefore is also relatively real. Through this Māyā-śakti, the Bhagavat limits himself into his partial

manifestation as the Paramātmān, who is thus the godhead immanent in Spirit (Jīva) and Nature (Prakṛti). It must be admitted that a Śakti cannot stand by itself, it must inhere in a body ; in this sense the Bhagavat is much as the substratum of the Svarūpa-śakti as of the Māyā-śakti ; and in the form of the Paramātmān the Bhagavat is a direct display of Māyā-śakti. But this Śakti is said to be extraneous to his essence or Svarūpa, because this self-determined limitation does not exist in his highest form as the Bhagavat and is not perceived by the Jīva as soon as the latter releases itself from the diverting influence of the Māyā-śakti by the power of Bhakti, which is an aspect of the display of his Svarūpa-śakti. Thus, the highest form of the deity is uncontaminated by the Māyā-śakti, and that highest uncontaminated form, therefore, can be attained only when the Jīva is no longer under the bondage created by the Māyā-śakti. The Tapaśhā or Jīva-śakti is, as the name itself implies, that form of the divine Energy which, being distinct from both, does not fall under either of the above categories of Antaraśgā and Bahiraśgā Śaktis, and which is yet related to both. The Jīva or individual self is an aspect of this Śakti which the Bhagavat displays in his rôle of Paramātmān. Being subject to the Māyā-śakti, the Jīva cannot, until released, be connected with the Svarūpa-śakti, which is beyond the affection of the Māyā-śakti ; but since the Bhagavat is the ultimate essential source of the Jīva, who can in spite of deviation return to the Lord by shaking off the Māyā-śakti, the Jīva can yet be finally connected with the essential Svarūpa-śakti. Hence to explain the nature and position of the Jīva it is necessary to presume an intermediate Tapaśhā Śakti which is connected with, but distinct from, both the Antaraśgā (Svarūpa-) and Bahiraśgā (Māyā-) Śaktis.

Thus, in the highest form of the Bhagavat there is a direct and full display of his Svarūpa-śakti, which goes to make up his Svarūpa or perfect self. The other two Śaktis are displayed indirectly through the medium of his partial form of Paramātmān. In other words, these two Śaktis have scope

only when the Jiva is in the earlier deluded (*vimohita*) stage, but when it attains the Bhagavat himself, the Jiva is subject only to the Svarūpa-śakti of the Lord, of which Bhakti is a function. The highest form of the Bhagavat himself is indifferent to the work of the Paramātmān or the other two Śaktis, which give rise to creation, rebirth and bondage ; but this indifference implies that the Bhagavat possesses the attribute of impartial benevolence to all. The delusion (*saṃmohana*) of the Jiva produced by the Māyā-śakti is not in itself pleasing to the Lord, and in his highest form of the Bhagavat he has nothing to do with it ; but it is due to the Jiva's natural averseness (*bahirmukha*) to the Bhagavat. This disinclination at a lower stage is due again to the deity's *Taṣasthā* Jiva-śakti, which is equally prone to his intrinsic Svarūpa- and to his extrinsic Māyā-śaktis. But the question arises—why should the Bhagavat, who is merciful to the Jiva, permit this act of delusion by the Māyā-śakti which is a cause of suffering ? The reply is that the Māyā, as a Śakti, having power over creation, is as such an eternal servant of the Lord, towards whom it is not possible for her to assume a hostile attitude ; but as the Lord is at the same time full of mercy to the Jiva he desires that the Jiva should for fear of Māyā take refuge in him and work for deliverance. As to the ultimate question of the reason or necessity of such complicated display of three kinds of Energy, the answer is that it is an aspect of his inscrutable (*acintya*) Līlā or divine sport, and the existence and character of the threefold Śakti, as explained above, are facts vouched for by the *Bhāgavata* and other scriptures. If one objects to the absurdity of imagining two contradictory Śaktis residing in the deity, the reply is that the Lord's power is inscrutable and even contradictions merge in him.

The Svarūpa-śakti, viewed in its different aspects, is classified, on the authority of the *Vijay-purāṇa*, into *Saṃdhi*, *Saṃvit* and *Hīdhi* Śaktis, which correspond roughly to the *Sat*, *Cit* and *Ānanda* of orthodox philosophy. The *Saṃdhi*

Sakti is the energy of existence of the self-existent being which also upholds the existence of the Jīva and Prakṛti. It is in relation to this Sakti that the Bhagavat is described as the ultimate reality, and the world and the individual as relative reality.¹ By the Sarpvit Sakti, the Bhagavat is both the knowledge and the knower, and makes others possessed of knowledge.² The last Hlādinī Sakti is the Bhagavat's energy of infinite bliss, by which he is bliss itself, becomes blissful and also causes in the devotee pure bliss.³ These Saktis exist infinitely in the Bhagavat : but since the Jīva is only an *anu* or infinitesimal part of the Bhagavat, the smallest atom of the limitless divine existence, knowledge and bliss is capable of causing the existence, knowledge and bliss of the Jīva.

All these aspects of the Svarūpa-sakti are regarded as collateral attributes, existing inseparably and eternally in the Bhagavat ; they are yet graded in a peculiar manner. Although in their totality they form the very self of the Bhagavat and therefore constitute an undifferentiated unity, yet of Sarpdhinī, Sarpvit and Hlādinī each succeeding Sakti is supposed to include and supersede the preceding.⁴ The Hlādinī Sakti, therefore, is the most important, as it includes and transcends the other two. This prominence given to the Hlādinī Sakti explains the peculiar standpoint of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism which conceives that its deity is essentially composed of infinite bliss, which is his highest attribute and which necessarily involves the other attributes of knowledge and existence. By this Sakti also he has the power of communicating atoms of this infinite bliss to his Associates (Pāradas) and his Devotees (Bhaktas). It must be noted in this connexion that the Svarūpa-sakti is supposed to take two forms, namely, (i) the Svarūpa, which refers to the Lord himself, and (ii) Svarūpa-

1 *sarva-rūpo'pi yaḥ satitām dādhātī dhārayati ca sū roṇadhātī.*

2 *hlādinī-rūpo'pi yaḥ hlādī hlādayati ca sū samvī.*

3 *hlādinī-rūpo'pi bhagavān yaḥ hlādati hlādayati ca sū hlādinī.*

4 *satva sārvaottara-guṇakāreṇa sarpdhinī sarpvit hlādinī kramo jayati.*

Vaibhava, which includes his Associates, his Residence, his Devotees etc., which are thus parts or functions of himself. The theory which gives exclusive prominence to the Hlādinī Śakti may, therefore, be expressed in theological language by saying that this is the eternal Līlā or divine sport of the Lord, which consists of pure and infinite bliss and which he enjoys with his Associates and Devotees : for they are merely aspects of his divine energy, and their very existence, consciousness and bliss are relative to the absolute existence, consciousness and bliss of the Lord. This brings us to the idea, to which we shall revert later on, of the Lord as Rasa or Ānanda which attribute is nothing but an aspect of the Hlādinī Śakti. This Rasa, which constitutes the Śvarūpa of the Lord, must be taken ultimately to signify the highest and best Rasa recognised by the Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-āśāra of this school, namely, Mādhurya or Madhura Rasa, which is another name of the religiously sublimated erotic sentiment. This attitude is a kind of erotic mysticism, which seeks to express religious ideas in the intimate language of earthly passion, for it conceives divine love as a reflex of the human emotion. The Śaktimat in his infinite bliss sports with his own Śaktis : in other word, the godhead realises himself in his own bliss. The Śaktis are accordingly represented, in terms of human relationship considered in its emotional aspect, as his consorts or wives : and this devout yet serious attitude entirely humanises the deity and his consorts and presents them in a lovable human relation to their Associates and Devotees. As the Lord is not only infinite bliss himself but he also makes others enjoy the bliss, the Bhakti or ecstatic devotion, by means of which a taste of this infinite bliss is attained, is also an aspect or function of the Hlādinī Śakti. We shall see presently in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-saṃdarbhā* that as Kṛṣṇa is identified with the Bhagavat, Rādhā, who is his eternal consort and greatest Bhakta, is represented as the highest form of his Hlādinī Śakti.

This brings us to the question of the nature of the relation

of the Śaktis to the Śaktimat. As the Jīva is also an aspect of the divine Jīva-śakti, the relation is the same as that between the Jīva and Paramātmā ; and the question accordingly assumes importance as one of the fundamental metaphysical questions regarding the relationship of the individual to the universal self. We shall have occasion to deal with the question from this point of view in connexion with its treatment in the *Paramātmā-saṁdarbha* ; but we may briefly indicate here that the relation between the Śaktis and the Possessor of the Śaktis is represented as an incomprehensible (*acintya*) relation of sameness and difference (*bhedābheda*), the whole theory thus receiving the designation of *Acintya-bhedābheda-vāda* (incomprehensible dualistic monism), a peculiar point of view which distinguishes the Bengal school from other Vaiṣṇava schools by the qualifying word *acintya* which brings in a mystical attitude. It speaks of the inconceivable existence of distinction and non-distinction. The Śaktis are non-different from the Bhagavat, inasmuch as they are parts or Aśrās of the divine being ; but the very fact that they are parts only makes the superlativeness of divine attributes inapplicable to them, and there is thus an inevitable difference. The Śaktis, therefore, possess a reality which is indeed relative to that of the Lord but which is nevertheless absolute in itself. The respective character of the reality, however, of the three kinds of Śakti, namely, *Antarāṅgā*, *Bahirāṅgā* and *Tajasthā*, is not, as their names are designed to imply, entirely identical. This distinction has already been explained above, but it is also illustrated by an analogy. It is like the threefold aspect in which the sun manifests itself, namely, the solar disc (*maṇḍala*), the solar rays (*raśmi*) and the solar reflexion or halo (*bimba*), the *Antarāṅgā* or *Svarūpa-śakti* corresponding to the luminous disc or body of the sun itself, the *Tajasthā* or *Jīva-śakti* to its rays scattered away but ultimately contained in the sun itself as the original source, and the *Bahirāṅgā* or the *Māyā-śakti* being regarded as the reflexion which is a real but dazzling emanation from the solar disc,

obscuring it, but existing outside and not forming an integral part of the sun.

Although this is the principal classification of the Śaktis, they are said to be infinite in number, and all of them are presented as wives of the Lord. As such they are distinctive deities, having name, form and personality. The Antarāṅgā Mahāśakti of the Lord is Lakṣmī or Mahālakṣmī, who forms his Svarūpa and, being the first manifestation, is the ground or Āśraya of all other Śaktis. The Bahirāṅgā Śakti is of course named Māyā. Each of these again has many aspects and is named accordingly. The text mentions only some of the aspects of Mahālakṣmī as Svarūpa-śakti; but each of them can also have an additional significance as aspects of the Bahirāṅgā Māyā-śakti. Thus Śrī as an aspect of Mahālakṣmī signifies divine excellence or Bhagavat-sampad; but Śrī as an aspect of Māyā means worldly excellence or Jagat-sampad. In the same way, Ilā is both Līlā-śakti and Bhū-śakti; and Kānti, Kīrti etc. are similarly interpreted as possessing two meanings and included in both the aspects of Śakti. As an aspect of Lakṣmī, Vidyā is the source of spiritual knowledge (Tattva-jñāna), and of the bliss of divine love (Premānanda) by which the Lordship of the Bhagavat is suppressed voluntarily and posited into a personal relationship with the devotee; but as an aspect of Māyā it becomes Avidyā which has the function of obscuring and causing the Jīva to forget his own nature. Lakṣmī is again classified into Saṃdhiś, Saṃvit and Hlādiś; but the support (ādāhara) of these Śakti-mūrtis are Vimalā, Jayā, Yogā, Prahvī, Isānā and Anugrahā. The functions of these are indicated roughly by the names themselves; for instance, Jayā=Utkarṣaṇī, power of eminence; Yogā=Yogamāyā or Sarjanārthā Śakti, creative power; Prahvī=Vicitrānanda-sāmarthyā-hetu, the power which causes the capacity for excellent bliss; Isānā=Sarvādhikāritā, mastery over all beings etc. The Māyā is to be similarly classified but the subject is dealt with later on in the next book. The Jīva-śakti is Guṇamayī, consisting of the three

Gūṇas, viz. Sāttvikī, which causes bliss (Hīṇakārī), Tāmasī which causes suffering (Tāpakārī), and Rājasi which possesses the power of causing a mixed effect (Mīṣṛ).

This conception of inherent śakti in the Lord naturally presupposes the idea of the Bhagavat as the Perfect Person, and conceives him not as a formless entity but as an embodied substance in which inhere infinite attributes and energies. Scriptural texts are cited in which the supreme being is described as cid-ghana, ānanda-ghana, rasu-ghana etc., and it is maintained that the word *ghana* (=compact or solid) implies the idea of Mūrti or image, in accordance with the dictum *mūrtiḥ ghaṇaḥ* of Pāṇini. The Lord is therefore not *amūrti* or unembodied, but possesses a blessed Mūrti or form.¹ It is, however, clearly explained that by this form or body of the Lord, his Mūrti or Vighraha, is not to be understood any gross or sensuous body like that of human beings. The limited limbs and senses of the Jiva are due to the Jiva-śakti only, and therefore they are phenomenal (*prākṛta*) and material (*jaḍa*); but the Lord in his Svarūpa-śakti possesses a non-phenomenal and spiritual body. This body consists entirely of pure existence, knowledge and bliss, and he is therefore called Saccidānanda-vighraha. As there is no distinction of form and essence (*svapara-bheda*) in the Bhagavat, there is no differentiation between the different organs, so that existence, knowledge and bliss, which constitute his form, are eternally simultaneous and non-different from his essence. The divine person (Vighraha) is therefore identical with the divine essence (Svarūpa) in the supreme unity of the godhead. The attributes, like intelligence, bliss etc., are merely terms or symbols to indicate aspects of his essence; and their totality is called form or body because of its eternally self-manifest character (*vyakti*). His body, or what may be called his body, is his soul;² it is eternal, supernatural and spiritual

1 *sa ca bhagavān pārrodita-lakṣaṇa-īrāmūrtiḥ śāmakarṇa, na ramān-śaḥ.*

2 *deha-dehī bhūṭā cātra nāstare vidyate.*

and has nothing gross, natural and material in it ; but at the same time it is not *nirvileya* or undifferentiated, it is something real and *savileya* possessing its own divine attributes. He is *vi-karaya* in the sense that he does not possess the human organs of senses, but he is also *so-karaya* in the sense that he possesses divine or non-natural forms of these. The Śruti texts establish that this body is *like* that of the human being, but the similarity is only in respect of form and not of the ingredients. The Lord is not subject to change (*vikāra-rahita*) or limitation, but by his *Svarūpa-śakti* he can limit himself into a conditioned or unconditioned form.¹ Hence, it follows that Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat never entered into a gross body like an ordinary Jīva, but only appeared to do so.² This divine form is no doubt unthinkable, but for purposes of meditation or devotion it is thinkable. The scriptures describe the form sometimes as two-handed, sometimes as four-handed, or even six-handed or eight-handed, and as possessing head, eyes, feet etc. The assumption of these various forms does not imply impermanence or changefulness, for they are all real and eternal (*nitya*) and coexist in him, like the diverse forms of a *Vaidūrya-maṇi* (Lapis-lazuli), which make their appearance simultaneously. But Jīva Gosvāmin cites authorities to show that, although no particular divine form exists apart from his other forms, the two-handed form of the divinity, of which presumably man is the image, is the best and most beautiful for purposes of meditation and worship ; for it exhibits his attributes to their best advantage.

The Lordship of the Bhagavat which is described above is thus intrinsic to his selfhood ; and the attributes and energies have no touch of gross quality in them but inhere in his essential character (*svarūpa-bhāva*). The Vighraha or

1 *svarūpa-śaktyaiva paricchinnaṃ aparicchinnaṃ ca tad evaṃ rūpāḥ.*

2 *dehīna jīva īna bhūti kṛjati, īna-dehīna īlīkṣya īa na pravaśyathā dehaṃ prapīdān īlī ganyate.*

the form of the Bhagavat is not something different from his essence but is eternally identical with it (*pūrṇa-svarūpa-bhūta*) and therefore possessed of essential reality. It follows from this that when the Lordship or Vibhūtya is manifested in the state of an Avatāra, it is also intrinsic, real and eternal, even if the Avatāra seemingly belongs to a past age. The Lord is unborn, but when we speak of his birth, only appearance or Prādurbhāva is meant¹. Though the appearance occurs in the phenomenal world, it is itself not phenomenal but an expression at will of his essential divine Svarūpa. Although the chief Vighraha of the Bhagavat is one, he is capable of assuming simultaneously infinite forms,² whether these forms be mere Prakāśa, Āvirbhāvas or Avatāras; hence his attribute of Sarva-rūpa-avabhāvatva or the capacity of assuming all kinds of forms and shapes. Even when the deity assumes phenomenal forms, he retains his non-phenomenal Svarūpa. But he appears to the devotee in the form or plane of realisation which has been attained by the latter's devotion.³ It is, however, laid down that the deity always appears only in the form which is agreeable to his devotee. If he appeared in the disagreeable form of an ox to Rantideva, that form was illusory (*māyika*), for what is super-sensuous cannot be horrible.⁴

Having established the general character of the Bhagavad-vighraha, Jīva Gosvāmī now proceeds to analyse in detail some of its special characteristics. These attributes are not something imposed from outside but they form invariable (*avyabhicāri*) aspects of the divine essence and therefore they are the deity's inherent attributes (*svābhāvika dharmā*). These may be briefly summarised here as forming the constituent

1 *ajananaya janmetyasena prādhurbhāva-mūlamev bodhayaati.*

2 *ekam api mukhyaṃ bhagavad-rūpeṃ yagopal ananta-rūpamalakam bhavati.*

3 *yathā yāgyāṇa yajñam upāsānā-phalodaya-bhūmikāraṇhānaṃ tadā sahaiva te paśyanti.*

4 *apṛākṛtyasena laudatva-sambhāva-bhāvaḥ.*

elements of the concept of Lordship: (1) The attribute of all-pervasiveness (*sarva-gataṭva*), by means of which the Bhagavat can not only pervade the universe, but, in spite of being one, he can appear as many at different places, not in a different but in the same form. This, we are told, is not *Kāya-vyūha*, or mere illusory multiplication of the same form, all of which act in the same way in different places; for here, though the various forms are the same they can act in different ways.¹ Each of these appearances thus is not illusory but real, and has the same divine characteristics and capacity of independent action.² In other words each appearance (*prakāśa-bheda*) has different egoism (*abhimāna-bheda*) and different series of acts (*kriyā-bheda*), and this may occur simultaneously at the same or different places. (2) The attribute of self-luminosity or self-manifestation (*svaprakāśatva*). (3) The attribute of surpassing both the gross and the subtle (*sthūla-sūkṣmāstīrīkatva*), implying also the fact that the Lord is beyond mundane existence (*sat*) and non-existence (*asat*). (4) Non-liability to change or limitation (*avikārinva*). This attribute implies that the Lord is not subject to the six *Vikāras* or forms of evolution, viz., Janman (birth), Astitva (existence), Vṛddhi (growth), Paripāma (transformation), Kṣaya (decay) and Vināśa (destruction). He is also independent of the fourfold fruit of action (*caturvidha-kriyā-phala-rāhitva*), namely, Utpatti (production), Prāpti (acquisition), Vivṛti (expansion) and Samākāra (fruition or merit). (5) Possession of indwelling spirit-form (*pratyag-rūpatva*), not visible to the mortal eye. Hence he is the Antaryāmin or the inward ruler, and is called *Aubokṣaja*, which term is explained as signifying that he exists beyond perception of the senses.³ He can be seen or perceived only

1 *teṣāṃ prakāśitāṇāṃ sayajvācintya-kāryāṇāṃ pṛthak pṛthak eva kriyānti bhavanti.*

2 *ekatve'pi pṛthak prakāśatvam, teṣāṃ pṛthak pṛthak kriyābhinnatā-nāditvam.*

3 *akṣajam andriyakam jñānam tad adho'rvāḥ eva paśya.*

in virtue of his own Energy (*nijā-śaktiḥ*), and this Energy comes into play only through his grace.¹ (6) Non-liability to mundane (*prākṛta*) birth (Janman), form (*Rūpa*) and action (*Karman*), but also the capacity of assuming all these in a real and eternal character (*nitya*) by his *Svarūpa-śakti*. We are told that such assumption of birth, though real and eternal in character (*nitya*), constitutes only an *Āvirbhāva* and not actual mundane or human birth, but it either resembles mundane birth or is sometimes different from it.² In other words, the appearance assumed in the phenomenal world is really non-phenomenal, although in all respects it may appear as phenomenal.³ The deity is really *Svayaṁ-rūpa*, that is, his form is identical with his essence; hence if he assumes the attributes of birth, childhood etc., these are not phenomenal, but attributes of his inherent divine nature.⁴ Of the same character is the form (e.g., *Matsya*) which is assumed in an *Avatāra*; and this form, as well as the exploits of an *Avatāra*, he can assume or discard at will. In the same way, his *Karman* or action is not guided by any motive,⁵ inasmuch as the *Bhagavat* is motiveless (*āpra-kāma*), but it is due to his *Ānanda* or *Hlādinī Śakti*.⁶ It is an aspect of his *Līlā* or divine sport which is natural to his essence of bliss.⁷ As Baladeva Vidyābhāṣa explains the idea in his *Govinda-bhāṣya*: That the most complete should proceed to the act of diversified creation is due to his *Līlā*, which is not preceded by any desire of the fruits of action for himself.⁸ Jīva

1 *śāstra-śakter apyullāse tat-īpaiva kāraṇam*.

2 *īrīmūrter ayaṁ āvirbhāva eva, na svamādādira* janma; *prākṛta-janmadānāraṇapendīrībhāva-mūrtarām*, kvacid ananukarṇeṇa vā.

3 *prapañca-vat bhāṣī na tu prapañca-rūpaḥ*.

4 *Bhagavad-vigrahe śāstrakāḍayo vicitrā eva dharmāḥ vābhāvīkṣyāḥ saṁst*.

5 *na tu prayojanāpekṣayā*.

6 *nañā karmaṇa vallakṣaṇyaṁ svarūpānanda-vilāsa-mūrtarām*.

7 *svarūpānanda-vābhāvīkya eva tālīlā*.

8 *paripūrṇasyāpi vicitra-ṛṣṭau prayatīr śāstra-kavāḥ, na tu svapkoḍānamudhī-pātrikā*.

Gosvāmin further explains that this Līlā arises from the awakening of the bliss intrinsic to the deity, and it has no reference to any particular motive of himself.¹

In this way Jīva Gosvāmin proceeds to analyse the concept of Lordship or Bhagavatī and discusses in detail the various divine attributes which constitute its principal features. One of the interesting points which he deals with as a fundamental creed of his school is the theory of the efficacy and eternity of the blessed name itself (Nāma-māhātmya). The theory is based partly on the old doctrine of the eternity of sound ; but the Bengal school goes a step further in maintaining the essential identity of the name and the possessor of the name (*nāma-nāminor abhedah*). In other words, he believes that the name itself is the essence of the Lord,² so that one who utters the name with devotion attains the Lord himself. Not only the name but even the syllables (*aṅśara*) or its symbol (*saṃketa*) ; for instance, the syllable *Om* are enough to produce the same effect. Just like the Avatāras of the Lord, this is a kind of Varṇa-Avatāra.³ The deity, however, is often called Nameless or Anāman in the scriptures, but this usage is on a par with the employment of terms like birthless (*aśanman*), formless (*arūpa*) or actionless (*akartṛ*). It does not mean that he has no name but that his name is *apṛākṛta* or *aprasiddha* ; that is, his name is not like the common names we have in the phenomenal world, but it possesses a spiritual significance and efficacy. It is for this reason that the name or names which have been established in the Śāstras as bringing the Bhagavat himself instantaneously into consciousness are alone appropriate, and not those which are merely imaginary.⁴ In the same way Jīva Gosvāmin speaks

1 *īśānānandāudrakena eva-prajojanam anantaśaṃkāhāyaiva Nīlāyate.*

2 *bhagavat-īśārūpam eva nāma.*

3 *avatāribhūtaravat paramāśvareṣya varṇa-nāmaśāśvatīro'yaṃ.*

4 *ato yaibhī śāstre'pi-prasiddhāir nāmabhiḥ īśa-bhagavān eva śhapitī
pratiṣṭha bhavati...śāpeṇ evaśāś-tiddhāyaṃ, anyeṣāṃ kālpamāyātrāṃ
jāyate.*

of the colour which is appropriate to the deity, for the coloured figuration of deities plays an important part in sectarian devotion in general. He informs us that the particular colours of the deity are not due to the presence of particular Guṇas. The dark (*kṛṣṇa*) colour of the Bhagavat does not indicate Tamo-guṇa, but it is a peculiar suggestion of his Svarūpa-śakti (*svarūpa-śakti-vyāñjitarām*). The white colour is often taken to signify Sattva-guṇa, but the colour of the Indian crane (*Baka*), a bird which is proverbial for its cunning and its tendency to mischief, is white.

Jīva Goṣvāmin concludes this topic by summing up that all this assumption by the Lord of birth, form, action, name and colour has no motive behind it, but they are to manifest his Svarūpa-śakti and make his devotee enjoy its bliss : for the Bhakti or devotional attitude itself is an aspect of his peculiarly wonderful nature which consists of the display of intrinsic bliss.¹ If one argues that the Lord has no form, name, birth and colour, this very argument would tend to put a limitation to his unlimited Śakti.² It is by Bhakti alone, and not by Sāṃkhya and Yoga, that the true character of the Lord is attained.³ That the divine Vīraha is the Bhagavat himself has been realised and testified to by great sages.⁴ This intuition of the great sages or Mahad-anubhava is said to be the only true Pramāṇa (*sarva-pramāṇam*). For these great men are really Āveśa-Avatāras who, being inspired by the Lord, themselves partake of the nature of his Vīraha. So also do his partial manifestations, his Amāras or his Guṇāvatāras ; and their appearance possesses the same

1 *svarūpānanda-vilāsa-bhāṣa-paramādikāya-vrahaṇa-vāṇijāḥ*.

2 *yadi tasmān nāma-rūpavādikāṃ nāsti, tarchi tarchakṛtimitiāp-
prati śāntatvaṃ prasaṅgata.*

3 *yoga-sāṃkhyayor tairvāp na samyak prakāśate kīṃ tu bhaktau
eva.*

4 *śri-vīrahaḥ sa eva ca bhagavad iti śivadvibhūḥ pratyakṣe pratyakṣe
vairā.*

eternal, real and supernatural characteristics.¹ But the Lord himself in his supreme form is far superior to all these.

From the theory described above that the supreme deity is the Perfect Person, having a peculiar form and a characteristic set of attributes, it follows that he has also a transcendental dwelling place, distinctive colour, decoration and associates peculiar to himself as a personal god. Of his dark colour we have spoken above. No doubt he dwells in the Jiva or individual self and pervades the universe, but this is only in his partial aspect as the Paramātmā. In his complete and perfect form as the Bhagavat he has a Dhāma or residence far beyond the phenomenal world (*prapañcārta*). His decorations are also transcendental and are a part of his divine essence. A symbolical meaning is therefore assigned to some of his ornaments; for instance, the Kaustubha which the Lord bears on his breast is not a mundane precious stone, but typifies the Jiva-takti. These are thus manifestations of the deity's self assumed through his grace to his devotees, who alone have a beatific vision of them. All this is established by the vision of the great devotees, which is its only and true Pramāṇa. In the same way the Vaikuṇṭha-loka (sometimes called the Goloka or Mahā-vaikuṇṭha, to distinguish it from a lower Vaikuṇṭha), which is his place of residence (Dhāma), as well as his Associates or Attendants (Pāṇḍas), represents eternal and transcendental expression of his Svarūpa-takti. The word Dhāma has also the sense of lustre, and is explained as the Lord's inherent power of manifestation²; but as a personal god, the deity is represented as having a real, and not merely figurative, abode for the display of his Svarūpa. This Loka, which is conceived as the highest paradise of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, cannot, on account of its being beyond phenomenal existence, be attained by Jñāna or Karma,³ but only by Bhakti. Once attained

1 *śaśvataśm āpi śāśvataśm.*

2 *svarūpa-bhāva-prakāśa-taktiḥ.*

3 *jñāna-karmabhīr apyēṣyam, prapañcārtaivā.*

there is no fall from it (*jato'skhalanam*). Since it is beyond the phenomenal world, it follows that it cannot be attained by means of the three Guṇas ; it is therefore called Nirguṇa or Guṇātita ; for it is said in the *Bhāgavata* (xi. 25. 21) that by the Sattva-guṇa men reach Svar-loka, by the Rajo-guṇa the Nara-loka and by the Tamo-guṇa the Naraka or Hell ; but the Loka of the Bhagavat is beyond the reach of these three Guṇas. Hence it is eternal and beyond Prakṛti (*prakṛteḥ param*), which is an effect of the Māyā-śakti. It is consequently beyond the Māyā-śakti itself, so that the Jiva can never reach it as long as he is subject to that Śakti. This Loka, being an expression of the Svarūpa-śakti, can be attained only by another aspect of the Svarūpa-śakti, namely, Bhakti. Like the Vighraha of the Bhagavat himself, his Loka, which is thus really and eternally a part of himself, consists of the three attributes of Sai, Cit and Ānanda (*saccidānanda-rūpatva*). It is called by the Vedic name of Viṣṇupada, and it is higher than all other Lokas, such as Svar-loka, Śiva-loka etc. Just as the form or Vighraha of the Bhagavat makes its appearance in the world, so it is said that his Dhāma, Pada or Residence also sometimes makes its appearance.¹ Although this appearance is real, it is usually not manifest (*aprameya*), but it becomes manifest only to the vision of the devotee who can always perceive the deity's eternal divine sport in his favourite earthly resorts like Dvārakā, Mathurā or Vṛndāvana.

The above remarks apply also to the Pāṇḍas or Attendants and Associates, who are the Lord's eternal retinue (*Parikara*) in his Paradise, being parts of his own self (*śadaṅgabdhāra*) and expressions of his intrinsic Ānanda or Hlādinī śakti.² Thus, Śrī or Lakṣmī, his eternal consort, is, as we have already noticed, inseparable from his Svarūpa-

1 *evam va bhagavad-nagar dīrghkharatī loka, tathaisa kṛcīt karyacī tatpūjaryādīrghkharatī brūyate.*

2 *bhagavad-ānanda-śaktiḥ vīṭāmayatnam.*

śakti (svarūpānatirīkṣatvam). The subject is treated in detail in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-saṁdarbha*; but in the present connexion Jīva Gosvāmī points out that to the deity's Pārśadas the bliss of worship (Bhajanānanda) is greater than the bliss they enjoy from their being merged in the divine self (Svarūpānanda). The theory of this school is that release does not mean cessation from devotional activity; even these emancipated souls who are the deity's Pārśadas engage in an eternal worship of the Bhagavad-vigraha. They desire only a taste of his Mādhurya, and not of his Brahmatva,¹ because it is the nature of the Vigraha of the Bhagavat, which consists of bliss, to make others enjoy that bliss (sukhadatva) as a Villāsa of his Svarūpa-śakti.

This last position Jīva Gosvāmī now attempts to establish by reverting to his original topic of the distinction between the two forms of the deity, namely, Brahman and Bhagavat. The distinction is not a distinction of one into two, for the concept of ultimate reality is one and indivisible; nor is it a mere difference in designation according to difference of appearance.² It is due to the deity's inherent power of Vidyā or differentiation, by which there is a consciousness of difference even when there is no actual difference and by which the same substance appears as different. It must not, however, be supposed that the Lord's possession of Vidyā necessarily makes him conditioned or qualified, for the possession of an infinity of attributes is the reason why he cannot be qualified or conditioned by any one of them. The relation of Brahman to Bhagavat is thus one of difference in non-difference. The distinction arises from the stage or degree of realisation of the two kinds of devotees whose capacities are different and who follow different paths of Jñāna and Bhakti according to their respective capacity of

1 *karala-sa-mādhuryāpekṣyā*, na tu brahmatva-sābhavāpekṣyā.

2 *etam eva tattvam drīṣṭvā tadhyatā nī na vastavo bheda upapadyatē ; dvibhāvyāpi bheda-darīdanā na ca sampādā-mātrītya.*

worship.¹ But the manifestation of the Bhagavat-form is said to be superior to that of the undifferentiated Brahma-form, because in the former stage of realisation the true self of the deity in its perfection is revealed through a complete display of his Svarūpa-śakti or Intrinsic Energy.² In the Brahma-form the full and special character of the deity is not reached;³ even the Prakāśa of the Brahman is not independent but due to the Śakti of the Bhagavat. It must not be supposed that the vision of the one form is real and the other unreal, for the authority of the scriptures shows both to be real;⁴ nor should the one be regarded as a part of the other through the function of transformation or Vikāra, for the supreme deity is not subject to any Vikāra.⁵ The two forms in their essence are identical, but the apparent difference is due to a difference of vision based upon a difference of the mode of worship.⁶ In the one case, where the deity reveals himself in his undifferentiated state of Brahman, the vision is incomplete (*asampūrṇā dṛṣṭi*); in the other case, where the vision takes in the full Vighraha of the Bhagavat, accompanied by all his Śaktis which form his essence, it is perfect (*sampūrṇā*). For this full or proper vision (*Samyag-darśana*) we are told that Bhakti is the only means,⁷ for Bhakti is due to a display of the deity's Svarūpa-śakti itself. This, therefore, establishes the superiority of the Bhakti mode of worship to every other mode; for according as the deity reveals himself in his twofold aspect as the

1 *ras-rasa-darśana-yogyatā-bhāveṇa dvividha'dhikāri dvividhā dṛṣṭap tadupāya* III.

2 *svarūpa-śakti-prakāśinaiva svarūpa-prakāśaryādhikāriḥ, nirvāpa-brahma-prakāśaryāpyupari śrī-bhagavat-prakāśa-śraṇyāt.*

3 *brahma-prakāśe ras-viśiṣṭānupalam bhavāt.*

4 *śāstrīyākārya darśanārya vāsanatram anyāya bhramajaitram* III *na mantarīyam, abhayaḥ api yādhārthyaṇa darśitairāt.*

5 *na cākārya vastuśāś śaktyā vikriyamāṇāpūlakavād upāya bhūdaḥ, viśvarasa-niprāhāt saṃśay.*

6 *upāśantā-bhāveṇa darśana-bhūdaḥ.*

7 *bhaktir eva samyag-darśana hetuḥ.*

Brahman and the Bhagavat, his Svarūpa-lakṣi reveals itself correspondingly as Jñāna and Bhakti. The way of Jñāna is indeed not wholly rejected, but since the Bhagavat is spoken of as the Adhī (principal) and the Brahman as Adhī (subordinate), the Brahmānubhava or perception of the Brahman is included (*antargata*) in the perception of the Bhagavat. But, at the same time, in the direct realisation of the Bhagavat through Bhakti, the realisation of the Brahman is not distinct (*na sphuṭaḥ*) and therefore superfluous. The bliss arising from the Brahmāsvāda is entirely merged in the superior bliss of Bhagavad-darśana. Hence it is maintained that devotional worship or Bhakti for the Bhagavat is superior to the release or Mokṣa consequent upon the knowledge or Jñāna of the Brahman. It is for this reason, as already noted above, that even the emancipated souls make light of mere Mokṣa and delight in the continuous worship of the Bhagavat (*Bhajanānanda*).

Having established the superiority of Bhakti to Jñāna, Jīva Goṣvāmin maintains that the scriptures which speak of Bhakti are superior to the scriptures which speak of Jñāna; that is, the devotional texts are superior to those which are merely philosophical. For, those scriptures which are inspired by Bhakti lead to the Bhagavat, those which are actuated by Jñāna lead to the Brahman. It is true that the Brahman being an appearance of the Bhagavat, scriptures like the Upaniṣads which lead to the Brahman may also lead ultimately to the Bhagavad,¹ yet, the Brahman being an imperfect appearance, the scriptures, which speak of Brahman, only dimly and incompletely perceive the true character of the Bhagavat. It follows from all this that the *Śrīmad-bhāgavat* is the greatest and the most authoritative of all scriptures; because, apart from its other causes of greatness, it has for its exclusive theme the Bhagavat-tattva which is the greatest

1 *brahmaṇi cāraṇānām api yathā trī-bhagavati paryāśāsam.*

of all Tattvas¹. It is superior to both the Jñāna-kāṇḍa and the Uplāsanī-kāṇḍa of the Vedas, not only for the reason stated above, but also because its Rṣi-author was an incarnation of the Bhagavat himself, than whom a greater author cannot be found (*parama-śreṣṭha-kaviṣṭva*), and the direct beatific vision of the deity (Bhagavat-sākṣātkāra) is described in the work itself. Hence all desirous of attaining the highest spiritual truth should constantly listen to it.

In this connexion Jīva Gosvāmī interprets the real purport of the four verses known as *Caruṣ-śloka* (ii. 9. 32-35), which speak of the Bhagavat, and form the keynote of the *Bhāgavata* itself. He explains that divine love is here called *rahasya* or secret (ii. 9. 30) because it consists of an indescribable blissful attitude which manifests by itself, and remains invariably inclined towards the Bhakta.² The Bhagavat as the ultimate reality is really indeterminable (*anirdeśya*), and even the Vedas cannot properly reveal him. But the secret is revealed by Sādhana (Worship) and Prema (Love), which are phases of Bhakti. Jīva Gosvāmī in this connexion only briefly refers to the topics of Sādhana-bhakti and Prema-bhakti, which are dealt with more fully in his *Prīti-saṁdarbha*. The Sādhana-bhakti is to be learnt from one's spiritual preceptor and from the injunctions of the Śāstras, but Prema-bhakti develops spontaneously through divine grace. By the Sādhana-bhakti Brahma-jñāna is possible but the Bhagavat is attainable by Prema-bhakti alone. The meritorious acts prescribed by the Vedas, however, may lead one in the way of Sādhana-bhakti, and in this manner he becomes better fitted for the highest Prema-bhakti. The Bhagavat is thus the Samanvaya or the synthesis of all Śāstras, and he is in fact the supreme import of all the Vedas (*sarva-vedārthaṭva*).

1 *Iti-bhāgavataṁ bahudhā brahmaye satyapī tarka-bhāṣayāpi bhāgavadāhāya-parama-tatvairvākyairvaidīkya-vidyā-rūpatvād eva paramam brahmayam āha.*

2 *Bhaktirva sarvabhāṣanyā-rūpītiś-cherur nāma kim api eva-prāddīpam pramāṇyam ānandīmadīpam vattu rahasyam iti vyakhyātam.*

Hence, the sacred scriptures which give an account of the Bhagavat (*bhagavat-kathā*) have an efficacy the importance of which cannot be exaggerated.

C. THE PARAMĀTMA-SAMDARBHA

The concept of the Paramātman, which is the main theme of this Samdarbha, may be briefly described as the concept of the godhead in relation to Nature (*Prakṛti*) and Spirit (*Jīva*). In relation to the concept of Brahman, which implies the indiscrete and unconditioned (*nirvīṣṇa*) Absolute, the concept of the Paramātman indicates a particular conditioned (*sa-vīṣṇa*) state; but in relation to the concept of the infinitely conditioned Perfect Person implied in the concept of the Bhagavat, the Paramātman is not a complete but a partial manifestation, having relation chiefly to the Māyā-śakti and the Jīva-śakti. In a passage in his *Krama-samdarbha*, which is repeated in his *Śakti-samdarbha*, Jīva Gosvāmī conclusively sums up the three concepts thus: "By Brahman is termed pure consciousness which is other than that of the particular attributes characterised by the group of Śaktis; the Paramātman indicates consciousness conditioned by (the Jīva-śakti which is) a part of the abundant Cit-śakti, and by the Māyā-śakti, which consists of the function of inward regulation (in all beings); the Bhagavat is the consciousness conditioned by the complete and perfect manifestation of all the Śaktis."¹ It would follow from this that the Paramātman has two aspects, namely, Bhagavad-śaṅkṣa in relation to the Jīva, and Jagad-gaṭatva in relation to Prakṛti or Pradhāna. In other words, the Paramātman is that phase of the godhead which is immanent, on the one hand, in the conscious Jīva, and on the other, in the non-conscious or material Prakṛti.

The necessity for postulating these concepts is not difficult

1 *śakti-vaṇṇa-śakti-vaṇṇa-raddharmānirīkṣaṇaṁ kevalaṁ jīvaṇaṁ brahmaṇi śabdyaṇa, ananyānāmītramāya-māyāśakti-pracura citśaktyaṇḍa-viṣṇaṇa paramātmā, paripūrṇa-sarva-śakti-viṣṇaṇa bhagavān.*

to understand. For a theistic sectarian faith which believes in a personal god, the concept of the Bhagavat as a Person is a philosophical necessity and justification ; while the Advaita concept of Nirviśeṣa Brahman has to be recognized and reconciled, from its sectarian point of view, as a lower manifestation, vouchsafed to the religiously defective but intellectually keen seekers after spiritual truth. The reason for the third concept of the Paramātmā is somewhat more complex. The idea of the Antaryāmin as the inward ruler is Upaniṣadic, and Deussen is probably right in thinking that from this idea developed the concept of a personal god in later theistic systems, in which the idea is, as here, implicitly recognised. The term as well as the underlying idea of the Paramātmā in relation to the Jivātman, in which is also absorbed the idea of the evolution of Prakṛti, is a legacy of older philosophical systems. The difficulties, however, of the Advaita doctrine of Māyā and of its highly monistic and idealistic interpretation of the relation of the Jiva to Brahman made these theories unacceptable in their entirety to the dualistic school which Jīva Gosvāmin represents. As the school believed, somewhat in the Sāṅkhya manner, in the relative reality of the world, the Vedāntic theory of the unreality of the illusory world was not consistent with its dualistic position. To obviate these difficulties and to reconcile the traditional ideas mentioned above with its own view of a personal god, the deity in the lower form of the Paramātmā had to be endowed with two real and eternal Śaktis in relation to the Jiva and Prakṛti, the working of which, however, is supposed not to affect the essential selfhood of the god, just in the same way as the Advaita-vādin's Māyā does not affect the impersonal and unconditioned Brahman.

The theme of the present Saṃdarbha is, therefore, the consideration of the relation of the Jiva and Prakṛti to the Paramātmā and the corresponding functions of Jiva-śakti, and Māyā-śakti, of which the Paramātmā-form is, as it were, the presiding deity.

We have already seen that the Jiva is an expression of the Jiva-śakti of the Bhagavat. This Śakti is called *Tapaśhā* or aloof, because it does not come under either of the categories of *Svarūpa-śakti* and *Māyā-śakti*, but is still closely connected with both. As the Bhagavat is the ground of the Jiva-śakti, the Jiva is indeed a part, albeit an infinitesimal part, of the Bhagavat ; but as the Jiva is liable to the influence of the *Māyā-śakti* it cannot come directly under the *Svarūpa-śakti*, which is unaffected by this influence. But on account of its ultimate affinity with the Bhagavat, the Jiva even in bondage has the inherent capacity of releasing itself ; and when emancipated, it becomes a part of the *Svarūpa-śakti* and is placed eternally beyond the influence of the *Māyā-śakti*. This release, we have seen, comes through *Bhakti*, which itself is an expression of the *Īlāḍini* or blissful aspect of the deity's *Svarūpa-śakti* ; but this topic will be dealt with in its proper place in the *Bhakti-saundarbha*.

This idea of the Jiva-śakti will be clear from a consideration of the essential character of the Jiva. In this connection Jiva Gosvāmin quotes the authority of Jāmātṛmuni who is said to have been a predecessor of Rāmānuja. This authority informs us that the Jiva is neither a deity nor a man, nor a movable animal, nor an immovable plant ; it is neither the body, nor the senses, nor the mind, nor life, nor intellect ; it is neither an unconscious material object (*jada*), nor liable to change, nor yet consisting of mere consciousness ; but, positively considered, a long list of distinguishing attributes can be predicated of it. It is self-luminous to itself (*svasmat svayaṃ-prakāśaḥ*), uniform (*eka-rūpaḥ*), possessing its own identity (*svarūpa-bhāḥ*), conscious (*cetanaḥ*), having the attribute of pervading (*vyāpti-śīlaḥ*), consisting of Cit and Ānanda (*ciddānanāḍīmatāḥ*), subject of the consciousness of 'I' (*aha-marthaḥ*), different in different organism (*pratīkṣetram bhinnāḥ*), atomic in size (*anuḥ*), always pure (*nitya-nirmalaḥ*), possessing its own peculiar attribute of knowledge, action and enjoyment (*jñātṛva-kartṛva-bhokṛva-niḥśaḍharmatāḥ*),

and always possessing the natural tendency of resolving into a part of the Paramātmān (*paramātmāka-śarā-svabhāvaḥ*).

These terms will not be fully intelligible from the imperfect English rendering given above but will require some explanation to make them clear. From the negative characteristics described above, the Jīva appears to possess two prominent attributes which are interrelated, namely, the attribute of unchangeableness and of retention of identity in the midst of difference. In other words, the Jīva retains its identity in whatever individual existence it may lie, divine, human or otherwise. It is indeed an entity whose presence is brought about in the organic body by the Māyā-śakti, but it is distinct from the several parts (the senses, the mind, the body, etc.) of its receptacle. It is thus distinct from the body, and unlike the body it is not subject to change or decay : it is only through the Māyā-śakti that the Jīva in delusion identifies itself with the body. It is, however, not a mere aggregate of (gross or phenomenal) consciousness (*jñāna-mūrdhānako na ca*), nor yet a production of material nature (*na jaḍaḥ*). It is a single permanent principle which manifests itself in and unifies a system of temporal and spatial states and activities, but is still different from this system and retains its identity through all these states and activities. This idealistic interpretation of the Jīva, however, is not new, but its differentiation, by means of the Māyā-śakti, as a subtle principle, which is neither mere consciousness nor mere unconsciousness, is presented in a way which is entirely peculiar to this dualistic school.

Positively considered, the Jīva possesses a large number of distinguishing characteristics, but since they are interconnected, they may be briefly explained under a few broad headings. One of the chief attributes of the Jīva is that it is an entity which possesses consciousness (*caitanya*). This must not be understood to mean that it is made up of a mass of gross consciousness alone, which view really resolves into a materialistic position, but that it is the underlying conscious

principle itself. It follows from the acceptance of this attribute that the Jiva is self-luminous, that is, it reveals itself to itself by its own consciousness¹; but it also has the capacity of revealing others.² Its state of consciousness means that by its own consciousness it can stimulate the body etc. into consciousness, like the light of a lamp which by revealing itself reveals others.³ This self-luminosity, however, cannot be in relation to the Paramātmān, whose self-luminosity does not depend on anything else and from whom its ultimate illuminating power comes; but it is self-luminous in relation to material objects.⁴

But the Jiva is atomic (*anu*), the word 'atom' meaning the smallest and finest indivisible entity conceivable. Hence the Jiva is called 'a particle of atom of consciousness' (*cit-kapā* or *anu-cit*). And yet by virtue of its being a conscious principle it is capable of pervading the whole body (*vyāpana-śīla*). In other words, it does not occupy space, yet pervades by consciousness the whole of the organism which it inhabits.

This conscious principle is represented by the word 'I' and signifies the ego (*aham-arthah*) but this *Aham* is not the empirical ego (*prākṛta ahamkāra*), which is an act of material Nature (*Prakṛti*) upon the Jiva. This consciousness, we have seen, is pure and indivisible, and is therefore to be distinguished from the ephemeral, diverse and impure consciousness given by the senses.⁵ This is what is meant by saying that the Jiva is not a mere aggregate of consciousness given by the senses, but it is the essential conscious principle itself (*upalabdhi-mātra* or *jñānaka-rūpa*). For, the Jiva is beyond the reach of the body which is liable to change and decay (*vikāra* or *vyabhidhā*); it is the eternal witness as distinguished

1 *svasmai vrayam-prakāśah*

2 *vrayam eva prakāśat, anyān apī prakāśayati.*

3 *etatsvarūpam ātmas vraya cid-rūpau'nyasya dehidāci cetayitṛtam, āpīdī-prakāśatya prakāśayitṛvat.*

4 *jñāna-pratirogiṇena.*

5 *jñānam etam, indriya-bāhira vividham Lalpitam.*

from the thing witnessed (*draṣṭṛ-dṛṣya-bheda*). The true nature of this consciousness or the real ego can be realized in the state of dreamless sleep when the phenomenal consciousness (*ahamkāra*) is set at rest and the Jīva remains as a self-conscious witness (*sākṣya-sākṣi-bheda*). This can also be inferred from the ordinary experience that the body is liable to suffering, but the Jīva is always the object of divine love (*duḥkhi-premāśpada-bheda*).

It follows from the above characteristics of the Jīva that it is always pure (*nitya-nirmala*), and this purity consists in its real ego, which is not affected by the impure effects of the Māyā-śakti; for the Śuddha Jīva is said to be *māyārta* or beyond the sphere of Māyā. In relation to the body and the phenomenal world, however, its gross consciousness, which is the effect of the Māyā-śakti, overpowers it and obscures its real nature even to itself. Even if the Jīva, like the Bhagavat, consists of pure consciousness (*cit-rūpa*), it is yet inferior to, as well as different, in this respect, from the Bhagavat, who is eternally superior to and unaffected by his own extraneous Māyā-śakti. But in its essence it is a part or *Aṃśa* of the Bhagavat. Its liability to Māyā and bondage in *Samsāra*, as well as its individual separate existence even after emancipation, makes it different from the Bhagavat, both in *Svarūpa* and *Sāmānya*; but it is at the same time identical in its intrinsic affinity with the Bhagavat who is its ultimate source. This peculiar relation of identity in difference is also expressed by the postulate that the Jīva is a part of the Bhagavat conceived, not as the ground of *Svarūpa-śakti*, but as the ground of *Jīva-śakti*, which latter being a *Taṇmā* śakti, it is different and yet closely connected with both the *Svarūpa-śakti* and the *Māyā-śakti*.

From this point of view all Jīvas have been classified into two groups, viz. (i) those who are eternally inclined to the Bhagavat¹ and naturally susceptible to his *Svarūpa-śakti*, and

1 *anādiva eva bhagavad-samukhikā*.

(ii) those who are eternally averse to him¹ and therefore naturally prone to the *Māyā-śakti*. The former are still *Tapaśtha* like the latter, and are *Jīvas* who cannot be included in the category of *Jīvaras*, but they possess in a greater degree the capacity of releasing themselves. Possessing in a potential state the intrinsic attributes of consciousness and bliss, which are also divine attributes, they are easily disposed to the influence of the deity's highest *Svarūpa-śakti*. Those coming under the second group become, on account of their hostile attitude, an easy prey to the *Māyā-śakti* and its bondage, and are therefore overwhelmed into rebirth (*saṃsāra*), from which their only way of release is through *Bhakti*; for *Bhakti* brings them again under the influence of the *Svarūpa-śakti* of the *Bhagavat*.

From the dualistic conclusion that the *Jīva*, in spite of its essential identity, is yet different and has a separate existence as an eternal spiritual atom, which continues even after emancipation, it follows that the *Jīva* is not one but many. Our author does not believe in the extreme monistic theory that the *Paramātmān* is the only so-called *Jīva* (*eka-jīva-vāda*), the apparent multitude of *Jīvas* being no other than the *Paramātmān*. On the other hand, he appears to agree with *Rāmānuja's* interpretation of *Vedānta-sūtra* II. 3. 48 that although the *Jīva* is a part or *Aṃśa* of the *Paramātmān*, and is essentially of the same character as an entity, it is yet actually separate and resides in a separate *Kṣetra* or sphere (*pratīkṣetram bhīnaṃ*). But, even admitting a plurality of *Jīvas*, this school does not accept the theory of actionless *Puruṣa* who only looks on and experiences the consequences of the acts of *Prakṛti*. A dualistic view such as this school upholds cannot make the *Jīva* altogether independent of the fruits of action, even though its extreme theistic leanings make it present a somewhat modified dualism and make all actions subordinate to the will of the Lord.

1 *andhita eva bhagavat-parīkṣmukhah*.

In his view, therefore, the Jiva is both a knower and an agent, and an enjoyer of the fruits of his own Karma. This capacity for activity as an agent is a permanent and inherent capacity, but the activity is not independent of divine control, inasmuch as the Jiva is an eternal servant of the Lord.

This intrinsic connexion of the Jiva with the Paramâtman is indicated by the qualifying epithet *svataḥ sarvada paramatmaika-tesa-svabhāva* ; that is, the Jiva has always the natural tendency of ultimately resorting to the Paramâtman alone as its ground. From this divine source it receives not only its attribute of consciousness but also its attribute of bliss (*cīdānandātmaka*), of which more will be said hereafter.

Although the Jivas are many and separate, they are yet related to one another. There is a sameness in all Jivas (*eka-rūpa-bhāḥ*) because of the Jiva's essential divine character. Differences, however, arise, in the first place, from a difference in the nature of acts done in this or previous births, which make each suffer weal or woe accordingly and possess different character. Apparently, this occurs in the phenomenal world ; but even when bereft of the gross body and freed from the bondage of the Mâyā-śakti, the different Jivas occupy different positions as the Parikara or Attendant of the Bhagavat in the hierarchy of spiritual existence, according to the difference in their respective devotional attitude.

This brings us now to the consideration of the character of the Mâyā-śakti in relation to the Jiva and the Bhagavat. The Vaipava idea of Mâyā as a Śakti, even if it is presented as a Bahirāṅgā or extraneous Śakti, is not the same as the Saṅkarite idea of Mâyā as a kind of illusion, from which however the original idea might have been borrowed and assimilated. Enough has already been said above which would give a general idea of this Mâyā-śakti, but one of the principal themes of this Saṅdarbha is to expand this idea and consider in detail the functions of this Śakti. It is called Bahirāṅgā (outer or external), because it does not form an ingredient of the real or intrinsic selfhood of the Lord. As

a Śakti or Energy, however, it is real, and its effects are also real, but as it appertains to the deity in his partial or incomplete manifestation and not in his true nature, it is felt only at a lower plane of existence. In a verse quoted from the *Bhāgavata* ix. 33 in the *Bhagavat-saṁdarbha* (p. 92), the Śakti is defined as:

*rte'nham yat pratyeta na pratyeta cātmani/
tad vidyād ātmano māyām/*

According to the interpretation given by Jīva Gosvāmin the verse may be translated thus: "What would be perceived outside the substance, i.e., outside the intrinsic selfhood of the Lord,¹ and what would not be perceived irrespectively of it, is called the Lord's own Māyā." If the Lord in his essence is perceived, the Māyā is not perceived; that is, the Śakti is perceived outside his self.² But the Śakti cannot be perceived by itself without the Lord as the substratum³; that is, as an energy it presupposes the idea of an energising substance or being, and cannot stand by itself.

The Māyā as a Śakti has been classified into Jīva-māyā which is also called Nimitta-māyā, and Guṇa-māyā which is also called Upādāna-māyā. The classification is based upon the two functions of the principle of causality, namely, efficient and material causation, ascribed to the Māyā-śakti; and each of the aspects has a reference respectively to the Jīva and the Prakṛti, the individual Self and material Nature. In the first aspect, the Māyā-śakti obscures the pure consciousness of the Jīva,⁴ and in the second it brings about the material world as a balance of the three Guṇas⁵ or some-

1 *artham paramārtha-bhāṣam mām vind.*

2 *mat-pratyeta tat-pratyabhidhāt, matto bahir eva jayate pratyeta ityarthah.*

3 *jayate ca madbhāṣam vind evataḥ pratyeta mat.*

4 *jīva-jñānam āvṛṇotti.*

5 *satvādī-guṇa-māyā-viśeṣam guṇa-māyādhīkṛtam jñānam prakṛtim udgīraet.*

times causes change or evolution of forms by disturbing the equilibrium of the three Guṇas.¹ Hence, Māyā is called *ṣṣṭi-āthityanta-kāriṇī*, or the Śakti which causes the creation, support and dissolution of the world ; and in the Upaniṣada, Māyā is represented figuratively as tri-coloured (*trivarna*), which term has a reference to the three Guṇas.

The function of the Nimitta- or Jiva-māyā is two-fold, consisting of Science (Vidyā) and Nescience (Avidyā), the first causing emancipation and the second bondage. The Jiva in itself is eternally self-conscious of its true nature and is therefore, as *Śuddha Jiva*, eternally emancipated (*svato mukta eva*) ; sometimes this consciousness is explicit (as in the case of eternally emancipated souls), but more often it is implicit or obscured (as in the case of those who are subject to ignorance or nescience caused by Māya). The Vidyā is the gateway for the ingress of this implicit consciousness. It may be objected that if the Vidyā leads to deliverance, it should be an aspect of the Svarūpa-śakti and cannot be counted as an expression of the Māyā-śakti. But the Vidyā-vṛtti, as a Māyā-śakti² must be taken to imply that it is not a form of the supreme consciousness itself but only a door or opening to the revelation of that consciousness which is an aspect of the Svarūpa-śakti ; and it cannot by itself make that revelation.³ The Avidyā or Nescience has, again, two-fold function, namely, (i) it acts as a covering which causes the concealment of the true nature of the Jiva (*āvaraṇāmikā*), and (ii) it acts as a source of distraction (*vikṣepāmikā*), which overpowers the Jiva by causing a conflicting consciousness in the form of the empirical experience of the body and the senses.

1 *śāśtriḥ pṛthag-bhāṣitaḥ saṁvādi-guṇān nānāśraṇyā pariṇamati ca.*

2 The word is thus used in a sense somewhat different from what is understood in orthodox philosophy. The Vidyā may be two-fold being a function of both the Svarūpa- and Māyā-śaktis.

3 *asa vidyāśaktiḥ vṛttiḥ tyag svarūpaśakti-vṛtti-nirṇay-vidyā-prabhāḥ dīptam eva, na tu mṛgam eva aṇi jñeyam.*

The Jiva-māyā or Nimitta-māyā, as the source of efficient causation, involves the four concepts of the Kāla, Daiva, Karman and Svabhāva, which terms are now briefly explained. The Kāla is described as the Kṣobhaka or source of provocation ; and a verse from the *Bhāgavata* (iii. 5. 26) is quoted to show that by this function the Paramātmān, in erotically figurative imagery, places the seed of creation in the Guṇa-māyā Māyā.¹ It follows from this description that the Kāla is not a substance but only a function or mode (*vyūti*) of the Paramātmān as the dispenser of the Māyā-śakti, by which the equilibrium of the three Guṇas in Prakṛti is disturbed and effects are brought about. It thus regulates in a sense the process of creation but is in its turn regulated by the Paramātmān ; it has therefore no effect on the Bhagavat, who is eternally beyond Kāla. The Karman is described as the Nimitta or efficient cause of this disturbance, and constitutes acts done not by the real ego but by the empirical ego in phenomenal existence, causing rebirth and bondage. Such acts, therefore, as devotional worship, which proceed from the real ego of the Jiva, are not to be included in this category. The express proneness of Karman for the production of consequences is called Daiva.² The Svabhāva consists of impressions left by Karman (*tar-saṃskāraḥ*). The Jiva, in its bondage to the Māyā-śakti, is possessed of all these (*radvān*).

The Guṇa-māyā or Upādāna-māyā, as the source of material causation, consists of Dravya, Kṣetra, Prāṇa, Ātman and Vikāra, which terms also require explanation. The Dravya indicates the five elements in subtle states (*bhūta-sūkṣmāṇi*) ; the Kṣetra is Prakṛti ; the Prāṇa means the vital principle, which is also called Vāyu ; the Ātman is the gross consciousness or the Prākṛta Ahaṃkāra operated upon by the senses ; and the Vikāra consists of the five senses (*indriyāṇi*) and the five gross elements (*mahābhūtaṇi*), of

1 *kāla-vṛtyā tu māyāyā guṇamāyāyā adhojjvalāḥ /*
parapūṣṭimabhāṣitā rīryam ākṛtā rīryatā //

2 *taḥ eva phalābhikṣaṃkṣam abhivṛjyāṃ daivam.*

which the Deha or material body is a collective effect (*samghāta*), continuing in an uninterrupted stream like the sprout of seeds (*bija-rohavar pravāhaḥ*). All these constitute in their totality the ingredients of material creation, which is the Upādāna aspect of the Māyā, called Guṇa-māyā. The Jīva is related to it, as well as to the Jīva-māyā described above. The primal matter is called indiscrete (*Avyakta* or *Avyākṛta*), because it is the equiposed condition of these constituents and of the Guṇas. In itself it is unintelligent or unconscious, but creation proceeds only through the Ikṣaṇa or look of the Lord, by which is perhaps meant this exercise of the Māyā-śakti by the Paramātmān. The state of equilibrium being thus disturbed, the three Guṇas intermingle with one another and give rise to the manifold evolutes and effects ultimately producing the concrete and real world as a feat of the Māyā-śakti. In spite of the professed adverse attitude of the school to the Sāṃkhya theory, the influence of Sāṃkhya ideas and the borrowing of its terminology are obvious. The school holds firmly to Sāṃkhya in regarding Matter as a reality, and there is nothing specifically Vedāntic in its conception in this respect. The Māyā is not Matter itself as the Vedāntist believes, but it is a particular mode in which Matter, which is a reality, is apprehended. But a theistic interpretation is given to this mode by regarding it as a cosmic effect of the Lord's energy or function which obscures the vision of the undeveloped to the ultimate reality. In relation to this ultimate reality, which is the Lord himself, Matter must, however, be regarded not as an absolute reality as Sāṃkhya maintains, but only as a relative reality.

According to the views of the Bengal school, therefore, the creation of the world is not an instance of Vivarta (illusory appearance) but an instance of Parīṭama (transformation). The theory of Vivarta, which is a corollary from Śaṅkara's Māyā-vāda, speaks of the illusory production of an effect (namely, the unreal world) from a real cause (namely the Brahman), just as a serpent is a Vivarta or

illusory appearance of a rope. But the theistic Vaiṣṇava school believes in the reality and phenomenally separate existence of the world, relatively to the reality and absolute existence of the Bhagavat : and, therefore, it regards its creation as the result of Paripāṇa or direct evolution, by which an effect of the same kind is produced as the material cause. There is a difference, no doubt, in the reality of the world and that of the Bhagavat, for the former is relative and non-eternal and the latter absolute and eternal. In a sense, however, the world may be regarded as eternal, because even after dissolution it continues to exist in a subtle form in the Bhagavat, but it must still be regarded as non-eternal so far as it exists phenomenally and presents itself to our gross senses. But its being non-eternal or perishable does not mean that it is false or unreal, as some Vedāntists hold. The world as an effect has the same character of reality as its material cause (namely, the Māyā-śakti of the Lord), although this reality may not be absolute reality. Since the deity, as the material and efficient cause of the world, evolves it out of himself by the Māyā-śakti, he does not suffer any change or loss of essence inasmuch as this śakti cannot affect his true Svarūpa. The deity is immutable even if he is the cause of the mutable world, and creation in this sense is a mystery.¹ It is also further established that creation is spontaneous to the nature of the Lord. It does not proceed from any particular purpose or motive, in the sense in which the term is used with reference to human beings ; for, the divine being in his perfection cannot be endowed with a particular purpose or motive.

The concept of the Paramātmān, as a partial manifestation of the Bhagavat, has relation mainly to these energies of the Lord, namely, the Jiva-śakti and the Māyā-śakti, and is, therefore, postulated for this special purpose. The Paramātmān is accordingly endowed with the powers of creation, suste-

1. *Sarva-saṃvādīnī* pp. 142-3.

nance and dissolution of the world, as well as of being the inward regulator of the individual self. The relation between the Bhagavat and the Paramātmā is really one of gradation in the hierarchy of manifestations of one and the same reality. But since the two Energies (Śaktis) assigned to the Paramātmā are regarded either as *Tatparbhā* or *Bahirāṅgā* (aloof or external) in relation to the intrinsic (*Antarāṅgā*) divine Energy, the function of the Paramātmā operates only so long as the Jīva is still at a lower plane and is blind to the nature of true reality. Jīva Gosvāmin refers in this connexion to *Gitā* texts (xiii. 1 f) relating to the Kṣetra and Kṣetrājña, and explains that the Kṣetra ('field' or 'dwelling place') is matter or material body as the seat of the conditioned self, who as a conscious entity is technically styled Kṣetrājña. But he rejects the Sāṅkhya interpretation of Kṣetrājña, and maintains the theistic view that the Jīva is Kṣetrājña only relatively; for, the Paramātmā, as the inward ruler of the world and the individual self, is the only and real Kṣetrājña. As the regulator of the individual self in its conditioned state, the Paramātmā may again be the regulator either of the totality of individual Jīvas (*samagga-jivāntaryāmin*) or of each individual Jīva (*vyagga-jivāntaryāmin*). In theological language we are told further that since the Avatāras have relation to the phenomenal world, they all proceed from the Paramātmā, and the Bhagavat is thus superior to all of them. One of the primal evolutes of the Paramātmā in this respect is the Puruṣa, who is regarded as the first (*ādya*) of the Avatāras. This Puruṣa, in its twofold aspect as the Garbhodaka-śāyin and the Kṣīrodaka-śāyin, is the presiding deity of the Jīva in its singleness (*vyagga*) and totality (*samagga*) respectively. These two aspects of the Puruṣa, again, are regarded as two subtle emanations of the Saṅkarṣaṇa-Vyūha, who is Kāranārṇava-śāyin and who, according to the Vyūha-doctrine, is supposed to preside over the Jīva. Thus, as the immanent regulator of the individual Jīvas and the phenomenal world, the Saṅkarṣaṇa of the Vyūha-theory is absorbed as being identical with

the Paramātmān, just as the much older conception of Puruṣa is assimilated within the theological scheme of the Paramātmān in relation to the Avatāras.

From what has been said above it will not be difficult to understand the theory which Jīva Gosvāmīn propounds on the relation of the Jīva to the Bhagavat. As the Jīva is an aspect of the Tajasthā Jīva-śakti, the relation is the same as between a Śakti and the possessor of the Śakti. The Bhagavat as the Śaktimat is, no doubt, the ground or source of the Śakti which cannot exist without him, but the Śakti has also a capacity and existence of its own. The analogy of the sun and its scattered rays has already been cited above to illustrate the conception. The relation is thus one of non-difference as well as of difference (*bhedābheda*) in an inscrutable manner (*acintya*). The Jīva is non-different from the Bhagavat because it is a part or *Aṃśa*, even if an atomic part (*aṃśu*), and possesses essentially the same characteristics of eternity, non-liability of change etc., as well as the same attributes, in an infinitesimal amount, of Cit and Ānanda. If the Bhagavat is Pūrṇā Cit and Pūrṇa Ānanda, the Jīva is Cit-kaṣā and Ānanda-kaṣā. But as the superlativeness of the attributes and characteristics belongs to the Bhagavat alone, and not to the Jīva, there is an inevitable difference; and absolute identity can never be maintained. The Jīva is also eternally subordinate to the Lord, for the common attributes in the case of the Jīva is obscured and controlled by the Māyā-śakti, while the Lord is never affected by this Śakti, which indeed springs from him but which is yet external to him. The non-difference makes it possible for the Jīva to approach him and be a part of his intrinsic Svarūpa-śakti, but the difference keeps the Jīva eternally separate and subordinate. Jīva Gosvāmīn maintains this position not only by the citation of Pūrṇa and other texts, but also by a peculiarly dualistic interpretation of the *Vedānta-sūtra* i. 2. 12; ii. 1. 22 and ii. 3. 42-43. The Advaita texts, which speak of identity, should, in his opinion, be understood to affirm resemblance;

for the Jīva, being an Aṁśa, naturally retains some of the divine character and becomes *like unto* the Bhagavat but it is never the same. It might be objected that if the Jīva is a part of the Bhagavat, then all the imperfections of the Jīva must also attach to the Bhagavat; but the reply to this furnished by the authority of the *Vedānta-sūtra* II. 3. 45, which is interpreted to mean that the imperfections of the Jīva, who is an expression of the Bhagavat's *Tajasthā Jīva-śakti* and not of his essential *Svarūpa-śakti*, can never be ascribed to the highest being.

In his *Tattva-saṁdarbha* and elsewhere Jīva Goṣvāmin takes some pains to refute the views of the Advaita-vādinās that the difference between the Jīva and Brahman is not real but is due to *Upādhi* (condition or limitation), by means of which the really unconditioned Brahman appears to condition himself (*Pariccheda-vāda*) or limitedly reflects himself as Jīva (*Pratibimba-vāda*).¹ The arguments against these Advaita theories are well known and need not be repeated in detail. Jīva Goṣvāmin employs the usual arguments against the validity of the assumption of *Upādhi* made by the Advaita-vādinās. He argues that the *Upādhi*, which according to the Advaita-vādinās, gives rise to a perception of difference which does not really exist, must be either real or unreal. If it is real (*vāstava*), that is, if it is not imagined through *Avidyā*, then how can the Brahman, who is always unconditioned, be conditioned? Being without any attribute (*Dharma*), he cannot have any limitation or *Upādhi*; and being all-pervasive (*vyāpaka*) and without a form (*niravayava*), like the *Ākāśa*, he cannot be visible and reflect himself as Jīva. The mere knowledge of the identity of the Jīva and Brahman, again, can never get rid of the *Upādhi* which, *ex hypothesi*, is real and therefore persists in spite of such knowledge. If, on the other hand, the *Upādhi* is presumed to be unreal (*avāstava*), that is, due to the *Avidyā*, then how can it touch the Brahman who

1 See above p. 267.

is eternally free from any touch of Avidyā? In such a case, the Brahman, who is the sole reality, becomes unreal. It must be assumed, therefore, that those scriptural texts which have been often cited in support of identity, only speak of resemblance due to analogy and are, therefore, instances merely of that form of expression which is known as 'secondary application of a word based on resemblance' (*adṛṣṭya-lakṣaṇā*). It is not denied that the Jīva resembles Brahman and is identical in some essential characteristics, but there is also a real distinction which cannot be transcended.

This relation of non-identity in identity is expressed by the supposition that the Jīva is a part of the Bhagavat as the ground or substratum of the *Tajasthā Jīva-śakti*, and not of the Bhagavat as the displayer of the *Svarūpa-śakti*¹. But since the capacity for bliss is an inherent attribute of the Jīva it finds a point of contact with the intrinsic *Hlādinī Śakti* or blissful energy of the Bhagavat through the mode of *Bhakti*, which is nothing more than an aspect of this intrinsic divine energy. This natural capacity of the Jīva restores his affinity or contiguity to the Bhagavat and counteracts his averseness, which springs from the effect of the external *Māyā-śakti*. But the Jīva is never an equal but a servant or *Sevaka* to the Lord, who is the *Sevya*, and its function is to carry out the Lord's will; even *Bhakti*, however inherent in the Jīva as an expression of the divine energy, can awaken only through divine grace (*Prasāda* or *Anugraha*). Even when freed from the bondage of the *Māyā-śakti*, the Jīva persists in his real and eternal character as an eternal spiritual atom worshipping the Lord. There are *Śruti*s which affirm the distinction in the Jīva's phenomenal existence and also in its state of release. The state of release, therefore, is only release from the earthly bondage of the *Māyā-śakti*, but not extinction or perception of identity, nor the merging of the Jīva in the Bhagavat

1 *Bra-śakti-vilīkṣayati tava Bra'mhaḥ, na tu Jadhātava, Brahma sacchakti-vāpurnatāpūrtarum ityetaḥ vyaśījayati.*

(Jaya). The emancipated self is in reality no longer the Jiva or a part of the Jiva-śakti, but becomes a part of the Svarūpa-śakti of the Bhagavat as his Parikara or Attendant in his Paradise. But since the relation of the Śakti to the possessor of the Śakti is, as we have seen, one of non-identity in identity, the relation naturally continues in the state of emancipation.

d. THE SRIKṚṢṆA-SAMDARBHA

The interest of this Samdarbha is more theological than philosophical. Its chief object is to apply the principles established in the three Samdarbhas, described above, to the personality of Kṛṣṇa as depicted in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, and present him as the highest personal god of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. Its theme is to maintain that Kṛṣṇa is not an Avatāra or an incarnate being, but the deity himself manifested in his perfect form as the Bhagavat. In other words, having established the concept of Bhagavat, Jiva Gosvāmin now proceeds to show in a definite way that Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat as the Advaya-jñāna-tattva of its theology. From the point of view of the cult and sect, therefore, this is the most important and central Samdarbha, the other three preceding Samdarbhas being preliminary to it.

At the outset Jiva Gosvāmin refers to the distinction established in the previous Samdarbhas between the concepts of the Paramātman and the Bhagavat, and deals again briefly with the distinctive character (Svarūpa), function (Karma), form (Ākāra) and place of habitation (Sthāna) of the Paramātman. It has already been demonstrated by him that the perfection or Pūrṇatva of the Paramātman is relative (*apekṣita*) to that of the Bhagavat, but this relative perfection is now explained by stating that it is the eternal source (*āśraya*) and the germinal ground (*udgama-sthāna*) of the various Avatāras, as well as of the whole phenomenal creation. From the Paramātman spring the two Puruṣas, the

Primal and the Secondary, who become the source of the series of incarnate divine forms, just in the same way as the sun is the source or ground of its own rays. In other words, the incarnations are related to the Paramātmān-Puruṣa as parts to the whole : and in their unmanifest state they lie in an indiscrete and germinal form in him. In this connexion, there is a discussion in detail of the twenty verses from the *Bhāgavata* (i. 3. 6-25), which give a general list of the authentic appearances, partial (*Aṃśa*) or complete (*Aṃśin*), of the supreme deity. These *Avatāras* have already been considered by Rūpa Gosvāmin in his *Samkṣepa-Bhāgavatāmṛta* and have been summarised by us above ; but there is some discrepancy in the order of enumeration. Jīva Gosvāmin following strictly the order of the *Bhāgavata*. They are :

1. Catuḥsana 2. The Varāha 3. Nārada, to whom is attributed the *Sātvata Tantra* 4. Nara and Nārāyaṇa 5. Kapila 6. Daśātreyā 7. Yajña 8. Rājabha 9. Pṛthu 10. The Matsya 11. The Kūrma 12. Dhanvantari 13. The Mohinī 14. The Narsimha 15. The Vāmana 16. Parāśurāma 17. Vyāsa 18. Rāma 19-20. Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa 21. The Buddha 22. Kalki.

The verse I. 3. 26 adds that the *Avatāras* are numberless, like the ripples on an inexhaustible reservoir : and this statement, in the opinion of Jīva Gosvāmin, is meant to include such *Manvantara Avatāras*, not included in the above list, as Hayagrīva, Hari, Hama, Prānigarbha, Vibhu, Satyasena, Vaikuṇṭha, Ajita, Sārvabhauma, Viprakṣena, Dharmasetu, Sudhāman, Yogesvara and Bṛhadbhānu, as well as *Yuga-Avatāras* like Śukla, Rakta, etc.

All these appearances, with the exception of Nos 19 and 20 (namely Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa) are *Aṃśas* or *Kalās* (partial manifestations) of the Puruṣa (*ete cāṃśa-kalāḥ puruṣaḥ*) : but among the *Aṃśa-Avatāras* a further distinction is made of *Āveśa-Avatāras*. The Catuḥsanas etc. are instances of the *Āveśa* or 'possession' of the *Jñāna-śakti*, Nārada etc. of the *Bhakti-śakti*, and Pṛthu etc. of the *Kriyā-śakti* of the supreme

deity. In some cases there is a direct possession by the deity (Svayam-Āveta), and these Avatāras have therefore often declared themselves as 'I am the Bhagavat' in the scriptures. In Avatāras like the Matsya, there is a direct partial manifestation (*sākṣād avatāram*). By the term *Āveta* is meant that though these appearances partake directly of the divine selfhood (*sākṣād bhagavatā*), the selfhood is said to be manifested partially, because of the invariably partial manifestation in them of the divine Śakti, in accordance with the invariable divine will in the particular case.¹ But as the part (*Āveta*) can never be the whole (*Āveta*), the Avatāra can never be the deity himself in his perfection. The so-called *Vibhūti*-Avatāras who consist of the great Rāṣi, the Manus, the Devas, the sons of the Manus and Prajāpati, are included in the term *Kālā*, which also means a part, but which indicates the manifestation of a small amount of divine energy (*alpa-śakti*), as distinguished from the great energy (*mahā-śakti*) displayed in the Āveta-Avatāras. The difference between the Āveta- and Kālā-Avatāras is thus one of degree only, illustrated by the analogy of the iron which receives different degrees of the quality of fire by contact, but which in its real nature remains as the iron. These are really cases of Jivas who are inspired specifically in various degrees by divine energy, but the Āveta-Avatāras like the Matsya are direct, if incomplete, manifestations of the divine self.

Having thus enumerated the various limbs or constituent parts (*Āṅga*) of the Paramātmā, the *Bhāgavata* verses cited above conclude by a half-verse which, in the opinion of Jīva Gosvāmī, distinctly lays down the general character of the Avatāras, and emphatically distinguishes and determines Kṛṣṇa as the supreme Bhagavat himself. As the rest of the topic is concerned with the establishment of this important theme, it is necessary to quote the half-verse here and

¹ *avayabhācārī-tātparyā-tadīcchā-vatī sarvātāka-dātavyābhīrya-tātparyā-dīkṛtam.*

summarise Jīva Gosvāmin's explanation of the same in the light of the theological views of his school. The verse (i. 3. 28) concludes the list of Avatāras with the statement¹:

ete cāṅgā-kalāḥ puruṣaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ tu bhagavān svayam

"These are the Aṅgās and Kalās of the Puruṣa, but Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat himself."

As this assertion stands at the end of the list of Avatāras, it implies, according to Jīva Gosvāmin, that the appearances mentioned in the list are the various Aṅgā- or Kalā-Avatāras of the Puruṣa, but Kṛṣṇa (in company with Balarāma), who is enumerated as the twentieth in the list, is the Bhagavat himself, who is not an Avatāra, but the Avatārin or the very source of the Avatāras themselves as the substratum of the Paramātmā-Puruṣa. This position is elaborately maintained, partly by an explication of this and other texts of the *Bhāgavata* and other Vaiṣṇava scriptures, and partly by reconciling those texts from Vaiṣṇava and non-Vaiṣṇava sources which are inconsistent or contradictory.

In accordance with the rule of interpretation that the predicate must not be uttered without a mention of the subject,² Kṛṣṇa who is already known as the twentieth in the list (i. 3. 23) is the Anuvādyā or the already known subject, and the Bhagavat is the Vidheya or the predicate, mentioned here (i. 3. 28) for the first time with reference to Kṛṣṇa. It is clear, therefore, that 'being the Bhagavat' (Bhagavattā) is predicated of Kṛṣṇa and not 'being Kṛṣṇa' (Kṛṣṇatva) of the

1 The second half of the verse, namely, *indrat-vydhātavyaśca yadāp
mṛdayanti yuge yuge* ("in different Yugas they gladden the world
harrassed by the enemies of Indra") is, in Jīva Gosvāmin's opinion,
not relevant to the discussion, as it refers to the Avatāras of the Puruṣa,
previously mentioned, and not to Kṛṣṇa, mentioned in the first half of
the verse. It is taken as syntactically connected with the first Pīda of
the verse, being separated from the second Pīda by the particle *tu* (*ur-
tadāna vālyasya bhēdanā*).

2 *anārdhān anārdhān na vidheyaṁ vidheyaṁ*.

Bhagavat.¹ In other words, the phrase means that Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat, and not that the Bhagavat manifested himself as Kṛṣṇa.² If the meaning proposed were not meant, then the phrase would have been *bhagavān su kṛṣṇaḥ svayam*, instead of *kṛṣṇaḥ su bhagavān svayam*. The word *svayam* also indicates that Kṛṣṇa is not a mere manifestation of the Bhagavat, and excludes the possibility of the Bhagavatāś being falsely imposed (*adhyāsa*) upon Kṛṣṇa.

A doubt may arise from the fact that the name of Kṛṣṇa is included in the list itself along with those of other genuine Avatāras, and that such a mention among the Avatāras in verse 23 is seemingly in conflict with the present concluding statement in verse 28 that Kṛṣṇa is not an Avatāra but the supreme god himself. But this is not a real inconsistency and can be reconciled by the application of the well-known Mīmāṃsā rule of interpretation that, of two statements or injunctions, that which is made first is to be considered weaker and therefore annulled by that which is made afterwards.³ Or, the two apparently conflicting statements may be reconciled by regarding the second statement (namely, that Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat himself) as a piece of Śruti or testimony by direct authoritative statement. As such, it is of greater force than the first statement in the Avatāra-list in verse 23, which is a mere Samākhya or laudatory enumeration: for the Mīmāṃsā rule (iii. 3. 14) lays down that of the several means of determining the real sense, Śruti (testimony), Liṅga (power of words to express their sense), Vākya (syntactical connexion of words in a sentence), Prakaraṇa (context), Sthāna (sequence of place) and Samākhya (enumeration or related sense), each succeeding one has a weaker force than the preceding owing to the remoteness of meaning.⁴ Of these recognised means of

1 *kṛṣṇasyaiva bhagavattva-lakṣaṇa-dharmah sādhyate, na tu bhagavataḥ kṛṣṇatvam.*

2 *kṛṣṇasyaiva mūlāvātāratvam sādhyatī, na tu pradarbhūtatvam.*

3 *pūrvāparye pūrvā-darbhūtatvam prakṛtiyat, vi. 3. 38.*

4 *śruti-liṅga-vākya-prakaraṇa-sthāna-samākhyaṇāṃ samādye pūrvā-darbhūtatvam, artha-vi-prakaraṇā.*

interpretation, Śruti is defined by Jīva Gosvāmīn as direct instruction which is not dependent on anything else,¹ implying that Sūta here deliberately makes the concluding statement as a piece of direct instruction, which lays down, irrespectively of any other preceding statement, that Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat himself. That this Śruti or direct instruction is emphatic and unambiguous (*sāvadhāraṇā*) is indicated by the employment of the particle *tu*, which, in the opinion of Jīva Gosvāmīn, is to be taken here in the sense of the emphatic *eva*. This affirmative and determining Śruti, therefore, makes it imperative that such other Śrutis as speak of Mahā-nārāyaṇa and other deities as the supreme Bhagavat are to be understood as implying that their Bhagavatā, unlike that of Kṛṣṇa, is not absolute but relative (*gunābhāsa*). Even if the particle *tu* be taken as meaning 'but' in the sense of an alternative, it serves to differentiate Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat from the Paramātmān-Puruṣa, as well as from the partial manifestations of Paramātmān-Puruṣa already enumerated.²

It is also pointed out that the conflicting verse 23 included in the Avatāra-list

rāma-kṛṣṇāvītī bhuvau bhagavān aharad bharam

which states that "the Bhagavat, namely, Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, removed the burden (by appearing) on the earth," also specifically employs the term *bhagavat* with reference to Kṛṣṇa (in company with Balarāma, who is thus also not an Avatāra). As the term is not so employed with reference to any other Avatāra in the whole list, Kṛṣṇa is to be taken not as a partial manifestation or an incarnate being, but as the supreme deity himself in his own person. There may be an objection that the act of removing the burden of the world is proper only to the Avatāras of the Puruṣa and should not

1 *ślokaḥ upadeśaḥ tu śrutiḥ iti paribhāṣyate; ślokaḥ parama-cāra-nirapekṣatvam upadeśaḥ.*

2 *tu-śloko'padeśa-kalābhyaḥ pṛṇaḥ ca ślokaḥ bhagavato vallabha-nyam.*

have been mentioned in connection with Kṛṣṇa as the supreme deity. This anomaly is reconciled by the theory that when the Bhagavat in his perfection manifests himself, the Aṁśa-Avatāras also enter into him¹ and make their simultaneous appearance, for the parts always remain in the whole. The acts which are performed, not by the Bhagavat himself, but by these Aṁśa-Avatāras who remain absorbed in him, are merely imposed upon (dṛopa) the Bhagavat. The reason why the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa is mentioned in the Avatāra-list is to indicate that even in his own essential character² he sometimes becomes visible, like an Avatāra, to the whole world³ in order to cause the wonder of peculiar bliss to his own exclusive servants⁴ by fostering a certain sweetness by his Līlā of birth etc.⁵ The mention, therefore, is meant only to show Kṛṣṇa's infinite grace to the world, and not indeed to show that Kṛṣṇa is an Aṁśa-Avatāra. The word Avatāra applied at all to Kṛṣṇa must mean generally a descent of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa in his own character (Svarūpa) into phenomenal glory.⁶

By this method of argument based on the interpretation of the sacred scripture of the school, Jīva Gosvāmin attempts to establish that the *Bhāgavata* statement about Kṛṣṇa's absoluteness as the Bhagavat is a positive, unambiguous and emphatic Śruti which must prevail over all other statements. It is therefore a definitive assertion of the Paribhāṣā kind, which lays down an authoritative rule or proposition determining the sense of the whole work.⁷ A Paribhāṣā is further described as that which is meant to bring certainty in the midst of uncertainty.⁸ As such, it occurs only once,

1 *śrīkṛṣṇe avataraṁ tat-tad-aṁśāvatārāṇām api pravartate.*

2 *svarūpaṁśo eva.*

3 *kadāci mahā-loka-dīpakaḥ.*

4 *parijana-vibhāṇām ānanda-vilepa-camaśkārdya.*

5 *taṁ api mādhyamaḥ alpa-janmādi-bhāyā puruṣa.*

6 *pralīta-vatbhavā'vataranam.*

7 *pratiśāddhāraṇa grahaṇa-śloka-nirpāyakaṁ.*

8 *adhyame aliyama-kāriṇi.*

and not repeatedly, as specifically defining a thing : but its singularity has the force of controlling and determining the sense of a plurality of other texts.¹ It is thus a Mahāvākya or a great proposition, like the phrase *sat tvam asi* ; and the proper Śāstric method would be to explain every other proposition, which appears inconsistent or contradictory, in the light of the significance of such a Mahāvākya.² It is also maintained that this Paribhāṣī statement not only controls all other *Bhāgavata* texts but also conflicting texts in other Purāṇas, which must be interpreted in such a way as not to appear inconsistent with it. The reason for this is that the *Bhāgavata*, as already demonstrated in the previous Saṃdarbhaś, is the most authentic and infallible scripture, superseding the authority of every other Śāstra (*sarva-śāstrapamardaka*), and this particular Śruti or Mahāvākya occurs in that work purposely to determine the highest spiritual truth (*paramārthavastu-paratva*) in a definite and indisputable manner. It is like the emphatic and indisputable command of a king to his followers, and it has been repeatedly utilised as such, for reconciling conflicts, by authoritative commentators like Śrīdhara-svāmīn.

Jīva Gosvāmīn thus admits that, notwithstanding this single authoritative statement, there are many texts in the *Bhāgavata* and elsewhere, in which Kṛpā appears to be spoken of as a partial aspect or Aṃśa-Avātāra of the Bhagavat. These texts fall into two groups, namely, those occurring respectively in the *Bhāgavata* itself and those in other Purāṇas and Itihāsaś. Jīva Gosvāmīn contends that with reference to both these classes of texts, the Mahāvākya considered above prevails, and they must, therefore, all be interpreted accordingly. Some of these texts are discussed in detail by him : for instance, *Bhāgavata* iv. 1. 58 (*harer aṃśau ihāgatau*) ; x. 1. 1 (*aṃśendvairāṇasya vīṇoḥ*) ; x. 2. 13 (*jagan-mahāgalam*

1 vākyādau koṭiḥ apyekaivādmunā śāstrīyā.

2 vinuddhāramānānāṃ śāstrānāṃparamārthasāraśca vādaḥ.

acyutāṁśam); x. 2. 35 (*diṣṣyāmba te kukṣi-gataḥ paraḥ pumān arjuna*); x. 8. 19 (*nārāyaṇa-samo guṇaiḥ*); x. 20. 40 (*bābhau bhūḥ.....kalābhyaṁ nitarāṁ hareḥ*); x. 43. 20 (*avairṇā-vihāṁśena*), etc. In all these and such other verses, the presence of words like *arjuna* or *kalā* appears to indicate a contrary idea of Kṛṣṇa as a partial aspect of Hari, Nārāyaṇa, etc.; but the texts are reconciled by the ingenious explanation that the terms *arjuna* or *kalā* do not refer to Kṛṣṇa-Bhagavat himself directly but to those partial aspects or incarnations who remain absorbed in him and manifest themselves to the phenomenal world simultaneously with the Lord's appearance, in accordance with the well known fact that parts can never exist without the whole. Commentatorial ingenuity is also shown sometimes by adopting particular ways of grammatical or syntactical analysis of words or phrases—a device which is not unknown in Indian philosophical literature in general. The interpretation, for instance, of the phrase *nārāyaṇa-samo guṇaiḥ*, employed with reference to Kṛṣṇa in one of the above passages (x. 8. 19), is made favourable to Kṛṣṇa's case by rejecting the sense "equal to Nārāyaṇa in his attributes" (*nārāyaṇasya samo guṇaiḥ*) obtained by Tatpuruṣa Samāsa, and by accepting, by means of the Babuvrihi Samāsa, the sense "to whom Nārāyaṇa bears a resemblance by his attributes" (*nārāyaṇaḥ samo yasya guṇaiḥ*).

There are also some passages in which Mahākāla or some such deity is represented as the supreme being; but such a view is inconsistent with the general purport of the *Bhāgavata*, which is represented by the Mahāvākya cited above. Such passages, therefore, are as a matter of course rejected. The Purāṇas which give expression to such views belong to the Tāmasika class of Purāṇas, which are inferior in authority to the *Bhāgavata*, the greatest Sāttvika Purāṇa, and which cannot therefore establish the superiority of such deities as Mahākāla to Kṛṣṇa. It is next shown that even in the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas, which are Sāttvika, there are

passages or legends which appear conflicting : for instance, the legend narrated in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* that Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma sprang respectively out of a piece of black and white hair of Nārāyaṇa. Such a legend is not entirely rejected, but it is suitably explained. It is shown that a literal interpretation cannot be given to the legend, for it is absurd to suppose that a god who is not subject to old age could possess white hair. A symbolical meaning, therefore, is found of the legend. The word *keda* (hair) is interpreted to mean lustre (*arṇava*), and the white (*śīra*) and black (*kṛṣṇa*) lustres serve figuratively to indicate the prowess of Vāsudeva and Saṅkarṣaṇa as emanations of the supreme deity, while Nārāyaṇa, as a partial aspect of Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa, shows these lustres at Kṛṣṇa's will to the gods.

What is said above will give a rough idea of the method of interpretation and argument followed by this great apologist of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism. Partly by the direct testimony, and partly by a reconciliation, of various texts culled from the *Mahābhārata*, *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, *Hari-varṇa*, *Padma-purāṇa*, and *Bhāgavata*, as well as by an unceremonious rejection of texts which celebrate other sectarian deities like Śiva, he gradually builds up a series of favourable texts round the central Mahāvākya, which is elaborately shown to declare emphatically the supreme godhead of Kṛṣṇa. We are told that we must not make light of such a method, for in the *Vedānta-sūtra* Vyāsa employs a similar method for reconciling conflicting texts with one particular Mahāvākya. In such cases what is to be considered is not the number, whether large or small, of texts on the subject, but their comparative strength or weakness : for it is seen in the world that a thousand men can be vanquished by a single person.¹

Jīva Gosvāmī next seeks, with a similar method, to establish the Bhagavatā of Kṛṣṇa by showing that Kṛṣṇa is

¹ *vākyadeṣe darbhā-baliṭram eva vicāraṇīyam, na tu bahvalpam ; dṛṣṭe ca loke śīrṇḍe yuddhe sahaśra-purāṇaḥ st.*

to be regarded as the source not only of the Puruṣa-Avatāra and of the Līlā-Avatāras who proceed from the Puruṣa, but also of the Guṇa-Avatāras, namely, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. He is thus superior to the recognised Trinity of the Purāṇic mythology and religion. No doubt, these Avatāras, being aspects of Kṛṣṇa's manifestation, are each of them perfect (*pūrṇa*), but Kṛṣṇa is the most perfect (*pūrṇatama*). In Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat, there is the fullest display of all the divine Śaktis, but what is prominent is the highest expression of the Hīṇadīn Śakti or the energy of bliss, which absorbs and supersedes all other aspects of the Svarūpa-śakti. As such, therefore, Kṛṣṇa, as the highest embodiment of divine Ānanda or Mādhurya, is superior to such lower expressions of the deity as Nārāyaṇa or Vāsudeva in whom only the aspect of divine might (*Aiśvarya*) is displayed. Jīva Gosvāmin also discusses in detail the authoritative opinions on this subject of the great interlocutors of the *Bhāgavata*, namely, Vidura and Maitreya (iv, 17. 6-7), Parīkṣit and Śūka (i. 19 ; ii. 1, etc.), Vyāsa and Nārada (i. 5 ; i. 6. 2, etc.), Brahmā and Kṛṣṇa (ii. 7), Saunaka and Śūta (i. 1f). These great teachers and their listeners in the *Bhāgavata* (*Mahā-vakṛ-śrotṛ*) agree in regarding Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat. Kṛṣṇa is the theme generally of the entire *Bhāgavata*, consisting of eighteen thousand verses, but the subject is especially dealt with in Skandhas I, x and xi ; and in the dialogues of Brahmā and Nārada, of Vidura and Uddhava, and of Nārada and Yudhiṣṭhira in Skandhas ii, iii and vii respectively, as well as in isolated passages like iv. 1. 58 ; iv. 17. 6 ; v. 6. 18 ; vi. 8. 20 ; end of ix ; xii. 11. 26, and in the *Anukramapikā* section (xii. 12) of the work. In this way Jīva Gosvāmin takes upon himself the task of marshalling a formidable army of *Bhāgavata* passages in support of the *Mahāvākya*, which he designates as the king of all utterances,¹ and attempts to show that Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat is not only the principal theme

1. *śāśvato-rājasya śreṣṭhā-saṃgrahakḥ*.

of the work is more than half the number of verses comprised in it, but this theme being exclusive to it, it receives the name of the *Bhāgavata*. This claim is recognised also in the other Purāṇas; for instance, the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* speaks of Kṛṣṇa's name figuratively as the moon churned from the nectar-sea of Śuka's speech (*śuka-vāg-amṛtābhdhīndu*). Passages which, in Jīva Gosvāmī's opinion, are typically representative of the view expressed in the *Mahāvākya*, are also discussed and explained in detail, e.g. ix. 24, 55; x. 14, 30; x. 3, 7; x. 20, 36; 12, 79; etc. It is repeatedly laid down that the *Bhāgavata*, as already demonstrated in the first *Saṃdarbha*, is the paramount Śāstra of all Śāstras (*sarva-śāstra-cakravartīva*); and there are passages in the work itself (e.g. x. 57, 20) which indicate that it supersedes other Śāstras (*apara-śāstrapamardaka*). In the work itself we have also the statement that it was composed by Vyāsa after obtaining the beatific vision. All these facts make the *Bhāgavata* the most trustworthy guide in matters of worship, so that if other gods are extolled in other scriptures, the ultimate supremacy of Kṛṣṇa, who is declared and praised in the *Bhāgavata*, is beyond doubt. Once this position is accepted, it is easy to explain that such deities as Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva, who are celebrated in the *Padma-purāṇa*, *Nārāyaṇa-Upaniṣad* and *Vāsudeva-Upaniṣad*, are merely beneotheistically conceived as the supreme god, but they are really various aspects of Kṛṣṇa-Bhāgavat. Texts other than those from the *Bhāgavata* are also cited to prove the supreme godhead of Kṛṣṇa; for instance from the *Mahābhārata*, including the *Gītā* (xv. 15; xiv. 27), *Gopāla-rāpanī*, *Padma-purāṇa*, *Brahma-saṃhitā* and from the list of one hundred and eight names of Kṛṣṇa given in the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*, etc.

In this connexion Jīva Gosvāmī discusses the main purport of the *Gītā* which, in his opinion, supports the inculcation of the worship of Kṛṣṇa, and not of Vāsudeva, as the highest god. From the evidence of this, as well as of other sacred texts, he proceeds to demonstrate that the

supreme god can have no other essential form than the form of man (*narākṛti*), which is exhibited by the two-handed Kṛṣṇa, and not by the four-handed Vāsudeva, who represents only an Ailvarya form of Kṛṣṇa himself. Some are of opinion, however, that the theophanic omnipresent form (*viśvarūpa*), which is described in the eleventh chapter of the *Gītā*, is the real form of the supreme god, but our author considers this to be incorrect. The *Viśvarūpa*, he thinks, is subordinate to the Kṛṣṇa-rūpa, for it is Kṛṣṇa who at his will reveals the *Viśvarūpa*; and we are told that after showing the terrible omnipresent form he shows again his own form to Arjuna.¹ This clearly indicates that his own real form (*svakam rūpam*) is not the *Viśvarūpa*,² but the human form (*Narākṛti*, even with four hands) which is directly shown thereafter as his own.³ It is childish babbling which contends that the glory of the *Viśvarūpa* is declared by the indication that to perceive it Arjuna was specially endowed with divine vision.⁴ On the contrary, Jīva Gosvāmin maintains that Arjuna perceived the manlike form (*Narākṛti*) of Kṛṣṇa that is not perceptible to mortal vision, but perceptible only to the particular vision which comes from the inherent *Śakti* of the Bhagavat.⁵ This view is established by several texts cited from the *Bhāgavata* and the *Padma-purāṇa*; and it is shown that it is difficult even for the so-called divine vision (*divya-dṛṣṭi*) to perceive the essential Kṛṣṇa form of the deity which is not easily visible even to the gods.⁶ It was vouchsafed to Arjuna for daily sight because he had the Lord's special grace as his intimate Associate or *Parikara*; but Arjuna had to be

1 *svakam rūpam darśayātmāna bhūyah.*

2 *viśvarūpam na tasya sākṣat svarūpa n iti spṛṣtam.*

3 *narāṅkāra-caturbhūjaścaiva svakāra-nirdehit.*

4 *ind-darśanāntikam arjunaṁ prāt divya-dṛṣṭi-dāna-līlāgana tasyaiva mūhūrtmyam iti ta bhīṣa-kāṇḍhalah.*

5 *prākṛta-dṛṣṭer apyākaraṇatvāt bhagavat-śakti-vikāśa-samvāhita-dṛṣṭer eva tasya darśanavāc.*

6 *taś ca narākṛti para-brahma divya-dṛṣṭibhiḥ durdaritam.*

endowed with divine vision in order to see his other Vidyā-rūpa, which was assumed for the particular theophanic exhibition. That this human form is the intrinsic form of the deity is also proved by the description of Kṛṣṇa in the form and dress of a Gopa (cowherd) in the *Gopāla-tāpanī* and other scriptures; and the first great preliminary verse (mahopākrama; i. 1. 1 *janmādyayā*) of the *Bhāgavata*, as well as its last all-concluding verse (sarvopasaṃhāra; xii. 13. 14 *kāmaś yena*), also bears out the position that Kṛṣṇa is the highest being, having a form similar to that of man.

In this connexion, Jīva Gosvāmī attempts to set at rest doubts arising from certain vaguely understood texts, with regard to the essential form of Kṛṣṇa, which in these texts is so diversely described as to raise the presumption of its being an impermanent phenomenal form. These texts, in his opinion should be interpreted in such a way (*anyathāiva dṛṣyam*) as to rebut this unworthy presumption. In its essence the Vighraha of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa consists of the three attributes of Sat, Cit and Ānanda, but some of these texts describe the appearance of the Vighraha diversely as having two or four (sometimes even six or eight) hands. All these appearances, in Jīva Gosvāmī's opinion, are real, but since the *Bhāgavata* and other scriptures describe the divine form as similar to that of man (*manuṣya-līlā*), this similarity is best displayed in the two-handed form alone.¹ This is, of course, in reply to those who hold that the Absolute is unconditioned and therefore formless and attributeless, but that in its appearance to the seeker it sometimes conditions itself and assumes form, which is thus not real and eternal. The reality and eternity of the two-handed Kṛṣṇa-form, similar to that of man, is sought to be established by considering, in the first place, whether great and reliable worshippers have had actual visions of it as the essential divine form, and secondly, whether such a form is known to

1 *dvī-bhujatva eva dvī-kṛṣṇatvam nandīnī-kāvalyān mukhyaṃ.*

exist really and eternally in any of the divine Dhāmanas or residences of the Lord. Jīva Gosvāmin contends that the sacred and revealed texts furnish enough testimony of great sages and devotees who had a direct beatific vision of the two-handed form as the only real form. It is on the basis of this recorded intuition of the sages (*vidvad-anubhava-tatva-siddha*) that this essential character of the Bhagavad-Vigraha has already been established and illustrated in the second Saṃdarbha. The scriptures also reveal that the Kṛṣṇa-Vigraha in the form and dress of a Gopa existed eternally, even before its manifestation to the phenomenal world in the Dvāpara Age, and sported in this form in Vṛndāvana. In the *Gopāla-tāpanī*, both the two-handed and the four-handed forms are mentioned as objects of devotional meditation, although in the Āgamas the two-handed form alone is spoken of; but everywhere the similarity to the human form is made clear. It is admitted that Kṛṣṇa in his finite power is known to have displayed other forms (for instance, the Viśvarūpa shown to Arjuna or to Yaśodā), which theophanic forms included the entire universe with its creatures, endless Nārāyaṇas, endless Vaiṣṇavas, Dhāmanas and Parikaras. But Kṛṣṇa is known to have resumed his essential form immediately after these theophanies; and it is noteworthy that even in the four-handed form seen by Arjuna the similarity to the human form (*manuṣya-rūpatva*) is emphasised in the *Gitā* verse *dr̥ṣṭvedam̐ mānuṣam̐ rūpam̐*. If the Śrutis sometimes describe the divine form as being without hand or feet (*apāṇi-pāda*), or as having a thousand hands and feet, they only mean, as Jīva Gosvāmin has already pointed out, to indicate that his form with its hands and feet is similar indeed to that of a human being, but that it is not the same, because it is non-phenomenal (*apṛākṛta*). It is clear that all these elaborate arguments are meant to establish that the philosophical absolute, conceived as a religious concrete, is a personal god who has to be meditated upon and worshipped. For that reason and to that extent, a form must

be assigned to him ; he can indeed be worshipped in various forms, but the best form is that which bears similarity to that of man. But there was perhaps a much narrower sectarian reason for distinguishing and establishing the two-handed Kṛṣṇa-form as the most essential form of the divinity. The attempt was meant to show that although Kṛṣṇa as Vāsudeva or Nārāyaṇa, manifested in the four-handed form, is worshipped by some sects, Kṛṣṇa, as the two-handed son of Nanda, who is the object of meditation and worship of the Bengal sect, represents the deity in his real and eternal form.

On the colour of the deity there is some vagueness. The complexion is usually described as dark blue like that of the rain-cloud ; but the word *dyāma* (dark) has not been interpreted uniformly. Some take it to mean dark-blue, but others, including our author, think it to be the colour of the Atal flower (common flax), which is described as a mixture of white, yellow and green. Such uncertainty in the description of the divine complexion, in terms of the sensuous colours of the universe, is of course explained as inevitable, for in a matter like this exactitude is impossible. Other prominent characteristics of Kṛṣṇa, well known from Purāṇic description, are his eternal youth, of which the essential form is adolescence (*Kalīdāsa*), and the possession of a *Vaṇa*, *Vaṇṇī* or *Muralī*. Of this last characteristic various symbolical interpretations are given, such as the sweet and transcendental power of musical attraction of the *Śaktis* to the deity. This power of attraction is found by the *Gautamīya Tantra* in the derivative sense of the name of Kṛṣṇa itself, of which the etymology is given from the root *kṛj* 'to draw.' The Kṛṣṇa-form is said to possess infinite beauty and sweetness ; and the sacred texts delight to describe, in language bordering on sense-devotion and eroticism, the unspeakable loveliness of his personal appearance. The eyes of the god resemble the full-blown lotus-leaves, his cloth is yellow like lightning, garlands of flowers decorate his breast and various ornaments increase the natural beauty of his person. All these

details of his dress, decoration, ornament and appearance are to be gathered from the accounts given in the Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra : but the real form and dress of the deity, as already noted, resemble that of a Gopa or cowherd, although of course the word Gopa receives at the same time the symbolical sense of a protector or sustainer.

From the establishment of the proposition that Kṛṣṇa-Bhagavat is the Mahā-Vāsudeva, it follows that Balarāma is Mahā-Saṅkarṣaṇa, the second of the four Vyūha-emanations of the supreme deity. Hence, it is not correct to say that Balarāma is only an Āveta-Avatāra, or, as some maintain, an Avatāra of Śeṣa. On the contrary, Śeṣa himself is an Avatāra or Aṁśa, being a Pūrṇada (Associate) of Balarāma-Saṅkarṣaṇa, who is thus different (*anyatva*) and far superior to Śeṣa in divine energy (*śaktyatīkṛtyatva*). As Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are mentioned as dual deities (*yugalatayā*), their equality of appearance (*sama-prakāśatva*) is undoubted. Jīva Gosvāmin cites several texts to show that in Balarāma the divine characteristics of the Bhagavat are all to be found :¹ but such is not the case with Āveta-Avatāras like Pṛthu. This means that Balarāma is Saṅkarṣaṇa himself and not an Avatāra of Saṅkarṣaṇa, and is thus one of the direct primary forms or emanations of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa. It is for this reason that the sacred texts describe him as Svārāj, or existing independently by himself as a form of the supreme divinity.

In this way the other two older Vyūha-forms, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, who are also mythologically Kṛṣṇa's son and grandson, are shown to be aspects or emanations of the supreme god Kṛṣṇa. It is not necessary to enter into the details of this dogma which has only a theological interest : it would be enough to indicate that, in Jīva Gosvāmin's opinion, the Purāṇic legend, which speaks of Pradyumna as an incarnation of Kāma slain by Śiva's wrath, represents a one-sided and therefore misleading view (*ekadeśa-prasāda-*

1 *Bhagavat-lakṣaṇāni tatra brūyate.*

mātra); for Śrutis like the *Gopāla-tāpanī* distinctly state that Pradyumna is included eternally in one of the four Vyūhas of Kṛṣṇa. As an ordinary Prākṛta deity Kāma cannot be so included. The real explanation is that Kāma, who was burnt to ashes by Śiva's wrath and became eternally bodiless thereby, had no capacity of regaining his own body; it was then that Pradyumna as an *Aṁśa* of Vāsudeva, entered into Kāma and brought him back to life. Or, one may explain by saying that the real Kāma, as an *Aṁśa* of Vāsudeva, could not and was never burnt by Śiva's anger; what was burnt was the Prākṛta Kāma. By a similar method of interpretation, Aniruddha is established as the direct fourth Vyūha of Kṛṣṇa. The explanations are indeed ingenious, but the very fact that Jīva Gosvāmī often supplies two or more alternative explanations or offers choice of meanings shows that his interpretations are mere conjectural efforts at reconciliation of conflicts; they attempt exegetical ingenuities but entirely ignore the historical significance of most of these older theological conceptions.

Having established in his own way the direct divinity of Kṛṣṇa as the highest Bhagavat, it is indeed superfluous to show that all the attributes of reality and eternity (*nityatva*), power (*vibhūti*) etc., pertaining to the Bhagavat, become established in Kṛṣṇa as a matter of course. But for further strengthening his own position and for removing erroneous views of the ignorant, Jīva Gosvāmī briefly deals with this topic, and shows from the evidence of the sacred texts that all the highest divine attributes of the Bhagavat have been predicated of Kṛṣṇa.

If there were any doubt regarding Kṛṣṇa's reality and eternity (*nitya-sthit*) as the highest god, then the Śāstras, which are worthy of the greatest confidence (*parāptā*), would not have given instructions regarding his worship¹ and deliberately displayed the intention of deceiving (*vipralipsā*). The

1 *saṁsāraṁ brāhmanā-vaiśyaṇaṁ ca vidhyati.*

Advaita-vādin, however, deny that there is an absolute reality called Kṛṣṇa ; they say that this name and form have been imposed upon the unconditioned Brahman for the convenience of the dualistic ideas of worshippers. This, in Jīva Gosvāmī's opinion, is not correct ; because imposition (āropa) can be imagined only on a thing which is conditioned in form and attribute, but not on a substance which is infinite in form and attribute.¹ Jīva Gosvāmī repeats that the Nityatva of Kṛṣṇa is established by Mahad-anubhava or intuition of great sages, who are known to have received the direct vision of the deity and its desired effects.² This is admitted even by Śrīdhara-svāmī ; for, otherwise, how could Kṛṣṇa be an auspicious and desirable object of meditation (Dhyāna) and thought (Dhīraṇā)? This Śākṣātkāra or beatific vision is not merely with references to the images or symbols of the deities ; for 'movements and appearances of the deity have been directly described in the sacred texts.'³ It is because of this reality of the deity himself that it is possible for devotees to have such a vision in symbols like the Śālagrāma stone. That devotees have realised Kṛṣṇa as such (*Juddha-nirdeśa*) is indicated by the well known Mantra of eighteen syllables (*aṅgādaśāṣṭaṣṭ*) which prescribes Kṛṣṇa, along with his Parikrama, as the object of worship. Even the *Bauddhāyana Dharma sūtra* has a similar indication, and the *Gopāla-tāpanī Śruti* clearly declares the view. But enough of collecting a mass of evidence to prove what, in the opinion of our author and his school, admits of little doubt. Jīva Gosvāmī, therefore, concludes by stating pointedly that those who dare think otherwise of Kṛṣṇa, who is the Bhagavat himself, are people who are deluded by the effect of eternal sin (*anādi-pāpa-vikṣepa*), and such people are evil-minded and perverse (*durbuddhi*) !

1 *āropa ca paricchīna-guṇa-rūpa eva vastuni kalpyate, ānanta-guṇa-rūpe.*

2 *dehāt ca upāśāntānāṃ nityātkāraṃ tat-phala-prāpti ca.*

3 *pati-vikāśādeṣa samīkṣitaṃ.*

For this reason Jīva Gosvāmin does not think it necessary to dilate upon the topic, but only briefly illustrates with reference to Kṛṣṇa such Bhagavat elements of Vibhūṭva or Lordship, as Prākṛta-vāstvāśrīkṛtātva (the state of surpassing phenomenal objects), Sva-prakāśātva (self-luminosity), Svayam-rūpātva (identity of form and essence), etc. But the question of Kṛṣṇa's Dhāman (abode) and Parikṛa (retinue) engages greater attention and occupies him in the rest of the *Saṃdarbha*. The Dhāman of the Bhagavat as an expression of his divine selfhood or power (Svarūpa-prakāśa or Svarūpa-vibhūti) has already been explained in the *Bhagavat-saṃdarbha*; an attempt is now made to show that this is also the Dhāman of Kṛṣṇa. The details of the cosmography are somewhat fanciful and confusing, but they follow generally the Purāṇic account. It is not necessary to go into them, but it appears that the Dhāman of Kṛṣṇa, as that of the highest god, is located as the highest, existing independently (*svataḥśrayā*) above and beyond the Dhāman of all other major or minor deities (*sarvopari śhālyam*). The universe (Brahmāṇḍa) is described as consisting of fourteen worlds (Bhuvanas), namely, seven Lokas (Pṛthivī, Antarikṣa, Svarga, Mahar, Jana, Tapa and Satya) and seven Pātālas (Atala, Vitala, Sutala, Rasātala, Talātala, Mahātala and Pātāla). Outside these there are eight sheaths or Āvarapas of Prakṛti, beyond which there is the enveloping ocean called Kāraṇa-samudra or Virajā. Above this is situated the Siddha-loka, which is the abode of the Nirviḍṇa Brahman. Above this Loka lies the Para-vyoman, of which the presiding deity is Nārāyaṇa, who is a sportive appearance (Vilāsa-mūrti) of Kṛṣṇa. In this Para-vyoman the infinite Avatāras of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa reside with their respective retinue, and each has a separate Vaikunṭha, so that the Para-vyoman is the aggregate of the infinite Dhāman of the different partial manifestations of the Bhagavat. The three creative emanations or Vyūhas of the Paramātmā-Puruṣa, namely, Saṃkāraṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, lie eternally on three oceans respectively, namely, Kāraṇodaka,

Gopadaka and Kṣīrodaka. But set beyond all these inferior Dhāman, lies the Goloka or Mahā-Vaikuṇṭha, which is the exclusive abode of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa, as well as of his Parikaras, who are his own people (*jīva-jana*) and possess intrinsic affinity with him (*anāḍīya*). But like the deity himself, the Dhāman has also the power of pervading both the phenomenal and non-phenomenal objects,¹ and appearing in diverse forms. When the Bhagavat in his Svarūpa makes his appearance in the phenomenal world, his Dhāman, along with his Parikaras, makes its simultaneous appearance; but like the Bhagavat, again, it never loses its non-phenomenal character; his Dhāman and his Parikaras are, like himself, beyond Prakṛti and really constitute peculiar expressions of his own intrinsic energy (*bhagavat-prakāśa eva*). By the Bhagavat's inscrutable power (*acīntyā-prabhāva*), therefore, his highest Paradise, which is situated beyond all the Lokas, also exists on the phenomenal earth. The terrestrial Goloka or Vṛndāvana is thus not essentially different but really identical with the celestial Goloka or Vṛndāvana, and the Lord Kṛṣṇa exists eternally in both places with the same retinue. Just as the Vighraha of the Bhagavat is conceived after the image of man, so this school conceives the celestial residence of the deity on the model of the legendary terrestrial abode of Kṛṣṇa. Jīva Gosvāmin seeks to establish this dogma on the testimony of the Purāṇas, which give an account of the Dhāman of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa. In the descriptions given in the *Padma-purāṇa* or the *Brahma-saṃhitā*, for instance, we find that the unearthly Kṛṣṇa-loka is described as a sublimated replica of the earthly haunt of Kṛṣṇa, with its river Yamunā, its Gopa-Gopīs, its trees, plants and animals. But the term 'terrestrial' must not be taken to imply that the earthly residence is phenomenal; it is as much non-phenomenal as the celestial abode, only it makes its appearance in the phenomenal world. It is maintained, therefore, that the Goloka or Vṛndāvana,

1. *sa golokah sarva-gaṇaḥ līlā-mayaḥ sarva-prāpācīkāḥ prāpācīka-
vāstu-vṛndakāḥ.*

which exists on earth as the residence of Kṛṣṇa in a non-phenomenal form, also exists simultaneously as the Goloka above every other Loka :¹ the only difference is that in the earthly Vṛndāvana Kṛṣṇa stays both in his Manifest (Prakāśa) and Non-manifest (Aprakāśa) Līlās, but in the unearthly Goloka he stays in his Non-manifest Līlā. Even the word 'Goloka' is interpreted as equivalent to the word 'Gokula, as the abode of cows and cowherds (*go-gopa-vāsa-rūpam* or *gopānām svam lokam*) : and as Kṛṣṇa in the form and dress of a Gopa is the most essential form of the divinity, his Parikarmas, as his Sajātiyas, are also Gopas in both the places. If one objects that there cannot be such simultaneous appearance of Dhāmans in two different places, it is replied that the two Dhāmans possess the character of the Vighraha of the Bhagavat which is capable of making such appearances.² This is confirmed by the fact that in the scriptures the two Dhāmans are described as possessing the same names, forms and attributes.³ As his Dhāman is an expression of the deity's most intrinsic and highest attribute of bliss (Hlādinī Śakti), it is described as the place where there is only an excess of intrinsic divine bliss (*svarūpānanda-sukhakarṣa*). It is also noted that just as in the Manifest (Prakāśa) Līlā, the deity can at his will limit himself to the finite and the phenomenal, even though retaining his infinite and transcendental attributes, so his Loka simultaneously retains its earthly and divine character. If one objects to such a simultaneity, it is replied that the power of the Lord is beyond thought. In other words, there is a mystical inter-lapping of the infinite and the finite, of the phenomenal and the transcendental. This is said to be illustrated by the legend (*Bhāgavata* x. 13) of Brahmā's mistake in stealing the divine cows of Vṛndāvana from the charge of the divine cowherd.

1 *ata eva vṛndāvanam golokam eva sarvopari vīrdhānam goloka-
trena prastūṭham.*

2 *Iti-vighrahaś cchayoh prakāśavīrodhaś.*

3 *sambha-gopa-nāma-rūpavīrdhānāstāvā.*

Having established the essential identity of Goloka and Gokula (= Vṛndāvana) and the excellence of Kṛṣṇa's Paradise as an expression of his highest divine Energy, Jīva Gosvāmī adduces scriptural evidence to show that the Kṛṣṇa-loka consists of three partial appearances in three places, called respectively Dvārakā, Mathurā and Gokula, according to the difference of his Līlā and his Parikaras.¹ In other words, the same Dhāman appears in three aspects, each of which has a speciality according to the difference in the manifestation of the deity (*prakāśa-bheda*) and his retinue (*parikara-bheda*); that is, according to the difference of the particular Līlā which takes place in each. On the earth also these Lokas are reputed to have their replicas which possess identical names and forms.² These earthly replicas are not mere geographical localities but, as already noted, they are non-phenomenal (*prapañcāstha*), eternal (*nitya*), supernatural (*alaukika*) and eternally occupied by the Bhagavat (*bhagavan-nityāśpada*). These places are also not mere sacred places of worship or pilgrimage (*upāsana-sihāndni*) where the deity remains in a subtle form (*sūkṣma-rūpaś*), or in the form of an image (*śrīmat-pratīma-rūpaś*), but they are expressly declared to be the actual (*sāṅgāt*) places of personal residence of the deity (*tatra vāsasyaiva kaṇṭhoktiḥ*). It is already made clear that these two sets of Lokas are in their essence identical, but one set is said to be a replica (*prakāśa-viśeṣa*) of the other because of a certain difference in their respective manifestation.³ That these Lokas, whether on earth or beyond the earth, possess the same characteristics is testified to by the fact that even today great devotees of the Bhagavat have actually seen the divine Kadamba, Aśoka and other trees and

1 *sa eva lokas tat-tat-parikara-bhedenāmśa-bhedaś d-dvārakā-mathurā-gokulādikhya-mūlāna-trayaśmāka itī nirṇayam.*

2 *anyatra bhakti-prasiddhādyeva tat-tat-sāṅgāt sihāndni tad-rūpatvena śrīyante.*

3 *prakāśa-bhedenāiva tā bhagavatīharanāmūlāni.*

objects.¹ The proof here, as elsewhere, is the *Vidvad-anubhava* which is laid down as the best of all proofs.² As to the *Prakāśas* or appearances of the *Lokas* referred to above, three kinds of *Prakāśas* are distinguished, namely, (1) *Aprakāṣa* or Unmanifest in which by a peculiar power of remaining invisible (*avaradhāno-jakryā*) the particular *Loka* remains on the earth without actually touching it ;³ that is, the earth, in this case, remains untouched by the *Loka* or the deity, even though they remain on it; (2) *Prāpañcika* or Phenomenal, in which the particular *Loka* becomes visible to phenomenal beings (*prāpañcika-loka-gocaraḥ*) and descends graciously to the earth by actually touching it (*kṛpayā pṛthivīṃ asṛjan evāvaritṛpaḥ*) ; and (3) *Prakāṣa* or Manifest, which occurs when in the *Prāpañcika Prakāśa* the *Bhagavat* himself descends along with his *Parikaras*. As he touches the particular *Loka* by his descent, he thereby touches the earth. It is only in the *Prakāṣa Līlā*, therefore, that can be a *Prakāṣa Prakāśa* of the *Loka* ; in this case alone the *Bhagavat* may be said to touch the earth actually and become an object of phenomenal appearance along with his *Parikaras*.

About the *Parikaras* or Retinue of the *Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa* in these eternal *Dhāmanas*, it is laid down that in *Dvārakā* and *Mathurā* they consist of the *Yādavas*, and in *Vṛndāvana* or *Gokula* they consist of the *Gopa-Gopīs*. Like the *Dhāmanas* and like the *Bhagavat* himself, they are also real and eternal (*nitya*) and possess a common or similar character (*sādhāranyo* or *sa-admānyo*). The resemblance to the deity consists not only in intrinsic divine qualities but also in temperament (*Prakṛti*), dress (*Veśa*) and diversion (*Līlā*). Since they grow out of the *Bhagavat* and form integral parts,

1 *vidyatāḥ śāśvataṁkāśa-rūpatva-bhagavan-nitya-dhāmanve na divya - kadamblāloka - vṛkṣādya'o'pyadyāpi mahā - bhāgavataḥ-sādhāri-kṛtyanta iti prasiddhāgataḥ.*

2 *sarva - pramāṇa - rūpīmaṇi - bhāva vidvad - anubhava cetara pramāṇin.*

3 *pṛthivīloka'pi tām asṛjan eva vṛkṣjate.*

their inherent as well as external character is not imposed upon them like the quality of greyness imposed upon the sky. It may be asked that if they are eternal and inseparable Attendants or Servants of the Bhagavat himself, how is it that we have descriptions of the Yādavas being wounded in the battle-field, or of the Gopas having lost consciousness from the effects of poison of the Kālīya lake? The reply is that these are instances of activities suitable to human appearance, displayed in the same way as are done by the Bhagavat himself.¹ Sometimes there is also an actual mixing up of the phenomenal world in the Prakāśa Līlā,² and some of the occurrences described are therefore actual (for instance, the slaying of Śata-dhanvan). The account of the destruction of the Yādavas up to the end of Arjuna's confusion and defeat in *Bhāgavata* xi must be taken as describing not real but illusory (*māyika*) occurrences; the Yādavas were not actually destroyed, nor was Arjuna actually defeated, but the occurrences were arranged as an illusion by the Bhagavat, who is ever benevolent to Brāhmaṇa, to demonstrate that the curse of a Brāhmaṇa can never remain unfulfilled.³ A similar instance is cited from the *Bṛhad-dgṇipurāṇa* in which it is related that the Sītā who was stolen by Rāvaṇa was not the true Sītā, who was concealed by Agni in his own Dhāman, but only an illusory Sītā created by Agni whom Sītā worshipped. The destruction of a Parikara of the Bhagavat, like that of the Bhagavat himself, is absurd; hence it is reasonable to hold that the Yādavas were never actually destroyed, but that they simply disappeared to their Loka.⁴ The Parikaras of the Bhagavat are true Vaiṣṇavas; and of true Vaiṣṇavas it is said that there is no fetter of Karman nor

1 *rad bhagavato iva nara-tilaupāyikateyā prapañctam iti man-
teriyam.*

2 *Avacit prakāśa-līlāyāḥ prapañctika-mitrayād yathārtham eva tad-
ādīlam.*

3 *brahma-līlānirvartyālikhyapadyava.*

4 *saṁdā tejanayathā-darśanam, na tārṇika-līlānugatam, sa-darśan-
te tejāḥ eva-loka-gamanam atira yaditam.*

of birth ;¹ their action and birth, therefore, like those of the Bhagavat himself, are brought about entirely by the divine will.²

In the same way Jīva Gosvāmīn seeks to establish that the Gopa-Gopīs are also eternal Parikarmas of the Bhagavat and possess non-phenomenal form, dress and diversion. If the Gopīs are sometimes described as giving up their perishable body made up of the three Guṇas (*guṇamaya-deha*), or if the relation between them and Kṛṣṇa is depicted in terms of the relation between a lover and his mistresses (*jāra-buddhi*), such texts are to be interpreted otherwise. In this connexion, *Bhāgavata* xix. 29. 10 is discussed,³ and an ingenious spiritual explanation is given of the verse. The phrase *jāra-buddhi* is interpreted to imply that the Gopīs merely *thought* of Kṛṣṇa as a lover, but they never actually *attained* him as such, for such a relation did not exist.⁴ The phrase is meant not for an actual fact, but only to suggest the nature of their intense feeling of worship,⁵ which was like that of a mistress for her lover,⁶ for such a feeling is unimpeded and completely free. Again, as the Gopīs thought of Kṛṣṇa as the beloved (*kāma-tayā*), there can be no question of their giving up their phenomenal body (*guṇamaya deha*), which cessation happens only on the attainment of Brahman. The phrase *jahat guṇamayaṁ deham* must, therefore, be taken in a different sense. It refers to the night of the Rāsa when the Gopīs went to sport with Kṛṣṇa, although each Gopā thought, through the Lord's Māyā, that his wife was staying by his side. The

1 na karma-bandhanam janma raigavāndam ca vidyate.

2 rūpāndam bhagavataś ca bhagavad-icchayāiva janmādi-kāraṇam.

3 tam eva paramātmānam jāra-buddhyāpi saṃgacchati /
jahat guṇamayaṁ deham tadyaś prajñā-bandhanam /

4 jāra itī yā buddhiś tayāpi tam-mātrāyāpi saṃgacchati, na ta mīlāt
eva jāra-rūpeṇa prajñā.

5 bhājanāya prābalayāṇi tyajitam.

6 tat-bhāra-parakāraṇa.

7 sarāvidha-bhāra-yātri-nirayatanam daritam.

phrase *guṇamaya deha* refers to this illusory form (*māyika deha*) which the Lord created and into which the Gopīs entered.¹ The phrase *sadyaḥ prakṛtiḥ bandhanāḥ* refers only to the overcoming of such obstacles, as living with relatives, in the way of their union with Kṛṣṇa.² An alternative explanation is also given that the description applies to that class of Gopīs who are known as *Sādhakacari* (that is, who became Gopīs beloved of the Lord through their force of worship or *Sādhana*),³ and not to the Gopīs like Rādhā, who are *Nitya-siddhā* or eternally beloved of Kṛṣṇa. The forms of the former are not eternal (*asiddha-dehāḥ*): they left their phenomenal body for the non-phenomenal, and passed from the Manifest (*Prakāśa*) to the Unmanifest (*Aprakāśa*) *Līlā*.

If Vṛndāvana is Kṛṣṇa's eternal residence and if the Gopīs are his eternal *Parikarā*, then how is it that the phases of Kṛṣṇa's birth, childhood, adolescence etc. are described in the *Līlā* at Vṛndāvana, just like those of phenomenal beings? The reply to this has already been given in connexion with the question of the birth etc. of the Bhagavat; but the *raison d'être* of such a display of *Līlā* as has a mundane form is given here to be the fact that it causes great bliss to his devotees.⁴ The acts like birth and childhood in the *Līlā* are said to be intrinsic to the divine self,⁵ and are therefore non-phenomenal, even if they resemble phenomenal acts.⁶ Hence, Kṛṣṇa appeared to be born like a phenomenal being but was not actually born in that manner; for Kṛṣṇa

1 *īśa-kālikā-kalpito yo guṇamayo dehaḥ tatra pravieśaḥ*.

2 *kṛṣṇa-prāpti-virodhi-guṇa-jana-māyika-vāñchā-rūpam*.

3 This theory is based upon the description given in the *Padma-purāṇa* that certain *Śāśis*, as well as the *Upaniṣads*, became desirous of enjoying the wonderful sport of Kṛṣṇa, and by their merit became Gopīs of Vṛndāvana for that purpose.

4 *māyika-laukika-nityaiva hi prapanna-jana-vṛndāyo paramānanda-bharetī*.

5 *bhagavad-vigrahe śītaśrāvaṇa-vicitra-eva dharmaḥ siddha-vāñchā-saṁ*.

6 *prapannaravā bhāṣi, na tu prapanna-rūpam*.

is reputed eternally to be the son of Nanda and Yaśodā without actually entering into the womb of Yaśodā, or even of Devakī.¹ The theory is thus not one of immaculate conception, but of immaculate birth, which is eternally incident to the divine self in his peculiar Līlā. Hence, it is explained that the Lord, having a Vighraha which consists entirely of Sat, Cit and Ānanda, made his appearance in the phenomenal world not through actual human birth as the son of Vasudeva and Devakī, but by entering into their minds.² It is made clear, however, that the form of Kṛṣṇa, as the son of Vasudeva and Devakī, is not identical with his form, as the son of Yaśodā and Nanda. Though Vasudeva and Devakī were Parikarṇas of Kṛṣṇa in his Aprakāṣa Līlā, their status was much lower, in respect of their stage of devotion to Kṛṣṇa than that of Nanda and Yaśodā. Hence Kṛṣṇa did not manifest himself to Vasudeva and Devakī in his sweet intrinsic form a Gopa with two hands, but in the lower awe-inspiring form of a Vāsudeva with four hands. Subsequently he allowed himself to be taken to the place of Nanda and Yaśodā at Vṛndāvana, where he assumed his real intrinsic form. This is supported by the Gītā text, in which Kṛṣṇa as the supreme being is supposed to refer to his partial or lower manifestation of Vāsudeva by saying that he is 'Vāsudeva among the Vṛṣṇas' (vṛṣṇāṃ vāsudevo'ṣmi). We are told that Nanda and Yaśodā were not ordinary human beings but eternal Parikarṇas of the deity, who obtained this higher favour and bliss by that particular form of devotional love known as Vātsalya or parental feeling.³ All this is in the Manifest (Prakāṣa) Līlā; but in the Unmanifest (Aprakāṣa) Līlā, the relation of parent and son, established through the Vātsalya-rasa, exists eternally between Nanda-Yaśodā and Kṛṣṇa.⁴ That such is the relation is testified to by the

1 *asa eva garbha-pravṛttilīkṣya vīṇḍpi tayoḥ parataraṃ prasthīkṣi.*

2 *acc-cid-ānanda-vigrahaṛya idaṃ sa-maṃsāyāśrita eva.*

3 *vātsalyābhīdha-pra-ma-vikṣepaiva bh-kṛṣṇaḥ paratayodeti.*

4 *anāditā vātsalya-rasa-siddha-piṅ-pura-bhāro vidyate.*

realisation of sages. This good fortune Nanda and Yaśodā enjoyed even to the exclusion of Yama-deva and Devakī ; but there is no other particular reason for this good fortune but their devotion and the Lord's grace, and it came about, like the Lordship of the Lord itself, without any reason.¹ But the semblance of a reason (*kāraṇābhāsa*) is afforded for the understanding of ordinary human beings by the Purāṇic story that Nanda and Yaśodā were originally the Varu Droṇa and his wife Dhārā, who obtained the boon of Kṛṣṇa-bhakti from Brahmā. It is, therefore, their attitude of Bhakti in the form of Vātsalya which alone must be considered as the reason for the relationship ; for the Lord delights to sport with his devotees in the form in which they desire him most. It is repeated in this connexion that the ways of Jñāna and Tapas are inferior to that of Bhakti and can attain Kṛṣṇa only in his partial aspect of Brahman ; but it is Bhakti to Kṛṣṇa in his eternal sport as a Gopa which is the highest good (*puruṣārtha*) ; it brings to the Bhakta the indescribable divine bliss which is denied to the Jñānin and the Yogin.

With regard to Kṛṣṇa's exploits of killing demons etc. in his *Prakāṣa Līlā* it has already been explained that it is never the business of the Bhagavat himself to relieve the burden of the world ; the exploits were accomplished by the Avatāras who simultaneously entered into him at the time of his appearance. But the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa can at his will act like phenomenal beings in his *Prakāṣa Līlā*, which may admit a touch of phenomenal acts and occurrences.

It has been said that Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa eternally sports in his three Dhāmāṣa, namely, Dvārakā, Mathurā and Vṛndāvana, which are represented as three aspects of one and the same reality. If this is so, how is it that in the sacred texts the progression from Vṛndāvana to Mathurā, then to Dvārakā, and finally to Gokula is described ? The answer to this puzzle is furnished by the supposition that all this is

1 *saṅga śāṅkṛā-mahodāya kāraṇaṁ nāsti.*

described only with reference to Kṛṣṇa's appearance in his Prakāṣa-līlā in the phenomenal world ;¹ but the Aprakāṣa-līlā which is not revealed to the phenomenal world, eternally goes on these Dhāman.² This explanation necessitates an exposition of this theory of phenomenal and non-phenomenal appearances of the deity, or his Prakāṣa and Aprakāṣa Līlā, to which Jīva Gosvāmin now turns his attention.

It is difficult to render the word Līlā into English ; but since the word connotes the idea of inherent bliss (Ānanda) and erotic sweetness (Mādhurya) in the Bhagavat's relation to his own Śaktis or Energies, and excludes all idea of conscious effort and ulterior motive in a mood of divine sportiveness, it may be provisionally, if inadequately, rendered by the word 'Sport.' We are told that the term *dalvata* in relation to Kṛṣṇa is derived from the verbal root *div*, which means 'to shine', as well as 'to play'; and the verb *kṛīḍ* or *ram* is generally found associated with the deity in the sense of sport. The Līlā or beatific Sport may be Manifest or Prakāṣa and Unmanifest or Aprakāṣa according as it can or cannot be apprehended directly by phenomenal beings.³ The testimony of the texts shows that both the Līlās are *nitya*, that is, real and eternal. As a matter of fact, one and the same eternal Līlā appears in twofold way on account of the limitations of the phenomenal Jīva. As the real nature of Jīva is suppressed by the Māyā-śakti and the Jīva is thereby debarred from witnessing it, the Līlā is unmanifest ; but when the deity in his infinite grace and love to his devotees directly reveals himself in the phenomenal world, the self-same Līlā becomes manifest. The Aprakāṣa or Unmanifest aspect of the Līlā, therefore, is free from all contact of the phenomenal world and its objects, and the eternity of Līlā is explained to mean that its characteristic flow is unimpeded.

1 *mathurāḍī-parityāgādyaḥ avatāre prāpātrika-jana-prakāṣa-līlā-prakāṣaiva.*

2 *aprakāṣaḥ tu līlā nityam eva vidyate eva.*

3 *prāpātrika-lokāprakāṣatvāt tat-prakāṣatvāt ca.*

like time, and has no beginning, middle or end.' It is also marked by the same incidents and characteristics (as, for instance, continually holding royal court in lordship over the Yādavas and the Gopas, lending cows and other diversions) as also mark the Prakāśa Līlā.' The Prakāśa Līlā also, in the same way, like the Vīraha of the Bhāgavat, is not subject to the limitations of time; but in it there is, through the intrinsic will-power of the Svārūpa-lakṣi of the deity, a beginning and an end, as well as a mixture of phenomenal and non-phenomenal objects and an appearance of incidents like Kṛṣṇa's birth and death.' Jīva Gosvāmī informs us that Kṛṣṇa's Prakāśa Līlā, which was once witnessed by some eminently fortunate phenomenal beings, is even today revealed partially to men like himself.'

The Aprakāṣa Līlā, again, is described as having two aspects. It may, in the first place, be what is realized in a limited way by the sacred Mantras and Upāsana (*mantrapāṇamāyā*), or, secondly, it may be what is fully revealed by the flow of natural and inherent Rasa or devotional sentiment (*svārasikā*). The former has a limit fixed by the particular time or place suitable to the particular Līlā which forms the object of the Mantra,* and its character is also determined by such Svārūpa, Dhīman and Parikara of the deity as are prescribed for meditation by the particular Mantra.* In this respect, the infinitely varied Līlā is restricted to a particular divine act or sport as

I *dhāraṇa dhī-matya dīśvāsya-pariccheda-vahita-va-prabhārah.*

2 yāśaivendratā-vrajayavardjanādyurīdhāu akṣa mahāśāhāparī-
gocāra-vinodhī-falpanā.

[illegible]

4. *pralambabhidhānataḥ pralambāḥ pralīnāḥ api lāticā bhāgya-videḥ-
dāyavādibhir dādāt, sampratyavādibhir api tad-argūlo dīyate.*

1. *Handwritten text in the left margin, likely a page number or reference.*

16 **non-quantifiable information**

given in a set formula or meditation-symbol ; but this is necessary to the devotee in a preliminary stage when he is not yet accustomed to meditate upon and realise the endless forms of the Līlā. The Svāruktī, on the other hand, is not merely something which is recorded in the Mantra or presented for meditation ; the deity sometimes in his grace to the devotee actually reveals the Līlā which is hidden from the vision of the ordinary mortal. In some cases, what is limited by the somewhat mechanical Mantra and Upāsānā becomes a living and natural realization.¹ The Svāruktī aspect of the Aprakṛta Līlā is not limited to particular divine acts or sport but it is varied at will according to the occasion.² In its continuity and expansiveness as a stream of Līlā, the Svāruktī has been compared to the Ganges, while the Mantropāsanāmāyī, which is born out of it and is limited in its scope, has been compared to a lake or series of lakes circumscribed out of the stream.

Such simultaneous assumption of different divine forms at different places by the deity has already been explained in the *Bhagavat-saṃdarbha* as a natural result of the inherent divine power ; but such manifestation or Prakāśa is not like the reflection in the mirror (*pratibimba*), but like a halo (*bimba*) issuing out of the ultimate substance. The existence of reflection in the mirror is conditioned by the existence of the mirror ; the reflection appears also in a reversed form and cannot be actually felt by such senses as touch ; but the halo issuing out of a substance appears at will,³ by its inherent power,⁴ can be directly felt by touch and other senses,⁵ and does not differ in its essence from the substance. This analogy shows the reality of the different Prakāśas, each of which

1 *mantrapāsanāmāyīn'pi n drakīyām eva paravarṇayati.*

2 *yathārastraṇa vividhaerakāmayī.*

3 *yathaccham udayati.*

4 *svābhāvika-takṣi-sphuritatnam.*

5 *adīpā sparśādī-bhāvina.*

partakes of the character of divine perfection.¹ It follows that these Prakāśas are not mere endless replicas of the same form, all having the self-same mode and sequence of acts : on the contrary, each has, by the unthinkable power of the deity, a separate reality and existence, as well the capacity for independent action. The proof of all this lies in the fact that varied Prakāśas of this character have been described in the *Bhāgavata* ; and if they were not true, they could not have caused delight to learned people.

In different Prakāśas, therefore, there are varied acts ; and the effect of this is to produce a variety in the nature of the bliss (*Rasa*) in each case. To support the peculiar *Rasa* in each Prakāśa, therefore, there are in each a difference of conceit (*Abhimāna-bheda*) and a mutually exclusive knowledge of each other (*paraśparam ananusaṃdhānam*), along with a difference in the mode of action (*Kriyā-bheda*). In other words, the actors in one Prakāśa are unaware of what is happening in the other, even if they themselves appear in both ; and in each Prakāśa they are possessed of the conceit that they are appearing only in that particular Prakāśa in the particular manner. This theory of the exclusive individuality of each Prakāśa makes it possible to understand that what appears as Kṛṣṇa's separation from his beloved in one *Līlā* may be union in another. Thus, in the Prakāśa at Vṛndāvana, at the termination of Kṛṣṇa's *Prakāśa Līlā* at that place, it appears as if a separation occurs between Kṛṣṇa and the Gopa-Gopīs, but it is really not so ; for even if Kṛṣṇa appears to be separated from his *Parikaras* in the *Prakāśa Līlā*, he is ever united with them there in the *Aprakāśa Līlā* into which he enters simultaneously. In other words, union is an eternal fact in Kṛṣṇa's eternal *Aprakāśa Līlā*, which goes on in all the three *Dhāmanas* ; but since it is sometimes manifested and sometimes hidden from the view of phenomenal beings, there are appar-

1 *saṁvṛtān prakāśānām-pūṇatvam*.

ent separations in the Prakāṣa Līlā. Thus, both the manifest and the unmanifest Līlās can go on in the same Dhāman ; and when the deity is not manifestly present in the Prakāṣa Līlā, he is to be regarded as present in unmanifest form in the Aprakāṣa Līlā. It can be shown from the sacred texts that, in the same place and at the same time, the Gopīs, in their double capacity in the Prakāṣa and the Aprakāṣa Līlās, have felt the bliss of union and sorrow of separation. All this may appear inconceivable to phenomenal beings, but all contradictions like union and separation have so essential validity in the Līlā of the inconceivably Perfect Being. This theory enables our author to reconcile and explain such contradictions in manifestation as are sometimes found recorded in the sacred texts ; for instance, separation from the Gopīs at the end of the Prakāṣa Līlā at Vṛndāvana, as well as from the Yādavas at the end of the Prakāṣa Līlā at Dvārakā, Kṛṣṇa's alleged return to Vṛndāvana from Mathurā, which is described in the *Padma-purāṇa* but which is obscure in the *Bhāgavata*, is also explained in the same way.

The different Prakāśas of Kṛṣṇa are each characterised by different aspects of his divine self. The aspects respectively of Aśvarya (power), Kāruṇya (compassion) and Mādhurya (erotic sweetness and beauty) may be emphasised in the one or the other. In the manifestation at Vṛndāvana, however, all these aspects are displayed, but most of all the Mādhurya. It has already been shown in the second Saṃdarbha that Mādhurya, as an aspect of the divine Hlādinī Śakti, consists of the highest essence and differentia of the Bhagavat. This Mādhurya is prominent in a superlative degree in Kṛṣṇa's sports at Vṛndāvana, and we have here, therefore, the highest and best manifestation of the divine self. As an expression of Mādhurya, Kṛṣṇa always remains at Vṛndāvana in his beautiful adolescent form (*kīlora-mūrti*), whether in his Prakāṣa or in his Aprakāṣa Līlā ; for, it is recorded in the *Bhāgavata* that throughout the whole period of adolescence in

his Prakāṣa Līlā he remained constantly at Vṛndāvana;¹ and even after that he continued to remain in that adolescent form in his Aprakāṣa Līlā there. Hence, Kṛṣṇa's adolescent form must be regarded not only as the prominent form round which all his sports centre, but it must be accepted as the only real form both in his Prakāṣa and Aprakāṣa Līlā. This eternal youth and beauty he manifests only at Vṛndāvana throughout, in his Prakāṣa as well as in his Aprakāṣa Līlā; and, as this is the supreme Prakāṣa of Kṛṣṇa, Vṛndāvana is the best of all Dhāmanas, the true Goloka.

Having explained the character and place of divine sport, Jīva Gosvāmīn proceeds to consider the relation between Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs as depicted in the *Bhāgavata*. He makes an elaborate attempt to interpret the doubtfully erotic texts as possessing a deeply spiritual meaning. His main thesis is that the Gopīs obtained the Lord as their Pati (husband), and not as a Jāra or Upapati (lover). He thereby subscribes to the Svakiyā-vāda of his master Rūpa Gosvāmīn and discredits the Parakiyā-vāda advocated by later theorists. Even if the word *jāra* is used in some passages, the *jāra*-buddhi of the Gopīs merely indicates a mental attitude of intense longing and not an actual fact. From the episode of the Kātyāyanī-vrata, it is clear that these maidens desired to obtain Kṛṣṇa as their husband (x 22. 2), and Kṛṣṇa must be taken to have fulfilled their wish, for they are distinctly called wives of Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇa-vadhū*) in the *Bhāgavata* (x 33. 7). But apart from this usual method of verbal interpretation of texts, the general line of argument adopted by Jīva Gosvāmīn is that it is conformable to the Rasa-dāstra, as well as logical,² to regard the Gopīs as the Svakiyā (and not Parakiyā) of Kṛṣṇa. It is reasonable to suppose that men wish for an object which does not bring calamity in its train, but union with a secret lover is always full of trouble and cannot very well be taken

1 *prakāṣa-kālikā-vyāpīnyeva vrate prakāṣa-līlā jhāyā.*

2 *śāśvata-rasāśrayo'bhaya-mat.*

as a final end with the Gopis.¹ The Rasa-rātra does not approve of any union with the wife of another person. As such a union is unlawful and impious, its vulgarity obstructs the principal sentiment or Rasa ;² it is impossible to admit it in the Mādhurya Rasa of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopis. Hence, Jīva Goṣvāmin's own guru, Rūpa Goṣvāmin, has boldly effected a regular marriage of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa at the Nava Vṛndāvana in Dvārakā in the tenth Act of his *Lalita-mādhava*.³ The impropriety of union with a woman other than one's own arises under two circumstances, namely, when the woman is the married wife of another (*parakīyārtha*), and when she has been enjoyed by another person (*para-sparśa*). Jīva Goṣvāmin attempts to show from an explanation of *Bhāgavata* texts that both these faults do not at all attach to the Gopis. They

1 *śīra-bhāṭramayaḥ saṃgamaś ca sadāiva sopadravayā, tasmād aśau parayatatva-parapadravāya sa-śar-chāstra-saṃmataḥ na syāt*.

2 *adharma-mayārva-pralīnaḥ tvallīlāyāḥ vṛthānyaya eva rasaḥ*.

3 It has been often alleged that the Goṣvāmins were upholders of the Parakīyā doctrine, but neither the works of Jīva nor those of Rūpa lend support to this doctrine. Śaṅkara's *Bhāṭyaratnamṛta*, as well as Raghunātha Dāsa's *Mādhava-ratna*, is meant to show the deficiency of the Dvārakā-llā and the superiority of the Vṛndāvana-llā, but this fact does not necessarily imply belief in Parakīyā doctrine; for the views of the Goṣvāmins appear to have been that, as Svayāṃ-bhakti of the Bhāgavat, the Gopis, including Rādhā, were his own (Svakīyā), but the Gopas under an illusion, created by Yogamāyā, considered them to be their wives. It is idle to contend that the *Sṛjya-maṃsya-parakīyā-llā* and other such poems of Rūpa bear testimony to his belief in the Parakīyā doctrine, for this cannot be clearly made out from the trend of the poems. Kṛṣṇadāsa Karṇiḥja, however, ascribed the Parakīyā belief to Caitanya himself, for in Kṛṣṇadāsa's own opinion, sentiment for another man's wife strengthens the feeling (*पुनर्प्राप्ते अति अधिक उद्यमः*).

On listening to the verse *prīyaḥ sa'yaṅ kṛṣṇaḥ yaḥ kaundīra-haraḥ* (Padyāvalī vol. 302, 303) recited by Rūpa, Caitanya is reported by Kṛṣṇadāsa to have exclaimed : *घोर मनेर क्या तुह जानिनि केमने !*

It is possible to explain both these Sanskrit stanzas from the Parakīyā point of view, but the old stanza *yaḥ kaundīra-haraḥ* of ŚRĪBHAKṬIKĪRṪHĀ certainly, and the new stanza *prīyaḥ sa'yaṅ kṛṣṇaḥ* of Rūpa himself

were never actually married or even bodily touched by the Gopas ; for, on the occasion of their marriage or daily intercourse with the Gopas, they were in fact concealed by the Māyā-takti of Kṛṣṇa and their illusory forms were substituted. If they are sometimes found giving the Gopas the name of husband, this is in accordance with the outward usage of the world, but not in accordance with their own inward vision.¹ They had, therefore, no husbands except Kṛṣṇa. Sometimes the texts (e. g. x. 31. 13) appear to say that the Gopis had children, but the word children in such texts must not be understood to apply to their own children but to those of their relatives ; for, according to the Rasa-śāstra, their having children would not be a case of real Rasa but a case of mere semblance of Rasa (Rasābhāsa) on account of the violation of the rule of propriety (*anauचित्य-प्रवृत्ति*). The Gopis, therefore, are Kṛṣṇa's real and eternal beloved (*nitya-preyasī*).

possibly, are capable of Svakiyā interpretation in the light of the views of Rūpa and Jīva given above. Jīva in his *Gopāla-campū* (Uttara, ch. 36, 165-66), again, describes Rādhā as Utkarṣitā heroine and quotes yaśo-lakṣmaṇa-heraḥ ; this passage is used to support the Parakiyā doctrine. This is the view, at least, of Yadumanandana (*Karṣṇa-māṇḍa*, p. 48) who says that Jīva's real opinion leaned towards the Parakiyā doctrine, although one is likely to take a contrary view of the passage in question (बाह्यान्वयं युक्तये साक्षात् सखीया वक्षिष्या । मिथरैरुपार्थमात्रं केवलं सखीया ॥ श्रीजीवेश्वरगणेश इत्यत्र युक्तिया । बहिरन्वयं बाह्यां सखीया वक्षिष्या ॥). This view of Yadumanandana is not unexpected, for in his

time the efforts of Rūpānanda and Śrinivāsa (both disciples of Jīva) had made the Parakiyā doctrine wide-spread. Śrinivāsa's descendant, Rādhā-mohana [bhāṣya], became a formidable champion of this doctrine ; and it is said that he vanquished the Svakiyā-vādins at a disputation held before Nawab Jafar Ali of Murshidabad. It would be unhistorical to read a doctrine which developed and became established in later times into the works of the Vṛndāvaṇa Gośāminas, but the motive is obvious. For the exposition of the question in Jīva's *Gopāla-campū*, see below under ch. vii.

1 *Aravīṭa śābhir eva te yaśo-lakṣmaṇaḥ preyaśvinaś tat bahir-lakṣya-lakṣmaṇa eva nitya-preyasītib*.

represented in the Vaiṣṇava Rasa-tātra as analogous to the various stages of human relationship conceived in the erotic-emotional aspect. Thus, Rādhā, as the greatest beloved, is said to have attained, to the exclusion of other Gopīs, the highest stage of Mahābhāva and obtained Kṛṣṇa in the fullest manner. If the *Padma-purāṇa* tells us that some of the Gopīs attained the rank by their being worshippers in their previous birth,¹ the description applies to that class of Gopīs who are known as Sādhakacārits; it does not apply to those who, like Rādhā, are Nitya-siddhā or eternally perfected. The superiority of the Gopīs to every other beloved of Kṛṣṇa consists in the fact that in them is prominently displayed a particular essence of the erotic sentiment (*prema-rasa-sāra-viśeṣa*), which in its turn is the essence of the supreme Hlādinī Śakti of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa (*hlādinīśāra-vṛtti-viśeṣa*). Owing to the plentiful display of this Śakti in them, there is the highest realisation of the Bhagavat's bliss in them,² by which there arises the divine desire to sport with them. The names of ten chief Gopīs are enumerated from the dialogue of Kṛṣṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira in the Malla-dvādāśī episode of the *Bhaviṣṣyottara-purāṇa*, namely, Gopālī, Pālīkā, Dhanyā, Vidākhā, Dhyānaniṣṭhikā, Rādhā, Anurādhā, Somābhā and two Tārakās; but in the *Prahlāda-saṁhitā*, of the *Skanda-purāṇa*, eight names are given as Lalitā, Śyāmalā, Dhanyā, Vidākhā, Rādhā, Śaivya, Padmā and Bhadrā. From the Āgamas, however, it is known that the number is one hundred crore !

In the *Prīti-saṁdarbhā* it will be further shown that Rādhā represents among the Gopīs the highest degree of the supreme love (*prematkarṣa-parāṅkāṣhā*). In Vṛndāvana, therefore, Rādhā is Lakṣmī. Just as in Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat there is the fullest display of the divine energy, so Rādhā represents

1 *pūrvajannantī sādhakatvam*.

2 *sat-pūrvasya prahlāda tri-bhagavato'pi itara paramatīśa-prahlāda bhavati, tatra tābhāi rasasprechāḥ jnyate*.

this energy to the fullest degree. In other words, Rādhā as the *Antarāṅgā Mahā-lakti* of Kṛṣṇa symbolises his most intrinsic and highest selfhood. As such she is entirely identified with Kṛṣṇa's greatest attribute of bliss or *Hlādinī Śakti* : and in this is to be found the symbolical interpretation of Kṛṣṇa's eternal erotic sports with Rādhā. The relation is, of course, not one of absolute identity but one of difference as well as non-difference, like the relation of the flame to the fire, or of the scent to the flower. It follows, therefore, that Rādhā may be taken as the highest type of the *Bhakta*, the highest *Parikara* or *Servant*, as well as his closest consort. The other *Gopis* are in reality her various aspects or emanations ; for she is the *Gopi par excellence*, in whom there is the bliss of love (*premaṇanda*) in its highest stage of the ecstatic *Mahābhāva*, which is unattainable by other *Gopis*. When the *Bhāgavata* says that Kṛṣṇa loves to sport with one *Gopi* even though there are other *Gopis*, it implies the supremacy of Rādhā,¹ although Rādhā is not directly mentioned there by name. Jīva Gosvāmin now concludes the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-saṁdarbha* by ingeniously interpreting the first preliminary and pre-eminent verse (*mārdhanya-lōka*) of the *Bhāgavata* as applying to Rādhā, in the same way as he has already interpreted and applied it to Kṛṣṇa alone. In the phrase *taḍ dhimahi* (we adore that) of the verse, the neuter singular usage of the relative pronoun *taḍ* (that) is intended, in our author's opinion, to indicate generally, without any distinction of sex, the essential identity² of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as the *Śakti* and the *Śaktimat*. Hence the appearance of Kṛṣṇa coupled with that of Rādhā (*rādhayaḥ yugalītaḥ* or *Arjunaḥ*) at *Vṛndāvana* is the most wonderful of all the blessed and wonderful manifestations of Kṛṣṇa (*paramādbhūta-prakāśaḥ*). The term *yugalīta*, however, must not be

1 *satyavandya ślokaḥ ityeneva tatādipi parama-mukhyatvam.*

2 *atyekmatve nirakṣiptam taḍ iti, na eva ślokaślokaḥ paramārtan saṁpāśakatvam.*

taken to imply absolute identity or merging but a relation of identity in non-identity.

Thus, in the first four *Samdarbhas* the *Sambandha-tattva* is explained ; and in this *Tattva* the appearance of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in pair is said to be the most perfected form of the deity who is the *Sambandhin*.¹

c. THE BHAKTI-SAMDARBHA

The object of this *Samdarbha* is to show that *Bhakti* to the *Bhagavat* is the only and chief import or subject-matter (*abhidheya*) of the *Bhāgavata*, as necessarily it is of the *Śaṣṭa-samdarbha* ; and the *Samdarbha* deals with the general characteristics of the devotional attitude of *Bhakti* and the modes and functions of this attitude.

It has already been said that the *Jivas* can be broadly classified from the standpoint of their attitude towards the *Bhagavat* into two categories, namely, (i) those who through the grace of the deity possess, as an intrinsic attribute, an inevitable proneness (*saṃskāra*) towards the *Bhagavat*, and for whom there is no need for instruction ; such are, for instance, *Bhaktas* like *Prahlāda*, and (ii) those who under the influence of the *Māyā-śakti* have this proneness obstructed although it is liable to sprout in them, like a seed, on instruction.² The *Abhidheya*, therefore, is conversion towards the *Bhagavat* (*bhagavat-sāmmukhya*) by counteracting the imposed aversion (*rod-valmukhya*). This is *Bhakti*, of which the general characteristic is devotional worship of the *Bhagavat* (*tad-upāsana-lakṣaṇa*), and from it proceeds the true knowledge of the *Bhagavat*.³ It has already been shown⁴ that this aversion towards the *Bhagavat* proceeds from the *Māyā-śakti*, by which the *Jiva* forgets its own selfhood and

1 *saṁvitta api sambandhe śrī-rādhā-mādhava-rāpeṇaiva prāṇa-bhāva saṁbandhinaḥ paramaḥ prakaraḥ.*

2 *tad-choraṇa-mūlreṇa bīḍyamānam.*

3 *yata eva saṁjñānam śrībhaktiḥ.*

4 See above, pp. 305-6, 313.

identifies itself with the body.¹ This external *Māyā-śakti* of the Lord can be counteracted only by the special aspect of the Lord's *Svarūpa-śakti*, namely, his *Hlādinī-śakti* or energy of bliss. This bliss, of which an atom also exists in a potential state in the *Jīva*, can be released as *Bhakti*, which itself is thus a display of the divine *Svarūpa-śakti*.²

The necessity of devotional worship lies in the fact that it is a natural function (*sva-clite svata eva siddhaḥ*) of the *Jīva* considered as a potency of the *Bhagavat*; for, the service of one who is dear brings happiness, and nothing is dearer than the *Bhagavat*. The *Bhajana* or worship is, therefore, necessary, because it brings the highest and permanent bliss which is inherent in the *Jīva*. It would, therefore, be insufficient to describe *Bhakti* as a means only; for being the natural function of the *Jīva* (*jīvaṇmī svabhāvata ucitā*) it is its highest duty (*para dharma*). The consummation of this *Dharma* or duty consists in the supreme pleasure of the deity.³ It is, thus, free from *Pravṛtti* or activity in worldly affairs, but it is also not mere *Nivṛtti* or abstention from phenomenal objects; for *Nivṛtti* or Quietism can hardly be distinguished from *Valmukhya* or averseness.⁴ This is the *summum bonum* (*sa eva kāntikam śreyah*), and therefore

1 *He-rimakharya san-andrayātmīyā, svarūpāphāntir bhavati, tato viparyayo deho'ntu.*

2 Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa discusses this question of the nature of *Bhakti* in his *Siddhānta-ratna* (p. 33) and arrives at the conclusion that it consists of the combined essence of the two *Svarūpa-śaktis* of the *Bhagavat*, viz. the *Hlādinī* and the *Saṃvit* *śakti*: *eva purat cintyate bhagavad-raṭānā-here-bhāta śaktiḥ kṛpavārūpā hi, kṛpā prākṛta-saṃvamaṇa-jāṇānanda-rūpā, kṛpā vā bhagavati-svarūpa-jāṇānanda-rūpā, aha vā jīva-jāṇānanda-rūpā, uta hlādinī-sāra-saṃvita-saṃvit-sāra-rūpā hi; nādyah, bhagavato māyā-vaiyatvānavaṣṭā svarah pāṇavā ca. na dvitīyah, anīlayāsiddhaḥ; nāpi tritīyah, jaiwayaḥ rayah kṛodījānāt kṛpā ca caturtha evāṇa bhavet..... tathā ca hlāda-saṃvīdoh saṃvīdayoh sūtrah bhaktir hi siddhyati.*

3 *svanasthitasya dharmasya sampāddhir hari-rojanam.*

4 *na nivṛtti-mātra-lakṣaṇo'pi, valmukhyāvrīṇyā.*

surpasses other Dharmaś, which are called *apara*, and not *para*. Its characteristics are that (i) It is *Ahaitukī* or *Akimpcañā*, i.e. it is not prompted by the desire of any other effect,¹ either in this world or in the next, than the pleasure of the Lord, and (ii) *Apratibhāṣā*, i.e. unimpeded, because it is beyond the sphere of other objects like pleasure or pain.²

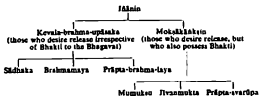
This thesis is further elaborated by showing the efficacy and superiority of Bhakti over every other mode of worship. The way of knowledge or *Jñāna* leads to a realisation of Brahman; the Yoga with its practices is also helpful for that purpose; the way of Works or *Karma*, consisting of obedience to scriptural directions and of dedication of all fruits to the Bhagavat, is also productive of a proneness towards the supreme deity. In all these modes there is an element of Bhakti in so far as they are free from any desire of worldly objects and lead to the Bhagavat by producing an inclination towards him; but none of them is entirely disinterested. They are, therefore, inferior to *Kovalā* or exclusive Bhakti, the one object of which is not to gain anything for oneself but to contribute to the supreme pleasure of the Bhagavat. True Mokṣa or *Apavarga* does not consist, as the *Jñānin* thinks, of the knowledge of Brahman, nor again in the conception of the *Vīraḥ* or *Vidvārūpa* as realised by the *Yogin*; it consists in a direct vision (*Sākṣātkāra*) or attainment (*Prāpti*) of the deity in his highest appearance as the Bhagavat, which is realisable by Bhakti alone. The one highest Reality, which is the Bhagavat, appears, no doubt, in threefold way, but *Jñāna* and *Yoga* can have a glimpse of one or other of the partial aspects; to Bhakti alone is accessible the one highest Reality which appears in these various aspects.³

1 *phaladeturūpām anuśayadhāna-rahitā*.

2 *sukha-duḥkha-padaśrībhāvarābhāvāt kēnapi vyaradhānam alatyā*.

3 *tas ca vidvārūbhāva-yuktāṃ tattvaṃ bhaktyaiva sākṣād api jñāyate*.

This idea is further amplified by a consideration of the various classes of the Jñānin and Yogin. In this connexion it would be useful to refer here to the classification of the Jñānin given by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in his *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (Madhya, xxiv), a classification which is implied by Jīva Gosvāmin also in his treatment:



The release or emancipation, which all these classes of seekers desire, is the realisation of the knowledge of self and its identity or merging in Brahman as the absolute self; and the classification only indicates the different aspects or stages of the release. The Kevala Upāśaka, who meditates upon Brahman, independently of Bhakti, realises Brahman in the Nirvīṭa state by his meditative knowledge; and this consists of a state of absorption or merger of the Jīva in the impersonal and attributeless Brahman. But this state can be attained after a good deal of effort (*kṛcchra-sādhana*), and the attainment of Brahman, who represents only a lower manifestation of the most perfect Bhagavat, indicates only a lower stage of realisation, which consists of absorption or extinction. This stage, however, does not last permanently and leads to fresh trouble. The other class of the Jñānins, who desire release but also possess Bhakti, stands on a different footing. Their Bhakti ultimately leads them to the close proximity of the Bhagavat, so that it is their pure Bhakti which prevails in the end and brings to them the highest realisation. Thus, the Jñāna-mitrā Bhakti may lead to the Suddhā Bhakti, but it is not necessary to resort to the former

when the latter alone is efficacious. If there is Bhakti, the Jñāna will come of itself ; for by realising the Bhagavat by Bhakti one necessarily realises along with him his partial aspect of Brahman, who is realisable by Jñāna. Hence Jñāna and Vairāgya are said to be the offspring or concomitant of Bhakti, for the true Jñāna is Bhagavad-jñāna which is synonymous with Bhakti. It follows that the way of Bhakti is not only superior to that of Jñāna, but it also dispenses with the necessity of Jñāna as an independent way. Those who aspire after Jñāna, and not after Bhakti, are like those foolish people who run after the chaff instead of the real grain. It is for this reason that Bhakti must be regarded as superior to mere Mukti or Mokṣa, and even emancipated souls (Mukta) are represented in the scriptures as not fully satisfied with their state of emancipation but they engage themselves in the worship of the Bhagavat.¹ Thus, the Vaiṣṇava theology of Bengal does not altogether reject the way of Jñāna, as it does not altogether reject Brahman, but regards it as an insufficient method, just in the same way as it accepts Brahman as an imperfect appearance (*asamyag-āvirbhāva*) of the Bhagavat. Even Jñāna-midrā Bhakti is deprecated in favour of Suddhā Bhakti. The true release, in the opinion of this school, is not the attainment of Brahman by Jñāna but the eternal contiguity and devotional service of the Bhagavat by Bhakti.

Similar arguments are employed to show the inferiority of Yoga as a method of realisation. The *citta-vṛtti-nirodha*, which Yoga teaches, is also the direct result of Bhakti ; so also is Vairāgya or non-attachment to worldly objects, which follows (*anugāmi*) Bhakti as a matter of course. Through the influence of the Māyā-śakti the individual self (*Jīva*) forgets its true nature and becomes distracted by the phenomenal

¹ The etymology of the word *Kaivalya* is sometimes given, from this point of view, as *ka* (bliss) + *val* (to reveal), so that the word is made to mean not the knowledge of oneness (*āśānta*), but a state of bliss consequent upon the release of the *Jīva* from the Māyā-śakti and its consiguity to the Bhagavat.

world, with the result that it loses its tranquil state. The eight ancillaries (*aṣṭāṅga*) of Yoga teach the suppression of these distractions of the thinking principle and divert it from the phenomenal ego, leading it ultimately to the state of *Asamprajñāta-Samādhi*, in which the individual self in its purity and freedom from the *Māyā-śakti* realises, not its complete identity with Brahman, but its intrinsic nature as an atom of divine consciousness (*cit-kaṇṭha*). Thus, Yoga leads to a higher stage of realization than that attainable by *Jñāna*, for it goes beyond the stage of attainment of the *Nirviśeṣa* Brahman to the realization of the more *Saviśeṣa* *Paramātman*, and ultimately (if the Yogin possesses *Bhakti*) to the highest *Bhagavat*. Hence, Yoga is called *Sānta-Bhakti* by the Bengal school and is regarded as a variety, even if it is an inferior variety, of *Bhakti*. But *Suddhā Bhakti*, which conceives of the supreme deity as the perfect person in terms of emotional personal relationship (such as *Dāsyā*, *Sakhya*, *Vātsalya* or *Mādhurya*), is regarded as more efficacious. Moreover, from what is said above it follows that all the good results of the *Yoga-Mārga* accrue as a concomitant consequence of *Bhakti*.

The reconciliation of *Karman* and *Bhakti* is effected after the manner of the *Bhagavad-gītā*, but the ideas are further developed from the point of view of *Bhakti*. The ceremonial duties are not rejected, but a secondary importance is attached to them as a means to an end; for on the attainment of *Bhakti*, the way of *Karman* is superfluous.¹ The *Karma-Mārga* lays down injunctions regarding the performance of ceremonial duties, but these appear to lead only to enjoyment in the world and attainment of the insignificant pleasures of *Svarga*. The observance of the *Vaṅkīrama-dharma*, however, involves much effort and expenditure of money (*mahāvitta-mahāyāga-sādhya*), and brings only fame or prosperity in this world or

¹ *karmāpi bhakti-yoga-paryantam; also bhaktiyārambha eva sa svarāpata eva karma-tyāgaḥ kartavyaḥ.*

in Svarga : it does not seem to lead one to final Puruṣārtha or *summum bonum*. But the real objective of these Vedic injunctions is not to produce an attachment to worldly objects but to enable the doer ultimately to forgo them.¹ Hence, these ceremonial rites are called *parokṣa-kriyā*, and the Karma-vāda is known as *Parokṣa-vāda*. The final object of Karman is to lead to *Naīṣkarmya*, and it occurs when the motive of performance is not the desire of worldly or other limited effects but consists of entire dedication of these acts to the pleasure of the Bhagavat. This can be done, as the *Gītā* teaches, by performing one's duties without attachment (*anāśakti*) and desire of fruits (*phala-tyāga*). But even such dedication is useless unless it is accompanied by *Bhakti*, which alone sanctifies all acts. The release in this mode, however, comes slowly after a great deal effort, and the state of *Naīṣkarmya* or *Quietism* which is accomplished is in reality another name for complete cessation of all acts. The mode of pure *Bhakti*, on the other hand, brings about the highest good much more quickly. Even if *Bhakti* effects a renunciation of ceremonial acts which become unnecessary on its attainment, it does not mean complete inactivity ; for the acts of devotion, which alone are the supreme kinds of acts, continue to exist, whereby the highest bliss is accomplished. The acts implied in *Bhakti* are other than those described in the *Karma-kāṇḍa* as *Nitya* (compulsory), *Naimittika* (occasional) and *Kāmya* (voluntary), which are meant for the securing of some definite object ; they consist of such acts as *Śravaṇa* (listening to the deity's praise), *Kīrtana* (uttering of the deity's name and praise) etc., by which the supreme deity is worshipped and which are meant only for the pleasure of the Bhagavat (*Bhagavat-prīṭṣa*) and are therefore entirely disinterested (*Abhīṭuki* or *Akīrṇanā*). If Karman is not productive of *Bhakti* it is useless, just in the same way as *Jāṇa* is useless

¹ *śraddhāpyatāntara-phalānāṃ pralobhayan mokṣadyaire karmāṇāṃ vidhau.*

if it does not lead to the Bhagavat ; Karman is useful in so far as it is a step to the higher end of Bhagavad-bhakti. Such Vedic injunctions, therefore, as do not contain any reference to the Līlā of the Bhagavat are to be rejected.¹

It follows from what is said that Bhakti may be either Sakāmā (accompanied by the desire for fruits) or Niṣkāma-karmaśailā (accompanied by acts free from such desire). The dedication of Karman (Karmārpaṇa) implied in the second case may again be of two kinds, namely, mere abandonment or renunciation of acts to the Bhagavat,² and contributing to the pleasure of the Bhagavat.³ The Nimitta or occasion of the dedication of Karman may be the desire for fruits (Kāmanā), or the cessation from acts which amounts to desireless action (Naiṣkarmya), or pure Bhakti when such acts are meant solely for the pleasure of the deity. Niṣkāmaiva or desirelessness by itself is not possible ;⁴ hence, Bhakti which is mixed with mundane acts (Karma-mitrā Bhakti) may be either accompanied by some specific desire for mundane fruits of action (Sakāmā) or it may be accompanied by the desire for emancipation (Kaivalya-kāmā). Of these, however, the latter is sometimes mixed with Karman and Jñāna and sometimes with Jñāna alone, the term Jñāna in this case, of course, meaning perception of complete identity of the Jīva and Brahman (*ekātma-darśana*). The Sakāmā may be Rājal or prompted by a desire for activity, but it may also be Tīmasī when it is actuated by such baser passions as envy, pride etc. All these differences of types of Bhakti depend upon the capacity or inclination of the worshipper. But Śuddhā or pure Bhakti, in which alone lies the divine pleasure (*bhaktau punaḥ prīṇanam eva*), is the best mode of attaining the highest good.

Thus, having spoken of Jñāna and Yoga as the means of

1 *madya-līlā-lānyāṃ vaidikīm api vācam nābhyaṣat*.

2 *tasmin tat-paritṛṣṭya-rūpam*.

3 *bhagavat-prīṇana-rūpam*.

4 *niṣkāmaivaṃ kaivalam na sambhavaṭ*.

Sadyomukti and Krama-mukti respectively, and having shown that the way of Karman, which is dedicated to the Bhagavat, is even a greater means of Bhakti than these two which have a limited objective, Jīva Goṣāmin thinks that the supreme necessity of Bhakti follows as a corollary and does not require proof.¹ All these are means of avoiding Vaimukhya or averteness to the Bhagavat and producing Sāṃmukhya or proneness; but Jñāna and Yoga lead only to the Brahman and the Paramātmā, who are but partial aspects of the Bhagavat. The Karman, directed to the Bhagavat, again, is only a door to all these. These different ways are prescribed to suit the capacity of different kinds of people (*puruṣa-yogyatā-bhedaṇa*); and each has its use. But when Bhakti is attained, all these are redundant. The attitude of Bhakti is independent or *nirapekṣa*, and can arise spontaneously, but Jñāna, Yoga, Karman and Vairāgya depend for their efficacy upon Bhakti itself (*tat-sāpekṣa*); for none of them alone can lead to the final bliss (*Bhāgavata*, ix. 14, 20). Hence, Bhakti occupies the highest place in the order of realization; as a means it supersedes and includes all the others; but it is not a means only, but an end in itself natural to the Jīva. It follows from all this that Jñāna-miśrā, Yoga-miśrā and Karma-miśrā Bhakti may exist or may be expedient at a lower stage of realization, but pure or *Suddhā* Bhakti is the best of all, because it purges the mind of all grossness, removes the fetters of the *Māyā-śakti* and makes it fit for the *Sākṣātkāra* or direct vision of the Bhagavat. People have spoken of the excellence of the ways of Jñāna, Yoga and Karman, but, according to the *Bhāgavata* (xl. 14, 9), they have done so because their intelligence was obscured by the influence of the *Māyā-śakti*.

As an aspect of Karman, the worship of deities other than

¹ *sadya - mukti - krama - muktyapādyena jñāna-yogākrutirā, tato'pi
tṛtīyaivaṃ bhaktiyoga-hetu-bhagavadarpite-karmaṇa evokantā sākṣāt
bhakti-yogasya kāmāryam evānītam.*

the Bhagavat is forbidden.¹ Even the Guṇāvatāras, Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu, are not worthy of the highest worship. The attitude of equal adoration to all deities (*abheda-dṛṣṭi*), spoken of in some scriptures, is for the Śama-bhakta (i.e. the Yogin) and the Jñānin, but it is not a help but a hindrance to the Bhakta Vaiṣṇava.² Although the attitude of contempt or indifference to other deities and supernatural beings is deprecated, it is maintained that deities like Śiva or Brahmā can be worshipped in so far as they are themselves Vaiṣṇavas or worshippers of the Bhagavat, or in so far as they are particular locations (*Adhiṣṭhāna*) of the Bhagavat himself. In the Āgamas, for instance, the worship of other gods is permitted as the Bahiragāvarāṇa Sevakas of the Lord, and this is acknowledged in the *Hari-bhakti-viṭāsa* vii. 119-20. But for those who regard them as separate and independent objects of worship, there is the terrible curse of Bṛgu Muni referred to in the *Bhāgavata* iv. 2. 27-28. All worship, however, is futile without kindness to all beings (*Bhūta-dayā*) and tolerance of other gods (*Śama-dṛṣṭi*); but this attitude, as well as *Abhiprā*, is natural (*svabhāva eva*) to one who has Bhakti. In some cases, however, *Hinā* or injury is permissible, e.g. in plucking flowers and leaves for purposes of worship.

In order to establish further his position regarding Bhakti, Jīva Gosvāmin now proceeds to demonstrate that Bhakti is the central and only theme of the *Bhāgavata*, and that it is inculcated for all times, all places, all beings and all conditions. It is intended alike for those who are desirous of release and for those who have attained release. Even if some scriptures prescribe Jñāna-miśrā and Karma-miśrā Bhakti, it is not to emphasise the importance of Jñāna or Karman but to make those who follow the ways of Jñāna and Karman inclined towards pure Bhakti by having a fore-

1 *Karma-vilepa-rūpaṃ devatāntara-bhājanam api na kartavyam.*

2 *vaiṣṇaveṣa.....na bhakti-ābhakḥ, pratyavṛtyat ca.*

taste of its bliss.¹ The supreme efficacy of Bhakti is next shown by the illustration, drawn chiefly from the *Bhāgavata*, of its characteristics and the results that follow from it as a matter of course. These are: (i) power of counteracting sinful acts whether they have begun to produce effects or not (*aprabhḍha-pāpa-hāritva* and *prārabhḍha-pāpa-ghnatva*), (ii) power of removing the desire for sinful acts (*rad-vāsanā-hāritva*), (iii) power of removal of Avidyā or Nescience (*avidyā-haratva*), (iv) causation of all merit like Jñāna and Vairāgya (*Jñāna-vairāgyādī-sarva-heturva*), (v) the state of being beyond the sphere of the three Guṇas, for Jñāna and Karman are Sa-guṇa and Bhakti alone is Nirguṇa (*nirguṇatva*), (vi) its identity with supreme bliss (*parama-sukha-rūpatva*), (vii) its self-manifestation, producing the consciousness of the Svarūpa-śakti of the Bhagavat (*bhagavat-svarūpaśakti-bodhaka-svayam-prakāśatva*), (viii) its bestowal of attachment towards the Bhagavat (*bhagavad-viśaya-rati-pradarva*), and (ix) its power of producing the exclusive pleasure of the Bhagavat towards the Bhakta (*bhakte-viśayaka-bhagavat-priyataika-heturva*). In this connexion the significance of divine grace is discussed. The question is considered as to how it is possible that the Perfect Being, whose intrinsic attribute is self-sufficient bliss, who has no desire nor motive, and who is unaffected by Prakṛti, should feel kindness or grace towards phenomenal beings. In reply it is said that the intrinsic attribute of bliss or Hlādinī Śakti of the Bhagavat is such that it gladdens both himself and others (*sva-parānandīnī*), like the function of the lamp which reveals itself as well as other objects. As such, the question of motive or desire does not arise. The Hlādinī Śakti, eternally placed in those who are his own (*sva-vynde nīkṛptam*), causes spontaneous bliss both to himself and his Bhakta. Thus the cause of grace or divine self-surrender is the goodness of the

1 *sa-ra-māṇya-nipḥāṇa bhakti-sambandhena kṛtābhāsitam ida eva hlādinī bhaktyaśraddhena suddhāyām bhaktau pravartayitam ca.*

Bhakti of the devotee himself, as an aspect of the infinite Svarūpa-śakti of the Lord.

The grace cannot in all cases operate directly, for the Lord cannot, unlike the Jīva, feel the mutual disturbance of kindness and sorrow which is the result of the Tamo-guṇa ; it therefore operates through the medium of saintly persons who are free from the effects of Prakṛti and are therefore direct receptacles of divine grace.¹ It is true that the saints and sages are also not touched by the sorrows of the world, and kindness or pity is thus out of place in them ; but the memory of their previous sorrows, like those of a person awakened from dreams, makes them feel compassion for the miseries of other beings. The first cause of Bhakti, no doubt, is the grace of the Lord,² but the association with saints and devotees is the most important medium through which this divine grace is communicated.

The saints and devotees are classified into two types, namely, (i) those who follow the way of Jñāna and devote themselves to the Nirviśeṣa Brahman (*jñāna-mārge brahmānu-bhaviṇaḥ*), and (ii) those who follow the way of Bhakti and possess the love of the Bhagavat (*bhakti-mārge labdha-bhagavat-premāṇaḥ*). They are respectively called the Jñāni-siddha and the Bhakta-siddha ; but of these the latter are to be preferred. A realisation of the deity is indeed the highest goal, but there are degrees of realisation according to degrees of perception of divine love ; and the Bhagavat-preman is the chief criterion which differentiates the types of devotees.³ Of the various kinds of Bhakta-siddhas, again, those who by means of their devotion have been included in the class of the

1 yd kṛpā tasya satru varāṇaś cā sat-sakṣinatva sat-kṛpā-vāhanacāśva
vā jīvanāre saṁpramāṇe, na vatanurā.

2 bhagavat-kṛpāva tai-saṁsmṛtāḥ prākramikāḥ kṛpāṁ.

3 śāṅkhya - māyayāpi yadyapi paratā - prayojanavān, tathāpi
rasminā api śāṅkhyaś īś-bhagavatāḥ priyatva-dharmānubhavaś cāṅga-
nāḥ utkarṣaḥ,.....tathā prema-śāntamānāḥ bhakta-śāntamānāḥ
mukhyaḥ.

eternal Attendants of the Bhagavat cannot be expected, like the deity himself, to be in direct touch with phenomenal beings in the matter of conveying divine grace. But there are other Bhakta-siddhas, who are Bhāgavata saints and sages and who can act as a medium of the grace and generate Bhakti in the individual. There are various kinds of such saints, but Bhakti is roused from their contact with such quickness and in such special form as is proportionate to the degree of the power and the feeling of compassion of the particular saint or sage from whom the inspiration is derived.¹ This leads us to the theory of the necessity of a spiritual guide or Guru, a theory which plays an important part in all types of Bhakti religion. The justification of this Guru-vāda lies in the fact that the spiritual guide is supposed to be one who has actually traversed the narrow and straight path and attained spiritual illumination, and that the contact and influence of such an experienced person should be of immense benefit to the beginner in the attainment of spiritual truth. From this association with saintly persons (Sādhva-saṅga) arises first of all Ruci or relish in the object of worship and in the ways of worship, and this produces Śraddhā or belief as a preliminary stage to Bhakti. It is, therefore, laid down that from such saintly people, either collectively or individually, one should listen to the exposition of spiritual truth by making one or all of them his Guru.² This is the Śravaṇa-guru who may also be the Śikṣā-guru when he undertakes to train the mind of his disciple. Such Gurus may be many, but the Mantra-guru who imparts to the disciple the esoteric sacred formula for meditation cannot be more than one.³ The very high position which the spiritual guide occupies in the Vaiṣṇava scheme of devotion is indicated by the

1 *śaṅkha-bhaṅga-bhedaṃ sarva, śaṅkha eva prabhāra-cāraṇam yena kṛpā-nāraṇam yena bhakti-cāraṇa-bheda-cāraṇam yena sarva-saṅga līla laṅghya-cāraṇa-paralīpītyābhyām bhaktir udyate.*

2 *śṛṅgāra-śāntāra vā kṛt-guruvandārīti śravaṇam kṛtyat.*

3 *kṛt-mantra-gurus evaika eva.*

injunction that the Guru should be looked upon as the divinity himself.¹

The stages, beginning from the awakening of the Ruci to the instruction of the spiritual guide, are the preliminaries of Upāsana or worship, and are therefore called the Upāsana-pūrvāṅga. This is followed by different types or stages of Upāsana graded according to the capacity of the worshipper. If the Guru is a Jñāna, the Upāsana will be Nirviśeṣamaya, or worship of the Nirviśeṣa Brahman; for Jñāna follows from association with the Jñāni-siddha,² just in the same way as Bhakti follows from association with the Bhakta-siddha. But the Upāsana may also be Saviśeṣamaya and consist of the worship of a personal god. This may again be either Ahaṁ-graha-Upāsana or Bhakti-rūpa-Upāsana. The Ahaṁ-graha-Upāsana consists of the meditation of one's identity with a personal god conceived as being possessed of particular Śakti;³ and the result naturally is the appearance of the particular divine Śakti in one's self,⁴ leading the devotee ultimately to the Svārūpa and Sāṅgya forms of Mukti. As both the objective and the result are limited, this form of worship constitutes a lower stage of realisation than what follows from the Bhakti-rūpa-Upāsana.

The word Bhakti is derived from the verbal root *bhaja*, which is said to signify complete servitude or *Sevā*. This state of servitude to the Lord, therefore, is taken as the essential characteristic (*svārūpa-lakṣaṇa*) of Bhakti, the other characteristics already mentioned being only concomitants. This servitude or *Sevā* consists of entire submission in body, mind and words.⁵ The Bhakti, according to its character and origin, is classified into three aspects or rather stages, namely: (i) *Āropa-siddhā* or accomplished by outward imposition,

1 *sva-guruṁ bhagavad-dīpṭh kartavyaḥ.*

2 *jñāni-saṁpāc ca jñānam jñeyam.*

3 *ahaṁ-grahopāśanam tac-chakti-viśiṣṭa āvāṇ evāham iti cintanam.*

4 *aya phalam evamāpṇa tac-chaktiśādyāvirbhāvaḥ.*

5 *sā ca kāyika-vācika-mānasikātmikā trividherbhāgāt ucyate.*

It occurs when there is no spontaneous growth of Bhakti, but the feeling is raised to the state of Bhakti from the performance of acts dedicated to the Bhagavat.¹ (i) *Saṅga-siddhā*, or accomplished by association with saintly persons. In this case also there is no spontaneous rise of Bhakti, but the feeling which grows from *Jñāna*, *Karma* and auxiliaries thereof (*Jñāna-karma-saṅga-rūpā*) is regarded as included in the category, apparently because it is a stepping stone to pure Bhakti. (ii) *Svarūpa-siddhā* or accomplished by its own nature. It may arise even though the devotee is unaware of it,² but it is invariably favourable to the growth of Bhakti³ and consists of a direct inclination towards it in the form of such devotional acts as listening to or taking of the divine name.⁴ The illustration given of this attitude is the case of *Prahlāda*, who in his previous birth observed, without knowing, religious fasting on the *Nṛsiṃha*-*śaturdāśī* day ; or a still better illustration is the legend of the hawk, who having been carried in the mouth of a dog, made a compulsory circumambulation of the temple of the Bhagavat ! Each of these types of devotional attitude may, again, be *Sakaitavā* or *Akaitavā*, with or without a contrivance. Of the two forms of *Āropa-siddhā* and *Saṅga-siddhā*, the feeling in each case is said to be *Sakaitavā* when it takes the attainment of the state of Bhakti only as a means. The *Svarūpa-siddhā* is *Sakaitavā* when, through some other motive, it becomes subsidiary to *Karma* and *Jñāna*. When there is no other motive but the pleasure of the Bhagavat, the feeling is *Akaitavā*, and this type of Bhakti has already been described above as *Akimpānā*.

This true type of the devotional feeling, known as the *Akaitavā* or *Akimpānā*, admits of two stages, which are

1 *svato bhaktirūbhāve'pi bhagavad-arpaṇādinaḥ bhaktitvaṃ prāpñā karmādī-rūpā*.

2 *ajñānādinaḥpi tat-prāptirūbhāve*.

3 *bhaktirūpyabhikāraṇā*.

4 *śikṣā tad-anugāryānāṃ tad-īya-dvayopākāśanādī-rūpā*.

respectively designated as Vaidhī and Rāgānuṣā. Of these, the Vaidhī Bhakti as the preliminary stage is taken up first for treatment, but as the subject has already been dealt with by Rūpa Gosvāmī in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*,¹ we shall only refer to the peculiar features of Jīva Gosvāmī's exposition. The Vaidhī is so called because it arises from the injunction of the Śāstra (*śāstrakṛta-vidhinā-pravartitā vaidhī*), while the Rāgānuṣā, which follows the natural course of emotion, arises spontaneously and is independent of all such injunction. The injunction may be of two kinds, namely, that which is the cause of inclination towards Bhakti, and that which causes the knowledge of what to do and what not to do for the steadying of that inclination.²

The elements of the Vaidhī Bhakti are enumerated as eleven, thus : (i) Śaraṇāpattiḥ, or resorting to the Bhagavat as the only refuge (*ananyu-gati*). It arises in two ways, namely, through the inborn conviction that there is nothing else which can afford permanent refuge,³ or through forsaking other alternatives adopted unwisely.⁴ This mental state is analysed, after the Vaiṣṇava Tantra, into fixing of the mind on things congenial to the idea (*anukūlārya samkalpaḥ*), forsaking of things uncongenial (*pratikūlya-vivarjanam*), the belief that the deity will protect him (*roksiyanti viśvāsaḥ*), choosing him as the protector (*goptrive varṇanam*), resignation of self (*ātma-nikṣepaḥ*), and humility as an object of compassion (*kārpaṇyam*). The next stage is (ii) Guru-sevā, or devotion to the spiritual guide. The Guru is to be honoured above all beings and strictly obeyed, provided he satisfies all the scriptural requirements of a true guide. If the Guru is full of self-conceit (*avalipta*), has no real knowledge of duties (*kāryākāryam ajāna*), or himself deviates from the true

1 See above p. 173 f.

2 as ca vidhir dvividhaḥ, tatra prathamāḥ prarṣiti-kṛtāḥ, tad-anukūlārya-kartavyākartavyābhyāṃ jñāna-kṛtā ca dvitīyāḥ.

3 ātma-śarāṇāryābhidhāna-kāraṇena.

4 nāsti-prajñāyāḥ kathaṃcid-ārtitāryāṅgārya tyajaneṇa.

Vaiṣṇava ways, he should be abandoned. This stage is followed by (iii) *Śravaṇa*, or the act of listening to the accounts of the form, sport and name of the Bhagavat,¹ and not to a mere repetition of set formulas and prayers. Of all kinds of *Śravaṇa*, the act of listening to the *Bhāgavata* is the best.² Closely allied to this is (iv) *Kīrtana*, or chanting aloud of the above things, especially of the blessed name. This is said to be the most powerful means of effecting a devotional attitude ; and not being subject to the restrictions of time, place or person, it is the only efficacious method which should be universally adopted in the present decadent Kali Age.³ The chanting of *Stotras* in praise of the deity, which gives expression to one's humility (*nija-dānya*) or one's wishes (*nijābhīṣṭa*), is included in the category of *Kīrtana*.

A still higher stage is reached in (v) *Smaraṇa*, or the act of remembering, which is described as mental concentration (*mānasa-anusandhānam*) and which consists of fixing one's thought on the name, form or sport of the deity. Five kinds of *Smaraṇa* are differentiated, namely *Smaraṇa-sāmānya* or fixing one's mind on the deity, however slightly or indefinitely (*yat-kīrcid-anusandhānam*) ; *Dhāraṇā*, or withdrawing the mind from all sides and fixing it in a general way ;⁴ *Dhyanā*, or special concentration of the mind with reference to the name, form etc. of the deity ;⁵ *Dhruvānugampti*, which is the same as above but which is an uninterrupted flow like a stream of nectar (*anyta-dhāravad avicchinnam tar*) ; and *Samādhi*, or the exclusive appearance of the object of thought in the mind (*dhyeyamātra-sphuraṇam*), which, however, is different from the *Asamprajñāta* *Brahma-samādhi*. This leads to various external acts of devotion collectively included under the designation : (vi) *Padasevā*, such as the act of

1 *nāma-rūpa-nidhaya-labdhānām brahma-sparśaḥ*.

2 *tanvāpi brahmaṇe bh-bhāgavata-brahaṇa tu parama-bruṣhem*.

3 *kāleṣu tu prajñānam tar*.

4 *avasthā cittaṁ āgṛhya sāmānyādhāreṇa maṇa-dhāreṇa*.

5 *vīṭaṇṇa rūpādi-cintanam*.

seeing, touching or going round (*parikrama*) the image of the deity, following the procession of the image (*anuvraṇa*), residence in the temple or in some sacred place, pilgrimage, bathing in the holy waters of a Tirtha, etc. Living in holy places and pilgrimage are extolled as affording an opportunity of meeting saints and sages in these places. Further overt acts of devotion constitute the next stage called (*vif*) *Arcanā*, which includes various rites of worship to be learnt from the instruction of the Mantra-Guru or from the Āgamas. It is true that the *Bhāgavata* does not, as the *Pañcarātra* scriptures do, insist upon the necessity of ceremonial worship,¹ for recourse to one or other of the modes like *Śaraṇāpatti* mentioned above is, in its opinion, enough for attaining the highest good ;² but those who desire to follow this way of the *Pañcarātra* can do so in accordance with the *Dikṣā* received from their Gurus. This way of ceremonial worship is intended especially for those who are wealthy householders,³ for this is how their wealth can be best utilised. In this connexion the worship of inferior deities is deprecated. The *Arcanā* also comprehends such pious acts as putting on the Vaiṣṇava signs on one's body (*Vaiṣṇava-cihna-dhāraṇa*), partaking of the remains of an offering to the deity (*Nirmālya-dhāraṇa*) or drinking of the holy water obtained after washing the feet of the image (*Śaraṇāmṛta-pāna*) etc., which are regularly enjoined in the *Vaiṣṇava śāstra*. Closely connected with this is (*vif*) *Vandana*, or act of homage, which is indeed an *Aṅga* or auxiliary of *Arcanā*, but which is separately mentioned in order to indicate that it may be independently employed like *Śmaraṇa*, *Kīrtana* etc.⁴ It includes *Naṃaskāra*

1 *yadyapi hi-bhāgavata-mata pañcarātravad arcana-mārga-paryāya-kāraṇa nāsti.*

2 *rad viedpi śaraṇāparyāyāśindm śikṣarāḍpi puruṣārtha-niddhar abhikāraṇā.*

3 *ye ta saṃpattimanta grhasikṣā teṣā mārcaṇa-mārga eva mukhyaḥ.*

4 *taś ca yadyapi arcana-kṛtāṇāṃpi varīṣe, tathāpi kīrtana-mārcaṇa-vaśān śikṣarāḍpiyabhipretya pṛthag viddhiyate.*

or salutation, which in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism consists of prostration at full length like a log of wood (*daṇḍavat prapñmah*). The acts and ceremonies mentioned above gradually produce feelings of humility, fellowship or entire self-surrender, which are now mentioned as Ahaṅga of the Vaidhī Bhakti. The feeling of humility is indicated by (i/x) Dāśya, which consists not only of actual service but also of the feeling that one is a servant of the Lord (*dāśyammanyurvam*). Leaving alone the effort of worship, this very feeling of servitude, if fully realised, is enough for attaining the desired end; hence Dāśya is separately mentioned as a way of Bhakti.¹ This feeling of servitude is said to underlie and uplift all devotional practices.² A somewhat higher feeling is (x) Sakhyā, or the sense of friendship or relationship (*bandhu-bhāva*), which, like Dāśya, follows from the very nature of the relation of the Jīva and the Bhagavat. The last stage is reached in (xi) Ātma-nivedana, or complete surrender of self which consists of the feeling that one's body, mind, the senses, and soul are all intended for the Bhagavat.³ This feeling is marked also by the absence of all efforts for one's self (*ātmārtha-creṣṭhā-śūnyaiva*) and by the presence alone of efforts directed towards the pleasure of the Bhagavat (*śad-arthatka-creṣṭhāmayatva*). It thus consists of the dedication of self, both as a means and as an end, to the Bhagavat (*śan-nyasādīma sādhanā-sādhyaiva*).

Sometimes one or other of these eleven elements, which are interrelated to one another, is extolled as exclusively excellent in the scriptures; this is due not to any inherent mutual contradiction among these various ways, but to the fact that the one or the other is to be believed in or practised

1 *asu śārad bhajana-prayitāḥ, kerala-cāṭyāra-śāhīmāraṇḍe uddhīr bhavati śhīpreṇāraṇḍa-śāhīmāraṇḍe ca śārya.*

2 *etad dāśya-saṅghandhenaiva sarvam api bhajanam mahataram bhavati.*

3 *dehādī - buddhīma - purāṇaśārya sarvaśāhāvena tasmā eva-
pāṇam.*

according to the capacity of the individual worshipper, just in the same way as medicine is to be administered according to the capacity of the patient.

As this aspect of Bhakti is guided by the injunction of the Vaiṣṇava scriptures, it is conditional. It is based upon the fear of transgression; and as fear enters as an element in guiding devotional practices, this method must be regarded as somewhat formal and mechanical. As a preliminary stage, however, it is indispensable for some individuals before they can pass on to the higher and more spontaneous Rāgānuṣṭhā Bhakti, to the treatment of which now Jīva Gosvāmī turns his attention.

By Rāgānuṣṭhā Bhakti is meant the feeling of devotion which follows the lines of the Rāgātmikā Bhakti, eternally displayed by the Śaktis (in the form of divine Parikaras) towards the Śaktimat. The Rāgātmikā Bhakti, as its name implies, consists entirely of Rāga, which is defined as the natural excess of desire or attachment of a subject towards the object of desire or attachment.¹ For instance, whether the self wishes it or not, the five senses cannot but come into contact with the particular objects of inclination and be attracted by them. The sense of sight is naturally drawn towards beauty, that of smell towards fragrance, etc. In the same way the devotee cannot but be attracted towards the Bhagavat.² This spontaneous flow of devotion is called Rāgātmikā Bhakti. The Rāga may admit of various aspects according to the feeling and the relationship conceived between the subject and the object, for the Lord himself has said (*Bhāgavata*, iii. 25. 38): *yeṣāṃ ahaṃ priya ātmā sutā ca/sakhā guruḥ suhṛdo daivam iṣṭam* ("Of whom I am the Beloved, the Soul, the Son, the Friend, the Elderly Ancestor, the Relatives, and the Desirable Deity"). It is explained that the Lord appeared as the Priya to

1 *viśayaś cābhāvika viśaya-saṁsargacchāditayaś premā rāgaḥ.*

2 *yeṣā caṭṭvāriṇāṁ saṁsāryaṁ, tāḍṛṣṭvā evātra bhaktiḥ śri-bhagavatyam rāga ityucyate.*

the Gopis and his Mahiṣis, as the Ārmā to ascetics like Saṅka, as the Suta to Nanda and Yaśodā, as the Sakhā to Gopas like Sudāman, as the Guru to Pradyumna and others, as the Suhr̥t to Subhadrā, and as the Iṣṭa Deva to people like Dāruka. In his Līlā he manifests himself in these diverse ways to his Parikaras who are dear to him ; and the feeling of the Parikaras towards him takes the various forms of the Rāgātmikā Bhakti which thus expresses itself as a deep and natural feeling of attachment. The Valdhl Bhakti depends upon the injunctions of the Śāstras, and hence it is comparatively weak, being mechanical ; but the Rāgānugā, which follows the natural emotional ways of the Parikaras of the Bhagavat is independent of all outward rule and is therefore spontaneous and strong.

It may be objected that if the Rāgānugā Bhakti is marked by freedom from scriptural injunctions, the statement about its merit as the highest Dharma is in conflict with the well-known dictum of Jaimini (1. 1. 2. *codanā-lakṣaṇo'rtho dharmah*) which lays down that the Dharma is that which is enjoined by scriptural injunction. It is also said in the *Bhāgavata* that the Śruti and Smṛti, consisting of injunctions and prohibitions, are the directions of the Bhagavat himself, so that one who disregards them is guilty of violating divine commandments and cannot be regarded as a true Vaiṣṇava or a Bhakta. How is it then that fulfilment is said to follow in a way of worship which is indifferent to the Śāstric rules of conduct ?¹ This apparent anomaly is reconciled by the statement that Bhakti must be distinguished from other kinds of Dharma, which depend upon outward Śāstric rules ; for the devotional attitude which springs spontaneously from the intrinsic potency of the divine names and attributes is independent of such injunctions.² It is known from experience that in many cases there has been attainment of such devotion

1. *karṇam tārhi vidhi-nirapekṣayā tayā siddhiḥ.*

2. *śrī-bhagavan-nāma-guṇādīṇa vāsta-lakṣeṣu siddhantān na dharmatad bhaktiḥ codanā-śpekṣaivam.*

even without any knowledge of scriptural rules.¹ It is true that scriptural directions should not be disregarded, but directions are for those who have no natural inclination towards religious devotion :² it is for such people that grades of injunctions are prescribed.³ They are not necessary for those who have a natural process :⁴ for such outward mechanical rules are obligatory only when the mind in the early stage of devotion is inwardly distracted and cannot attain the natural stage of composure, which is essential for the Rāgānugā Bhakti. Hence, the chief object of the injunctions is to bring about this gradual concentration of the mind,⁵ and prepare it for the higher stage of the Rāgānugā Bhakti,⁶ in which the devotional spirit has a spontaneous and uninterrupted flow. It follows, therefore, that the scriptural injunctions are not to be ignored or violated ; on the contrary, they are strictly binding on those are still far away from the state of the Rāgānugā Bhakti. But when that state of mind is once reached, either by the Vaidhi or by itself, that is, when the object of the injunctions is fulfilled, there is no further necessity for compliance with them. At this higher stage of the Rāgānugā Bhakti, if there is any violation of such injunctions, such violation does not constitute wilful transgression ; for it takes place spontaneously by the spirit of Bhakti and does not in any way affect the natural attitude of the devotee towards the Bhagavat.

That this mode of Rāgānugā Bhakti is most efficacious is illustrated by the Purāṇic examples of Pūtana and Sītupālā. In the first case, by pretending Vātsalya or parental affection for Kṛṣṇa, Pūtana does not actually realise but merely imitates one of the modes of the Rāgānugā devotion ; but, in spite of

1 *na jñānadikaṃ vīṇāpi phala-lābho bahutra krato'sti.*

2 *codanā te yasya svataḥ pravṛttau nāsti tad-vijayatra.*

3 *tathā ārama-vicikīṣa ca tad-vijayak.*

4 *na tu mayam pravṛtīmatyapei mayāśā-nirmūḍam.*

5 *āramatā cittaśhāntiśvedya.*

6 *varjma-pravṛtāya.*

her insincerity and sinister motive, her mere imitativeness is said to have been amply rewarded by divine grace. In the second case, under the cover of a life-long and inveterate vindictiveness towards Kṛṣṇa, Śiṣupāla's whole thought was indeed deeply concentrated on Kṛṣṇa, and this fervency of feeling, despite its ill-directed motive, could not but bring its own reward in the shape of Sāyujya Mukti for Śiṣupāla. On account of this adverse attitude, Śiṣupāla could not attain the highest good, namely, Preman or love for Kṛṣṇa, and he was given the lowest place in the hierarchy of emancipated beings ; but this and other examples show that the Rāgānugā Bhakti, even if it is imitative, adverse or apathetic, is superior to the Vaidhī, even when the latter is directed in a congenial and sympathetic way.

It has been already said above that the Rāgānugā Bhakti is that devotion which follows the lines of the Rāgātmikā Bhakti of the constant Attendants or Parikaras of the Bhagavat, which is thus an aspect of the eternal divine sport displayed in the divine Dhāman. These Parikaras represent the different aspects of the Lord's own energy of bliss or Hlādinī Śakti, which in its infinite potency reflects itself differently in them in the form of different personal relationships conceived in emotional terms. The one and the same infinite Rasa or divine sentiment of bliss is differently expressed, and results in different devotional relationships between the Śaktimat and the aspects of his Śakti. Viewed from the standpoint of emotional human relationship (Rāgātmikā), the varieties of Rasa thus reflected in the divine Parikaras become the different types or stages of Rāgātmikā Bhakti. On the lines of the Rāgātmikā Bhakti, the Rāgānugā Bhakti of ordinary devotees is modelled as types or stages of spontaneous devotional sentiment. The Vaidhī Bhakti need not involve any emotional realisation of this character ; it is enough if the enjoined religious duties are performed in an attitude of devotion. The Rāgānugā Bhakti, on the other hand, consists of an emotional sublimation of intimate human sentiments

by directing them towards the Bhagavat. It is, no doubt, an inward and spontaneous realisation, but it is still an elaborate realisation or *Sādhana* : like the *Vaidhi*, it is still *Sādhana-bhakti*, but the *Sādhana* is independent of mechanical *Sāstric* formulas and depends entirely on one's own emotional capacity of devotion. It is, however, vicarious in the sense that the devotee, according to his individual capacity, imitates and realises within himself the different aspects of the beatific sport of the deity with his Associates in terms of one or other of the varieties of the blissful sentiment. It does not consist of a direct establishment of personal relationship between the deity and the devotee, but the devotee prepares himself for such direct personal contact by this preliminary vicarious enjoyment of the devotional sentiments of the deity's own *Parikaras*, who typify the highest forms of devotional realisation. This *Rāgāmīkā Bhakti* of the divine *Parikaras* cannot indeed be reached in its perfection by phenomenal beings, but years of constant practice can prepare them for ultimately attaining this state.¹

These forms or gradations of emotional realisation are classified, in terms of human sentiments, into five broad categories of *Rasas* or devotional sentiments, namely, *Śānta*, *Dāya*, *Sakhya*, *Vīṭsalya* and *Mādhurya*, the characteristics of which have already been indicated above in connexion with *Rūpa Goswāmī*'s treatment of the *Bhakti-Rasa-Sāstra*. The idea of the stages of distinct personal relationship of the deity and his *Parikaras* is a fundamental postulate with the Bengal school of *Vaiṣṇavism*, because otherwise the relationship would be reduced to one of colourless identity, which cannot be posited in view of the theory of difference in non-difference accepted by the school. It is for this reason that the *Śānta-Bhakti*, which does not involve any such idea of personal emotional relationship, is distinguished as inferior to the other four. The *Śānta-Bhakti* consists of *Sama* or a state of mental

1 See above p. 178.

composure, in which the devotee, according to the description of the *Gītā*, becomes *brahmabhāta* and attains the consciousness of his complete identity with Brahman. This mode of realisation, therefore, is not based upon the idea of personal relationship with the Bhagavat conceived as the Perfect Person, and would reduce the devotional sentiment into a sentiment of self-worship. No doubt, it involves an amount of Bhakti, but both in its method and objective it is mixed with Jñāna; and such Jñāna-miśrā Bhakti has already been spoken of above as an inferior type of Bhakti. It is not entirely rejected as a mode, but it is followed only by those who are desirous of Mukti or complete absorption in the impersonal Brahman. The pure Bhakti, on the other hand, is free from any such inferior objective, but it wants to continue its worship of the deity in some form of direct emotional relationship even in a state of emancipation from the bondage of the Māyā-śakti. The first stage of this unmixed Bhakti is Dāsa or the sentiment of servitude, which is higher than the somewhat colourless sentiment involved in Śānta-Bhakti, for it conceives the Bhagavat as the eternal master and the Parikara as his eternal servant. There are also two other stages of affectionate relation, namely, Sakhya or Friendship and Vatsalya or Parental Sentiment, until the climax is reached in the stage of Mādhurya or pure erotic Love, symbolised by the intense and exquisite feeling of the Gopīs for Kṛṣṇa. This sentiment can also be imitated and vicariously realised by the devotee irrespective of his sex. In this highest stage the Lordship of the deity is completely suppressed by a sweetly powerful and self-surrendering charm which produces a strong mutual attraction between the deity and his Parikara.

In this connexion Jīva Gosvāmī maintains that the passion of the Gopīs for Kṛṣṇa must not be viewed as mere sensual passion (Prākṛta Kāma). No doubt, there are verses in the *Bhāgavatā* in which the display of conjugal love is described with reference to Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs; but even if it is desire or Kāma, in the Gopīs it becomes pure love or

Preman :¹ for in all these ecstatic sports the Gopis never had the slightest desire for their own pleasure, but all their efforts were directed towards effecting the supreme pleasure of the Bhagavat. In the case of the Sairamdhri (the Kujā), her desire for sporting with Kṛṣṇa is not deprecated in itself : for whatever may have been the character of her desire, she did not long for an inferior worldly object,² but for the Bhagavat himself,³ and there is no doubt from her words about the intensity of her feeling. It is deprecated only in comparison with the feeling of the Gopis, for her desire for sport was entirely for her own sensual pleasure, while that of the Gopis was exclusively intended for Kṛṣṇa.⁴ In accordance with the *Vedānta-sūtra* II. 1. 33 (*lokavat tu nīd kalvalyam*), the Lord's intrinsic self consists of nothing but a spontaneous sport of his own infinite bliss.⁵ This sport must be understood to be non-phenomenal (*apṛākṛta*), but it is similar in form to that of phenomenal beings (*lokavat*). In the phenomenal world the pleasure derived from conjugal love is reckoned as the highest fruition of sensuous pleasure : it is only natural that the Bhagavat should also display in his sport with his Śaktis supersensuous pleasure of a similar character. The sex-instinct is thus acknowledged in this theology as one of the highest human instincts which finds a transfigured counterpart or ideal in the highest sportive instinct of the divine being. The Gopis, as already shown, are nothing but aspects of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa's highest energy of bliss (Hlādinī Śakti), and sport with them after the manner of phenomenal beings is only a natural expression of the divine self. Moreover, the sacred texts show that even ascetics and devotees like Uddhava, who were above

1 *śāntiśānta kāma hi premāṅgarūpaḥ*.

2 *prākṛyam eva nīḥyam*.

3 *sā tu bhagavanām eva kāmayaṣṭi iti parama-umanīḥyeva*.

4 *sairamdhryā tu bhāvo nīḥmad-prītyatreṇa śi-gopīḥām iva kevala-tar-nāparyābhāvat tad-apakṛtyaiva nīdyate, na tu svarūpaḥ*.

5 *nīd māra svabhāvata eva nīdā*.

worldly pleasure, praised and desired such pleasure of conjugal love as displayed by the Gopīs. The *Padma-purāṇa* records that even the Śrutis (the Vedas) also craved for it, and were incarnated as Gopīs. The fact that not only women but also men, and men of saintly character, desire it shows that the feeling is free from all touch of mere sensuality.¹

In conclusion Jīva Gosvāmin states that other details about Bhakti-mārga are to be learnt from the Śāstras or from the examples of great devotees. But whatever devotional secret one obtains from the grace of the Bhagavat or from his Guru should be cherished as a precious possession and should not be divulged to any one.

1. THE PRITI-SAṂDARBHA

The object of this Saṁdarbha is to establish that Priti or Prema-bhakti, which as devotional love for the Bhagavat is the highest type of Bhakti, is the *summum bonum* of human life. In the first four Saṁdarbhas, the ultimate reality or the Parama-tattva has been explained and identified with the Saṁbandha-tattva of the Śāstra, namely, the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa as the highest and most exclusive object of worship (Upāsya). In the fifth Saṁdarbha his worship (Upāsana) has been declared as the Abhidheya or subject-matter of the Śāstra. In the present Saṁdarbha, the Priti for the Bhagavat is considered as the highest end or Prayojana. It has been declared by philosophers that the highest Prayojana or the highest good of man is the discontinuance of the miseries of existence (*duḥkha-nivṛtti*) and the attainment of happiness (*sukha-prāpti*). An attempt is made now to demonstrate that the Bhagavat-priti brings happiness which is unalloyed and imperishable, and consequently causes the absolute and permanent cessation of misery. It is shown that by this intense feeling of devotional love, which can be relished by the devotee as a blissful supersensuous sentiment (Rasa),

1. na prākṛtya kāmāṇāṁ.

the Bhagavat can be realised in his true character ; for the Bhagavat himself realises in it his own nature of perfect bliss and reveals himself in his self-surrendering grace.

In the scriptures the ultimate reality is established as the real (*sat*), eternal (*ananta*), absolute (*kevala*) and perfect (*parama*) bliss. This bliss is distinguished from every other kind of bliss, for it is pure and abundant, being placed beyond the sphere of the *Māyā-śakti*, and is, therefore, unlike phenomenal pleasure which is mixed with sorrow and therefore transient and insufficient. It has been already explained in the *Paramāśiva-saṁdarbha* that, although the *Jīva* belongs to the Bhagavat (*śaṅkṣo'pi*), its knowledge of the Bhagavat is defeated by the external *Māyā-śakti* ; and as this results in a loss of self-knowledge and in an absorption in the phenomenal conditions (*Upādhi*) fashioned by the *Māyā-śakti*, the *Jīva* is tied to the misery of rebirth (*Saṁsāra*). The *Jīva*'s want of knowledge of the Bhagavat is declared to be an instance of *Prāgabdhā* (non-existence previous to production) ; that is, it exists from the beginning but can be removed by divine grace ; it is not a case of *Dhvansābhāva* (non-existence due to total destruction) or *Aryasābhāva* (absolute non-existence) ; for, in these cases the attainment of knowledge would have been entirely impossible. In other words, the *Jīva*'s knowledge of the Bhagavat may be temporarily non-existent, but the *Jīva* possesses, through divine grace, the inherent capacity of attaining it. This knowledge of the Bhagavat, which is equivalent to beatitude or direct realisation of the ultimate reality, consists of the attainment of the highest bliss ; and this is declared to be the highest human good or the *Parama-puruṣārtha*. As soon as the radical cause, namely, want of knowledge, is removed, the *Jīva*'s loss of self-knowledge automatically disappears ; for the knowledge of self consists entirely of the knowledge of the self-manifesting divine self, of which the individual self is only a part. The cessation of misery follows as a natural result from this blissful realisation ; and, being destroyed eternally,

the cessation becomes absolute and perpetual (*dhvaṃśābhava*). As it is preceded by the removal of the fetters of the *Māyā-śakti* or the bondage of *Saṃsāra* by an appearance of the *Svarūpa-śakti* in the shape of *Prema-bhakti*, it is called *Mukti* or emancipation. The *Mukti* has, therefore, been described in the *Bhāgavata* (ii. 10. 6) as the attainment of the *Jīva*'s natural state and function by relinquishing its otherwise imposed state and function.¹ It has been already shown that the view that the *Jīva* and the *Bhagavat* are identical is wrong ; the *Jīva*, as a part (*Aṃśa*) attains the whole (*Aṃśin*), which, according to the capacity and mode of worship, may be either the *Brahman* or the *Bhagavat*. Of these two modes of attainment, the first consists merely of the appearance of the knowledge of the impersonal *Brahman* on the destruction of that function of the *Māyā-śakti* which is known as the *Avidyā* and of the absorption of the *Jīva* in *Brahman* ; but the second, which is higher, consists of the attainment of the *Bhagavat* in his fullest and truest self in his own paradise, where the *Jīva* in its essential character is brought in direct contact with the personal god. The attainment of the *Brahman*, much less of the *Bhagavat*, must not be understood to imply that the individual attains sameness or identity, but it means that the individual merely posits its own intrinsic similarity to the divine reality, the similarity consisting in the inherent possession, even in infinitesimal proportion, of the divine *Svarūpa-śakti* of bliss, which for the time being was suppressed by the *Māyā-śakti*. This *Mukti* can be attained during life-time (*Jīva-dakṣ*) as well as after leaving the gross and the subtle bodies after death (*Ukrānta-dakṣ*). In the latter state, both kinds of body (gross and subtle) being destroyed, the *Jīva* is no longer subject to the bondage of *Karma* and consequently to phenomenal pleasure and pain ; it thus becomes fit to receive the highest bliss which reveals

¹ *muktir hitvānyathā-rūpam svarūpeṇa vyavasthitaḥ.*

itself and destroys misery for ever. The Śāstra speaks of this type of Mukti as the highest Prayojana or Puruṣārtha.

It has been already made clear that the divine reality can be attained either in the indistinct and indiscrete form (*aspaṣṭa-viśeṣa-rūpa*) of Brahman or in the distinct and proper form of the Bhagavat ; and that of these, the direct beatitude or Sākṣātkāra of the Bhagavat is much superior to the mere consciousness or Jñāna of Brahman. This theme is further elucidated here from a different point of view. Of all the attributes or energies of the divine self, the highest is its special attribute of belovedness (*priyatva-lakṣaṇa-dharma-viśeṣa*), which implies the state both of loving and being loved and which is one of the highest functions of its energy of bliss or Hlādini Śakti. One may possess a series of good qualities, but without Prīti or love such qualities have hardly any significance ; on the other hand, the value of the qualities can be properly realised only when such a person is regarded with Prīti or love. It follows, therefore, that the divine attributes are fully realised only when the attribute of Prīti is realised, that is, only when the divine person is realised not only as an object of love but also as capable of love himself. In all divine revelation or Sākṣātkāra, therefore, the element of Prīti must predominate ; and the degree of the revelation depends upon the degree of the Prīti involved in it. It follows from what has been said above that (i) the attainment of the highest happiness and the consequent cessation of misery, which constitute Mukti, are attainable by divine Sākṣātkāra alone, (ii) without Prīti there can be no Sākṣātkāra or revelation of the divine self or of his intrinsic attributes, (iii) this Sākṣātkāra consists of the apprehension of the ultimate divine reality in its truest and fullest character of the Bhagavat as a personal god in his own paradise, (iv) by Prīti or intense devotional love alone for the deity, there is certainty of such apprehension, (v) upon the quality and extent of the Prīti depend the character and degree of the apprehension, and (vi) the Bhagavat-Prīti alone is thus the only *summum bonum* of man.

That the *Prīti* is the highest good can also be established by the ways of the world (*loka-vyavahāra*). All beings are naturally inclined towards *Prīti* or love, for it is seen that life itself is sacrificed for the beloved object. A man seeks different objects of love in his childhood, youth and old age, but his search is never fully satisfied ; for everyone desires to love that object which brings the highest and most enduring bliss, and such an object is unavailable in the phenomenal world. The Bhagavat alone as the source of such bliss is the highest object of love. Thus, through cycles of birth, the *Jīva* never realises the proper and fully sufficient object of love until it reaches the Bhagavat in whom all his *Prīti* finally rests. One who is full of *Prīti* towards the Bhagavat can have no love for any other object ; even emancipation as such is insignificant to him. In saying, therefore, that *Prīti* is the highest good, one can only mean *Prīti* towards the Bhagavat.

Those who maintain that there is no feeling of bliss in *Mukti* fail to demonstrate that it is the highest good. The existence of bliss is useless unless it can be felt ; for no one desires that he will become bliss itself, but he desires to feel the bliss. Hence, if there is no feeling of bliss in the state of release, then it would be a futile objective for which no effort would be undertaken and no desire entertained. Those who maintain, therefore, that in *Mukti* there is no consciousness of feeling and consequently no experience of bliss, prescribe a *summum bonum* which can hardly stimulate any desire or effort for attainment. That there is such an experience (*anubhava*) of bliss even in emancipation is established in the *Sruti*. Even when the *Jīva* attains the state of identity with Brahman, it can never, as we have seen, become the Brahman itself because of the relation of difference in non-difference, and there is some bliss even in the realisation of Brahman ; but since in the higher manifestation of the Bhagavat there is a full display of the intrinsic divine energies, the bliss in this case springs from the perfect divine self and is of a varied and wonderful character (*ānanda-vaicitrya*). This

Bhagavat-sākṣātkāra alone, in which there is an experience of infinite bliss, is entitled to the designation of Mukti.

The Sākṣātkāra or revelation of the Bhagavat may occur either by the inward (*antar*) or the outward (*bahis*) appearance of the deity to the devotee; in other words, the Bhagavat may either reveal himself inwardly to the contemplative mind, or he may do so outwardly to the mind and the different organs of senses. The outward vision, however, is regarded as superior to the inward, for the actual sight of the deity as a person is a higher realisation than the mere comprehension through mental meditation. Purity of mind and body is a necessary qualification, but such purity itself is the result of the self-manifesting energy of the divine will discovered by the particular mode of Bhakti. The Bhakti, being a special function of the divine Svārūpa-śakti, can never be produced but appears of itself through divine grace; and the human mind and senses, being affected by this self-manifested energy of the divine self, become possessed of the conceit that they are themselves the means of divine manifestation. If it is objected that this conclusion would dispense with the very necessity of mental and bodily purity, it is replied that such purity is nevertheless necessary for reflecting, as in a mirror, the divine energy. The removal of the gross consciousness induced by the Māyā-śakti abolishes the phenomenal self; and the true self, standing out in its essential purity and tranquillity, becomes a sort of superconscious medium for the appearance of the divine being.

It must not be supposed that during divine descent as Avatāras, even impure minds obtained a direct vision. What they obtained was merely a semblance (Ābhāsa) of the vision, which does not deserve the designation of Mukti.¹ A reference to the *Bhāgavata* shows that during the Prakāṣa Līlā, beings like Indra and Śitopālā could not have obtained the same vision as the Gopa-Gopīs, although Kṛṣṇa appeared before

1 *raja sākṣātkāra bhāgavate na mukti-saṁjñitavati.*

them all. It is because of the defective mentality of these beings that their vision was defective by taking in an *Ābhāsa* only, Kṛṣṇa having never revealed himself in his true character before them ; for the Lord has declared in the *Gītā* (vii. 25) that he is not manifest to all, being hidden by his own *Yoga-māyā*.¹ Such impure minds devoid of *Pṛiti* are of two kinds, namely, those which are indifferent or averse to the Bhagavat (*Vaīrī* *mukha*), and those which are hostile (*Vidveṣī*). The former, again, fall into two classes, namely, (i) those who having obtained a sight of the deity are still absorbed in phenomenal objects ;² e. g. the ordinary men and gods at the time of Kṛṣṇa's appearance, and (ii) those who having obtained a sight of the deity directly disregard him ;³ e. g. Indra who spoke of Kṛṣṇa with disrespect. In this connection it must not be supposed that the *Gopa-Gopīs*, who are the favoured *Parikaras* of Kṛṣṇa, were still absorbed in the objects of senses, for their absorption was not for their own sake but for the sake of accomplishing the pleasure of Kṛṣṇa. In other words, their absorption was not real but apparent ; it was only a semblance (*Ābhāsa*) of absorption, imposed for the purpose of fostering the particular *Līlā*. The *Parikaras* of the Bhagavat are all non-phenomenal beings, and can therefore be never affected by such expressions of phenomenal attributes as jealousy, anger etc.; where incidents, involving such passions or attributes, are described in the *Bhāgavata* (e.g. in the cases of *Balarāma*, *Arjuna* and *Nārada* in the *Syamantaka-upākhyāna*, x. 57; *Mahākīlapura-upākhyāna*, x. 89; and the *Maṇḍala-upākhyāna* xi. 1), they must be taken as instances of the *Ābhāsa* or semblance, and not reality, of such passions or attributes. Those who are hostile to the Bhagavat also fall into classes, namely, (i) those who are receptive of the graceful charm of the Bhagavat but are incapable of appreciating

1 *nāhaṁ prajāśah sarvāṁsya yoga-māyā-samāvṛtāḥ*.

2 *labhe tad-darśanā'pi vijayādvyabhīniveśanantah*.

3 *avajānātāḥ*.

its sweetness through disrelish (*Aruci*) and are, therefore, positively ill disposed, e. g. *Kālayavana*, and (ii) those who have an unnatural and contrary perception (*Vaiṛṭya*) which regards the sweetness as bitterness, and are, therefore, vindictive, e. g. the *Mallas* of *Kaṣṭha*. All these four kinds of impurity in their fine distinctions are likened to the different degrees of sensibility of a person, possessing a bilious and defective tongue, with regard to the taste of a lump of sugar. In the first place, he is incapable, through the radical defect, of realising the true taste of sugar, but seeing others like it, he may not despise it; secondly, he may despise it through self-conceit; thirdly, being fond of things possessing sour or bitter taste, he may be hostile to the sweet taste; or lastly, through his depraved and contrary sense, its sweetness may taste as bitterness. Just as a person possessing one or other of this fourfold defect of taste can never have the true taste of sugar but only the semblance of a taste, the mind possessing one or other of the four kinds of impurity mentioned above can never have a direct realisation of the true divine self, but only the semblance of such realisation. But the true realisation may ultimately come through divine grace, just in the same way as the true relish of sugar may appear through constant practice and habit. The averteness of the impure, who seeing the deity see him not, can be removed by the manifestation of *Prema-Bhakti*, which results in the real *Sākṣātkāra* and not in its semblance only.

The *Mukti* or divine revelation occurring after death may be of five kinds, and they are (i) *Sālokya*, attainment of the same *Loka* or place of divine habitation with the deity (ii) *Sārṣṭya*, attainment of similar divine condition or power, (iii) *Sārūpya*, attainment of similar divine form, (iv) *Sāṃpya*, attainment of proximity or nearness to the divine being, and (v) *Sāyujya*, entrance into or absorption in the divine self. Of these the *Sāṃpya* alone partakes of the character of what is called *Bahīṣ-sākṣātkāra* or outward vision above, the other four being inferior to it as *Antaḥ-sākṣātkāra*. All the five

kinds of Mukti, however, are beyond the sphere of phenomenal Guṇas, and there is no return from them into rebirth (*anāvṛtti-nāśitya*). In the case of *Sārṅgya* and *Sārūpya*, it must not be understood that the emancipated being attains all the divine powers in their perfection or the same perfect divine form : they attain not the same but similar powers and form only in a partial proportion :¹ for the Jīva, however perfected or emancipated, is still inferior to the Bhagavat. The *Sāyujya* Mukti usually occurs in the attainment of the Brahman (*Brahma-kaivalya*), but *Sāyujya* with the Bhagavat is sometimes spoken of. Although the Jīva never becomes perfectly identical with the Bhagavat, the chief characteristic of the *Sāyujya* Mukti is complete immersion in the divine bliss (*bhagavat-lakṣaṇānanda-nimagnatā*), and consequently the capacity of experiencing the Bhagavat in all his intrinsic energies and supersensuous sports becomes lost in the state of immersion. In this respect, the *Sāyujya* Mukti differs from the other four forms of emancipation, in which the separate existence and the consequent opportunity for worship and service of the emancipated being still continue. For this reason the *Sāyujya* Mukti is regarded as inferior and is never desired by the real Bhakta : and in the *Bhāgavata*, the purport of which is to inculcate the continuous service and adoration of the Bhagavat, there is no explicit example given of the *Sāyujya* Mukti, which is thus not directly approved of in the highest scripture of Vaiṣṇavism. It is clear that since in the *Sāyujya* Mukti the individual personality and capacity for service of the emancipated being vanish, it is inconsistent with the fundamental devotional principles of dualistic Vaiṣṇavism, and is, therefore, denied a place of importance in its devotional scheme. Its lesser importance is illustrated by the fact that in some cases (as in the example of *Śiṣupāla*, who is said to have obtained the *Sāyujya* Mukti), the Bhagavat in his Līlā takes the individual bodily out of his

1 *prāptiḥ avasthātva jīkeyā*.

own divine self and sets him up as a *Pārṣada*, thus relieving him of the powerless state of merger and making him capable of enjoying the divine Līlā as an Associate or Attendant.

From what has been said above it is clear that the characteristics of Mukti, as properly understood from the Vaiṣṇava point of view, are: (i) removal of the bondage of the Māyā-śakti and realisation of the Jīva's true self through that function of the Svarūpa-śakti which is called Bhakti and of which the highest blissful expression is Prīti, (ii) the consequent attainment of a state which is beyond the sphere of the phenomenal Guṇas induced by the Māyā-śakti, and the relinquishment, after death, of the subtle as well as the gross body, (iii) cessation of all absorption in phenomenal acts (Karma) but not of devotional acts, and the consequent abolition of all doubt and pain, (iv) abolition of Saṃsāra or rebirth, (v) a direct intuition or sight of the deity (Sākṣātkāra), resulting in the regaining of the Jīva's proper state of bliss or beatitude, and (vi) persistence of the separate existence and personality of the emancipated being in perpetual worship and service of the deity, which consist chiefly of the different sentiments (Rasas), involved, as aspects of Prīti, in the beatific sports displayed in the divine place of habitation. The most essential of these characteristics is the Sākṣātkāra or direct revelation of the deity, the others following it as a matter of course.

The five kinds of Mukti described by the current schools of thought are thus accepted and interpreted in its own light by the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism, but in the interpretation prominence is given to the service and love of the Bhagavat, which alone in its view is important as the highest of all human ends. The Mukti which gives no such scope to Prīti or devotional love is rejected; for it is laid down that the Prīti, which alone results in the clearest revelation, is much higher than even the five kinds of Mukti, which follow as an inevitable concomitant of the attainment of Prīti. There cannot indeed be any true Mukti without Prīti towards the

Bhagavat, but the individuals desirous of Mukti have often other objectives than the Bhagavat himself and do not desire him exclusively. The word Kaivalya, however, implies pure Bhakti, consisting of unalloyed Pṛiti; and even the desire for Mukti, if it is not synonymous with Bhagavat-Pṛiti, must be regarded as deccit (Kaltava) in the religion of the Bhāgavatas.¹ Even those who have attained Mukti are known to have desired Pṛiti thereafter; for rightly understood, Pṛiti is the only highest form of Mukti. This is the whole purport of the *Bhāgavata*, which directly disapproves of Mukti in many a passage. Except in so far as the powers and privileges conferred by the five forms of Mukti become useful as a means for serving the deṭy, the true Bhakta, who is Pṛitimāt, never desires Mukti even if it is granted freely to him, but only seeks to realise his devotional love by contributing exclusively to the pleasure of the Bhagavat.

If the Bhakta is sometimes seen to pray for other boons, this must be understood to be an aspect of his Pṛiti, for such prayer is never meant for selfish ends but for serving the deṭy. The Ekāntin or exclusively devoted Bhakta may be either Jāta-pṛiti or Ajāta-pṛiti, according as his love for the deṭy is fully developed or not. For the latter, the only desirable good is the growth of devotional love. But the former may be (i) the Śānta-bhakta whose only desire is an experience of the deṭy,² (ii) the divine Parikara of the Lord who possesses the Rāgātmikā Bhakti, and (iii) the Bhakta who possesses the Rāgīnugā Bhakti and, with the conceit of a particular Parikara,³ desires to experience the different sentiments (Rasas) of Dāsya, Sakhya etc. by means of service and worship. Each of these seeks such favour as suits his capacity and inclination. The Śānta Bhakta, for instance, does not seek to serve but desires merely to obtain

1 bhagavat-dharme mokṣaḥkṛtsaṃdhiḥ apt kṛtaram.

2 sadīyānubhava-sūtra-niṣkhaḥ.

3 parikara-rūpāḥkṛtānubhava.

a consciousness of the deity ; but the third type of devotee mentioned above may desire the favour of proximity etc., in order that he may better serve his deity. If they are sometimes seen to desire Sāṅgīya, Sāmlpya etc., the object is not to obtain any benefit for personal enjoyment but to attain the privileges and powers of these forms of Mukti for the purpose of serving the deity with greater magnificence. But Bhagavat-priiti alone is the boon which the true Bhakta really seeks.

The concept Priiti involves the elements of Sukha (pleasure) and Priyatā (attribute of fondness). By Sukha is meant such degrees of pleasure or happiness as are indicated by the words Mud, Pramoda, Harṣa and Ānanda ; by Priyatā is understood the feeling of attachment indicated by words like Bhāva (affection), Hārda (cordiality) and Saubhṛda (friendliness). Both the words Sukha and Priyatā imply emotion but there is a difference. The Sukha is a particular consciousness which consists of delight consequent upon some kind of personal satisfaction ; but the Priyatā, also a consciousness consisting entirely of delight, involves (i) an agreeableness (ānukūlyā) towards the object of love, which seeks the welfare of the beloved, irrespective of any consideration of personal satisfaction, (ii) a longing (āspṛhā) for the beloved object which is based upon this agreeable disposition (śad-ānukūlyāśaṅgā), and (iii) a consciousness of delight resulting from these two factors. It is true that whatever causes the pleasure of the beloved also causes the pleasure of the person loving him, but the latter pleasure is not the conscious object of desire but follows as an inevitable concomitant. Thus, the Priyatā, even if it has a significance for self, is not self-centred like Sukha, which results from the realisation of some kind of personal interest. The Priyatā involves indeed an element of Sukha but it is not synonymous with Sukha : for the impersonal delight in Priyatā is different from the mere consciousness of personal pleasure which is the essence of Sukha, and consists entirely in contributing to the pleasure of the

beloved object. Thus, Sukha inheres in self as the ground (Āśraya) of the emotion, but since it does not involve the desire of causing the pleasure of anyone else, it has no object (Viṣaya) to which it may be directed ; but Priyatā, or Love as a sentiment, has both a ground and an object in the self and in the not-self respectively.

Since the chief characteristic of Priyatā, involved in Prīti, is the selfless disposition to seek the happiness of the beloved, it transcends the element of Sukha and ignores, even if it necessarily involves, all considerations of one's own happiness. The fact that the beloved is being made happy may cause, as a matter of course, one's own happiness ; but even such happiness of one's self may sometimes be an obstacle if it impedes the act of contributing to the happiness of the beloved object. It is for this reason that Prīti or Love does not even desire to obtain the beloved object for itself. If such a desire hinders in any way the happiness of the beloved object. But even in such a case, the deprivation does not cause pain, for the thought that the beloved is happy causes a peculiar happiness in one's self. When, on the other hand, there is attainment consistent with the happiness of the beloved object, the happiness in one's self is still not personal but consists of the thought that it is bringing happiness to the beloved object. Thus, love may not always mean happiness in the narrow sense but happiness in the higher sense is always present in it. Both in separation and union, there is happiness in Prīti caused by the happiness of the beloved, even though it is devoid of all conscious desire for one's personal happiness. The Prīti or Love in this sense consists simply of selfless service to the beloved and is known as Sevā.

In the Vaiṣṇava Rasa-lātra, this Prīti or Love directed towards the Bhagavat is designated by the term Prema-bhakti, and as such it is regarded as an expression of the intrinsic divine energy. This is the essential characteristic (svarūpa-lakṣaṇa) of Prīti. In theological language, the Sukha is a function of the attribute of goodness of the Māyā-śakti, while

the *Priyatā* is an aspect of the highest *Mādhya* or blissful *Svarūpa-akti* of the divine being. As it springs from the inherent quality of the object of desire, the *Prīti* is described as natural or *Svābhāviki*; and as it has no other motive but agreeableness to the pleasure of the beloved object, it is called *Animittā* or *Akimpnā*. Even *Sādhana-bhakti* and *Bhāva-bhakti* possess these characteristics because of their direct relation to *Prema-bhakti*; and though both these appear as means of accomplishment (*Sādhana*), they should not be regarded as impermanent (*vinaivara*) or worldly (*aparamārtha*) expedients, because *Bhakti*, in whatever form it appears, can never be properly taken as a means but should be considered as an end in itself, being an expression of the divine attribute of blissful love. Viewed from this standpoint, it follows that in the blissful love of the devotee the divine being eternally realises his own intrinsic potency of blissful love, which forms the essence of his divine self. It is thus a form of self-realisation not only of the devotee, who regains his natural blissful state, but also of the divine person whose very self consists primarily of blissful love. It is, therefore, declared in the *Śruti* that the *Prīti* of his *Bhakta* causes a wonderful delight to the *Bhagavat* himself,¹ by which the divine being becomes, according to the *Bhāgavata* (ix. 4. 63), full of infinite *Prīti* and entirely subservient to the *Bhakta*. The bliss of the *Bhagavat* is of two kinds, springing respectively from his *Svarūpa* or intrinsic self, and from his *Svarūpa-akti* or intrinsic energy. The latter kind of bliss may, again, be (i) *Mānasa*nanda or mental bliss, arising from the display of such attributes as compassion, friendliness, etc., and (ii) *Ādivyā*nanda, or bliss arising from the display of such power and magnificence as his *Dhāman*, *Parikara*, *Līlā*, etc. The bliss caused by the *Prema-bhakti* or *Prīti* of the devotee, which entirely subjugates (*paravāṭikaroti*) and intoxicates (*mādayati*) the deity, is to be comprehended as a special

1 *Bhagavato'pyānanda-camarākrīṭā tasyā bhaktin brūyāt.*

expression of the divine Mānasa-ānanda. This divine bliss cannot be likened to the bliss of the Sāṃkhya, arising from the Sattva-guṇa, for the Bhagavat is eternally untouched by the Guṇas brought into existence by the Māyā-lakṣī; nor is it like the Brahmānanda of the Nirviśeṣa-vādiṇa, for it would then be nothing more than Svarūpānanda; nor is it like the Ānanda of the Jīva which is only atomic; but it is the peculiar bliss of the highest Hīdini Svarūpa-lakṣī by which the Bhagavat himself enjoys and makes the other enjoy. This divine bliss, which surpasses every other kind of bliss, being placed in the Bhakta, becomes Bhagavat-prīti,¹ the experience of which makes both the deity and the devotee completely engrossed in each other (*parasparādvaitatva*). Thus a direct channel of mystic contact is established between them, but there is never complete identity and relationship continues for ever. The process is illustrated by the analogy of the heating of iron by the fire, in which the iron is possessed by the attributes of the fire and becomes fiery, but its character as iron remains unchanged.

The incidental characteristic (*toṣaṇa-lakṣaṇa*) of Bhagavat-prīti consists of such outward expressions of the sentiment as melting of the mind (*Dravati*), thrill of pleasure (*Roma-harṣa*) and shedding of tears (*Āśru-pāta*), etc.; and they signify that the relish of the sentiment is one of sweetness (*Mādhurya*). As the Viṣaya or Ālambana of the Prīti is the Bhagavat, it is, like the Bhagavat himself, one and indivisible; but, like the Bhagavat again, it is capable of making its appearance in various degrees or stages (*Krama*), in accordance with the various degrees of the capacity of particular devotees. In relation to the particular Svarūpa in which the deity manifests himself, either perfectly or imperfectly, the Prīti also makes its perfect or imperfect appearance. In the *Kṛpā-saṃdarbhā* it has been demonstrated that Kṛpā is the Bhagavat himself in the most perfect manifestation of

the divine principle. It would follow from this that it is only in relation to Kṛṣṇa, and to no other deity, that there is the most perfect display of Prīti; and that in the devotees of Kṛṣṇa alone there is the perfection of the devotional sentiment of love. In the Parikarās of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa, who are the best types of devotee, the Prīti is eternally self-established, but in other devotees it is awakened and gradually becomes fully developed. In the first stage, there appears a feeling of non-attachment to the gross body and objects of senses, as well as a feeling of attachment to everything relating to the Bhagavat; but when the Prīti makes its full appearance, there is a complete attachment to the Bhagavat, which is unchangeable in all conditions and situations, and which consists of the perfection of bliss and the power of bringing bliss to others by contact or association.

The appearance of Prīti operates in two different ways on the devotee: (i) it cultivates and prepares the mind (*bhaktacitta sampadyā-viśeṣa*) by giving rise to successively higher grades of the devotional feeling, and (ii) it produces various kinds of conceits or distinctive consciousness (*abhimāna-viśeṣa*), such as the conceit of being a servant, a friend or a beloved of the deity. From the first of these points of view, the successive stages in the growth of the devotional feeling are: (1) Rati, producing delight in the mind (*vilāsayati*), (2) Preman, causing a sense of attachment which regards the deity as one's own (*mamatayā yojayati*), (3) Prapaya, generating confidence (*vibrambhayati*), (4) Māna, producing, through excess of affection, a sensitiveness which gives rise to a diversity of feelings (*priyatvātīlayenābhimānayati*), (5) Sneha, causing a softening and melting of the heart (*dravayati*), (6) Rāga, exciting an excess of eager longing for its object of desire (*svaviprayam pratyabhilāṣātīlayena yojayati*); (7) Anurāga, making the beloved appear ever and ever new (*pratīkṣaṇam eva svaviprayam nava-navarvandhubhāvayati*), and (8) Mahābhāva, maddening by the wonder of unsurpassed ecstasy (*asamordhva-camarkāreṇomādayati*). The characteristics of these stages of Prīti

have already been described by Rūpa Gosvāmīn, and summarised by us in our chapter on the *Rasa-śāstra*.¹ As Jīva Gosvāmīn follows this treatment without going into detailed analysis, it is not necessary for our purpose to dilate further on the subject. The *Prīti* also produces different kinds of conceit in the devotee, and the cause of this is the manifestation of a particular character or *Svabhāva* of the deity (e.g. as a Friend, Son, Master or Beloved). Inspiring a corresponding sentiment in the devotee (e.g. Friendship, Parent Sentiment, Servitude or Love). The conceit may thus take various forms but it has been classified broadly into four forms: (i) the conceit that one is being favoured by the deity (*Anugrāhyābhimāna*), (ii) the conceit that one is favouring the deity (*Anugrāhakābhimāna*), (iii) the conceit that one is a friend of the deity (*Mitrābhimāna*), and (iv) the conceit that one is a beloved of the deity (*Prīyābhimāna*). As already explained more than once above, this theory implies that the practice of *Prīti* in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism is based upon the distinctive consciousness of one or other of such personal relationship of an emotional character with the deity. This relationship is supersensuous in essence, but it bears similarity to those actually obtaining among men in the sensuous world. In its impersonal and transcendental character, the *Prīti* towards Kṛpā may take the form of the feeling between the father or mother and the child, between the master and the servant, between two friends, or between the husband and the wife.

Jīva Gosvāmīn now proceeds to describe the characteristics of these forms of the devotional consciousness. As the favour of the deity may appear in the form of compassion (*Anukampā*) or furtherance (*Posaṇa*), the devotee who possesses the conceit of being favoured (*Anugrāhyābhimānin*) may be of two kinds, but each of these may also be with or without an intimate feeling of affectionate regard (*Mamata*) to the divine being. Those who are without such feeling of

¹ See above pp. 214 f.

Mamata conceive the deity from a distance as the Brahman or the Paramātmā, and they are the Jñānin-bhaktas like Śaṅkara and others. Since the moon has the attribute of gladdening, one can feel pleasure by merely looking at it without feeling any sense of attachment ; the devotee of this type feels a similar pleasure at the vision of his object of devotion. This attitude of Bhakti mixed with Jñāna can proceed no further than the state of Rati described above, and such a devotee is known in the Vaiṣṇava Śāstra as the Śānta Bhakta. The Śānta-rati, which they feel, is typified by the sentiment expressed in the well-known verse, often attributed to Śaṅkarācārya :

*satyapī bhredāpagame nārha tavāhaṃ na māmakīnaḥ tvam/
sāmuḍro hi taraṅgaḥ kvacana samuḍro na tāraṅgaḥ* /

Even when the difference disappears, O Lord, I am thine, but you are not mine : the wave belongs to the sea, but the sea does not belong to the wave.

On the other hand, those devotees who possess the feeling of attachment (Mamata) conceive the deity as the Protector (Pālaka), Master (Prabhu), or Superior (Lālaka), and themselves as his Subject (Pālya), Servant (Dāsa) or as standing in inferior relationship (Lālya) to him. This feeling may go up to the state of Rāga described above.

In the same way, Parental Affection may be conceived towards the deity, apprehended as the son, by the devotee who possesses the conceit of favouring the deity (Anugrāhakā-bhīmānī). This feeling is called Vātsalya, and the characteristics of Rāga are abundant in it. Those who have the attitude of friendliness (Mitrābbhimānī) conceive the deity as a friend, and the feeling is called Maitrya, in which also there is an abundance of Rāga. The climax is reached in those devotees who apprehend the deity as the lover, and their feeling is called Kānta-bhāva¹ or Madhura

1 Kānta'yam iti pratyā kānta-bhāvaḥ ; rpa eva priyatā-labdina ki-
raudharta-sindhaḥ paribhāṣaḥ.

Rati, to which Rūpa Gosvāmin gives also the name of Priyāṁ. This feeling can reach to the highest state of Mahābhāva described above, which is always attained by Rādhā. In this connexion, it is stated that the love of Kṛṣṇa's Paṇḍa-Mahīṣa go up to the Anurāga stage, but that of the Gopīs can reach much higher to the stage of Mahābhāva. No doubt, the excellence of the feeling is due to Kṛṣṇa's attitude towards the Gopīs; but it also depends upon the quality of the recipient, on the analogy of the water of the Svātī Nakṣatra falling into the pearl-shell and producing the pearl. Jīva Gosvāmin points out that in the secular (Laukika) Rasa-āśtra the Madhurā alone is regarded as Rati, its corresponding Rasa being Śṛṅgārā; while through its resemblance to the sexual passion, it is often designated Kāma or sensual enjoyment. But Jīva Gosvāmin never misses an opportunity of emphasising that the ordinary sexual desire is different from this feeling of devotional love, which the Gopīs entertained towards Kṛṣṇa. Although in both there is an element of desire and the outward movements (Ceṣṭā) are similar, yet the supersensuous Madhura-bhāva of the Gopīs is different from sensuous Kāma in the fact that the significance of the former consists entirely in contributing to the pleasure of its divine object, while the latter, as a mundane feeling, aims primarily at one's own pleasure. Hence the word Prīti should be applied primarily to the transcendental Kānta-bhāva of the Gopīs, and only secondarily to the ordinary sexual desire (Prākṛta Kāma) of human heroes and heroines. Since the desire of the Kujā had the divine Kṛṣṇa as its object, it has been praised as Aprākṛta Kāma, but since it was meant solely for self-satisfaction, it has been deprecated still as Kāma in comparison with the selfless and self-surrendering desire of the Gopīs, which consisted of supersensuous love.

The feelings of Śānta, Dāya, Maitrya, Vātsalya and Mādhurya described above form five basic aspects of Bhagavat-prīti, and each succeeding one of these indicates a higher stage of realisation than the preceding. Sometimes they appear

mixed up with one another; as, for instance, in Yudhiṣṭhira there is a mixture of Saubhṛda-Maitrya and Dāsyā, in Baladeva a mixture of Vātulya and Sakhyā-Maitrya, and in the Paṇḍa-mahāṣa a mixture of Dāsyā and Mādhura-bhāva. The Prīti, in which these distinctive feelings are absent, is known as general or Sāmānya Prīti, which is of a still inferior kind. Of these different types of devotee, however, the Śānta and the Sāmānya are called Tapasvī Bhakta, because they are devoid of Māmaṣā or sense of intimate personal attachment to the deity, and their feeling never progresses beyond the preliminary stage of Ratī. But the remaining kinds of devotee, namely, Dāsa, Mitra, Vātulya and Kāntī, who are the Parikaras of the Bhagavat, possess that Prīti which is called Māmaṣā-bhakti on account of the abundance of the feeling of attachment. As the two types of the Tapasvī and the Parikara devotee have for their objective the Brahman and the Bhagavat appearance of the deity respectively, the former is inferior to the latter. Generally speaking, the excellence of the deity may appear, as already indicated above, either in the form of unsurpassed Aśvarya or in the form of unsurpassed Mādhurya. The Aśvarya indicates power or mastery (Prabhutā), but Mādhurya means loveliness of conduct, quality, beauty, youth, sport and emotional intimacy of relationship. Ordinary experience tells us that the Aśvarya of a person produces fear, confusion and respect, but Mādhurya is the source of love in its sweet and melting quality. The devotees naturally fall into two classes, according as they prefer to experience the divine Aśvarya or Mādhurya. It has been already stated that everyone cannot experience all the infinite aspects of the divine principle, but that each resorts only to that aspect which suits his capacity and inclination; this is what is called Guṇopāśanā implied in the *Vedānta-sūtra* (iii, 3). Those who realise the excellent Mādhurya aspect of Kṛṣṇa, which is principally displayed in the Vṛndāvana-līlā, are superior to those who, like the Śānta and Sāmānya devotees, experience only the Aśvarya aspect. Those who desire and

cultivate this sweetness of personal emotional relationship with the divine being are the best types of his Parikara. In this connexion Jīva Goṣvāmin proceeds to exemplify elaborately the excellence of the emotional attitude of the Gopa-Gopīs at Vṛndāvana, and attempts to show that all the stages of Dāsyā, Maitryā, Vātsalyā and Kāntatva are realised by the different sets of Kṛṣṇa's Parikaras, of whom the Gopīs experience the highest stage of Prīti by their Kānta-bhāva. This stage, going up to the most intoxicating Mahābhāva, is desired even by the emancipated sages, by all the gods and even by Lakṣmī.

The five kinds of devotional feeling mentioned above, namely, Śānta, Dāsyā, Maitryā, Vātsalyā and Mādhuryā, are called Sthāyī-bhāvas in the Rasa-śāstra; and, as such, each of them is known as a Rati in relation to Kṛṣṇa. Through such objects and circumstances as appear as cause (Vibhāva) and effect (Anubhāva), as well as through auxiliary feelings (Vyabhicāri-bhāvas) which have the power of strengthening them, these five Sthāyī-bhāvas are raised, like the secular (Laukika) Rati in a Kāvya, to the corresponding states of relish, called Rasas, of the same designation; and these are similar to the states of impersonal aesthetic relish in the secular Kāvya. These are the five primary Bhakti-Rasas or devotional sentiments in the Vaiṣṇava Śāstra, sublimated from the five basic feelings, and in their totality they are called Prema-bhakti or Prīti. There are also seven other Rasas, namely, Hāsyā, Karuṇā, Bhayānaka, Bībhatsa, Raudra, Vīra and Adbhuta, recognized also by the secular rhetoricians, but they are regarded as secondary in the Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra in relation to the five primary Rasas mentioned above. They are called secondary because they become devotional Rasas only when they involve Kṛṣṇa-rati; that is, only when they have Kṛṣṇa or his Bhakta as the substantial excitant (Ālambana Vibhāva), as the object and the ground of the basic feeling respectively. The rest of the present Saṃdarbha proceeds to a detailed analysis and

exposition of these various stages or types of the devotional sentiment in relation to their respective causes, effects and auxiliaries, and they are profusely illustrated by examples drawn from the *Bhāgavata*. As Jīva Gosvāmin departs very little in his general treatment of the theme from Rūpa Gosvāmin's authoritative exposition, it is not necessary for us to repeat what has been already dealt with in our chapter on the *Rasa-dīpta*;¹ but we shall refer here to a few interesting items in which Jīva Gosvāmin appears to refine further upon the treatment of his predecessor, to whose works, however, he makes full acknowledgment of his indebtedness.

At the outset Jīva Gosvāmin raises a fundamental question which has been overlooked by Rūpa Gosvāmin, namely, whether Bhakti can at any stage be regarded as a *Rasa*. He repudiates vigorously the view of orthodox Poetics that Bhakti, being devotion to a deity (*devādi-viṣayā*), is merely a *Bhāva* or devotional emotion which cannot be raised to the state of impersonalised relish of a devotional sentiment, corresponding to the aesthetic sentiment of *Rasa* in a *Kāvya*. The discussion is more or less academic, but since Bhakti is crected into a *Rasa* of the rhetorical type, it is an important fundamental proposition in the *Valīpava Bhakti-dīpta*. Jīva Gosvāmin maintains that the *Bhagavat-prīti* can be rightly regarded as a *Sthāyī-bhāva* because as *Prīti*, it has *Bhāvatva*, and it has also all the characteristics of a *Sthāyī-bhāva* mentioned by secular Poetics. The secular theorists on *Rasa*, dealing with the ordinary *Kāvya*, allege that on account of the lack of the necessary ingredients, Bhakti cannot become a *Rasa* inasmuch as devotion to a deity cannot become the basis of a relishable sentiment in the same way as the affectionate relationship of human beings standing on a level of equality. But this objection, in Jīva Gosvāmin's opinion, applies to the case of ordinary deities (*prākṛta-devādi-viṣayā*)² and not to the

1 See above p. 194 L.

2 See above p. 167, footnote 1.

case of the supreme deity Kṛṣṇa. The ingredients spoken of above refer to the intrinsic propriety of the feeling itself (*svarūpa-yogyatā*), as well as the propriety of the causes and effects (*parikara-yogyatā*) and of the subject of the feeling (*puruṣa-yogyatā*). It can be easily shown that in Kṛṣṇa-rati these ingredients are present to the fullest extent. As to the intrinsic propriety of the feeling, it has been already said above that all the characteristics of the *Sthāyi-bhāva* can be found in Kṛṣṇa-rati ; for it is the dominant feeling which cannot be set aside by other contradictory or consistent feelings, and like the salty ocean, it reduces everything which comes into it to its own state.¹ The relish caused by the *alaukika* Kṛṣṇa-rati is higher than the relish of Brahman, the likeness to which is emphasised by rhetoricians in the ordinary *laukika* Rati. As to the propriety of the causes and effects of Kṛṣṇa-rati, the *Vibhāvas* etc., which raise it to the state of relish, they can alone, by their very relation to the divine object, be called *alaukika*. The *laukika* *Vibhāvas* etc., on the other hand, which the secular rhetoricians deal with, being confined to the ordinary *laukika* Rati and to the ordinary hero and heroine, are defective and cannot be properly termed *alaukika* : they only appear as such through the extraordinary skill of poetic presentation. The *laukika* *Pṛiti* is a modification of the *Prākṛta* *Sattva-guṇa* created by the *Māyā-śakti*, and can, therefore, never consist of the highest bliss of the *Svarūpa-śakti*, which the devotee realises in *Bhagavat-pṛiti*, and which is made up, not of *Prākṛta* but of *Aprākṛta* *Sattva*. Hence the pleasure involved in the *laukika* Rati is slight and transient and, rightly understood, resolves into pain ; but the *alaukika* Kṛṣṇa-rati always brings pure and permanent pleasure. It is unbelievable, therefore, that the *laukika* *Vibhāvas* etc. can really awaken *Rasa* ; if they do so, then the only *Rasa* they are capable of awakening is the *Bībhatsa* or the *Disgust-*

1 *viruddhair aviruddhair vā bhāvair vicchidyate na yah/ āma-
bhāvaṃ mayaranyān sa sthāyī laraṅgārah/ / iti rasa-mūrti-śaṅkara-
vyākhyā.*

ful Sentiment, inasmuch as the phenomenal objects properly apprehended, can only produce an attitude of disgust or non-attachment. As to the propriety of the subject of the feeling mentioned above, there can hardly be any doubt about the fitness of such devotees as *Prahlāda*, who are the subjects of *Kṛṣṇa-rati*. It would follow, therefore, that all the requirements regarding the *Sthāyi-bhāva*, *Vibhāva* etc., laid down by the orthodox rhetoricians, are fulfilled in the highest degree by *Kṛṣṇa-rati*, which alone can bring about the highest *Rasa*. It is also pointed out that some orthodox rhetoricians, like *Bhoja*, admit *Preyas* and *Vātsalya* as *Rasa*s, while others, like *Sudeva*, expressly include *Bhakti* also as a *Rasa*. We have also the testimony of the *Bhāgavata* itself (i. 1. 3), which at the very outset speaks of *Bhakti* as the *Bhagavad-rasa* and the *Bhakta* as the *Kasika*; and the *Śruti* has already established that the *Bhagavat* himself is *Rasa*.

Regarding the question of the locus of *Rasa* in a literary composition, *Jīva Gosvāmīn* refers to four different views¹ that *Rasa* exists (i) in the original hero and heroine (*Anukārya*) who are imitated by the actor, (ii) in the actor who imitates (*Anukartṛ*), (iii) in the audience (*Sāmañjika*) who is a man of taste (*Sahṛdaya*), or (iv) if the actor also is a man of taste himself, in the actor and the audience. In the opinion of the *Vaiṣṇava Rāsa-tātra*, however, the *Bhagavat-prīti* as a *Rasa* exists in all the three, viz., the *Anukārya*, the *Anukartṛ* and the *Sāmañjika*, because by virtue of the *alaukika* nature of the *Rasa* itself, they are all divested of *laukika* characteristics. But the awakening of the *Rasa* in the *Anukārya*, who is here the *Parikara* of *Bhagavat*, is primary because the sentiment which arises from direct perception is superior. The *Anukartṛ*, as well as the *Sāmañjika*, in this case is the *Bhakta*, inasmuch as no one else has the capacity of realising the *Rasa* properly.

With regard to the *Ālambana Vibhāva* or substantial

1 See S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, 2nd Ed. II, p. 117 f.

exhaust of the Kṛpṇa-rati, it is pointed out that the real Ālambana is Kṛpṇa himself as the object of the feeling, but the beloved ones of Kṛpṇa are counted also as Ālambana, not directly in themselves, but indirectly as the location or ground of the feeling.¹

The Uddiṣṭa Vibhāvas of Kṛpṇa-rati are classified elaborately as referring respectively to the Guṇa (quality), Jāti (class as opposed to individual), Kriyā (action), Dravya (individual substance) and Kāla (time), in relation to Kṛpṇa. An enumeration is made, after the Bhāgavata (i. 16. 27) of a total of 85 (68+17) divine qualities of Kṛpṇa, which are really further refinements on the 64 qualities mentioned by Rūpa Gosvāmin.² The Guṇas may be physical (Kāyika), mental (Mānasika) and verbal (Vācika), but they are also classified into three groups, according as they belong exclusively to the Bhagavat, or exist in both the Bhagavat and the Bhakta, or are shared also by the Avatāras and special manifestations like Viṣṇu, Vāsudeva or Nārāyaṇa.

The Guṇas enumerated are: Satya (truth); Saucā (purity); Dayā (compassion); Śaraṅgata-pālakaṭva (protection of people seeking refuge); Bhakta-sukṛtva (friendliness to the devotee); Kānti (fearlessness); Tyāga (liberality); Śaṁpta (economicalness); Ājaya (straightforwardness); Sarva-bhūṣaṅkaraṭva (beneficence to all); Śama (control of the mind); Sudṛḍha-vrataṭva (resoluteness); Dama (control of the senses); Tapas (devotion to various duties at the time of Avatāra); Śāntya (impartiality); Tīkṣṇā (tendency to redress offence done to self); Uparati (indifference to gain or success); Śruṭa (proficiency in the Śāstras); Śreṣṭha Jñāna (knowledge), viz. Buddhimatṭva (intelligence), Kṛpājñā (gratefulness), Deśa-kāla-pātra-jñā (discrimination of fit time, place and object), Sarvajñatva (omniscience), and Ātma-jñā (possession of self-knowledge); Vīrakṣi (repugnance to evil things); Ālavya (capacity for control); Śaurya (enthusiasm for fighting); Teja (power); Prākṣa (reputation for power); Bala (dexterity for accomplishing difficult deeds); Dhṛti (placidity, but, if the reading of the text is Śmṛti, deliberation regarding duties); Svātantrya (independ-

1. *as tu eva-saṁbandhinaḥ ; saṁpadyādibhāvinaḥ.*

2. See above p. 184 f.

deceit); threefold Kautala (skill), viz. Kriyā-śūpakaṭi (skill in acts), Cāturī (cleverness in accomplishing several things simultaneously) and Vaidagdhī (proficiency in the arts and sports); fourfold Kāśī (charm), viz. of the body (avayavaśya), of touch, taste, colour, fragrance and sound (Varṇa-rasa-gandha-sparśa-śabdāśāś), of youth (Vayas), resulting in Māri-gaṇa-manohāritva (capacity to charm women); Dhairya (steadiness); Mīrḍava (the quality of softness or meeting with love); Prema-vātyatva (submissiveness to love); Prīṇalbhya (abundance of audacity); Vīradhāitva (skill in words); Pretraya (humility); Hriṃatva (modesty); Mīla-dāritva (capacity to do honour to all); Prīyaspradaiva (capacity for pleasant speech); Śīla (good conduct); Śādhya-samīkṛayaiva (partiality to the good); Sahas (dexterity of the mind); Ojas (dexterity of the intellect); Bala (dexterity of the sense-organs); threefold Bhaga, viz. Bhogāśpadaiva (capacity for enjoyment), Sukhīva (capacity for happiness) and Sarva-sampāddhimatva (possession of all prosperity); Gāmbhīrya (profundity of intention or motive); Sthāirya (steadfastness); Āstikya (= Śāstra-cakṣurva, conformity to the dictates of the Śāstra); Kīrti (fame for good qualities); Rakta-lokaiva (popularity); Mīla (worthiness for honour); Anahatkrīti (want of pride), Brahma-ṣṭaya (holiness or piety); Sarva-śiddhī-objavīva (possession of all the supernatural powers); Saśoddhānanda-ghana-vigrahaiva (possession of a form consisting of Sat, Cit and Ānanda); Varīyatva (pre-eminence); and Sadā Svārūpa-sampriyāiva (the attribute of being always unconditioned). These 68 Guṇas are present in the fullest degree in the Bhagavat, but with the exception of the last, they may also exist in some degree in the Bhakta. There are also two Guṇas which exist in the all Āvirbhūtas or Avatāras, viz. Satya-samkalpaiva (fidelity of true resolve) and Vādīrāśīcīntya-māyīva (capacity for subjugating the incomprehensible Māyā-śakti); but in special Avatāras there are in addition: Akhaṇḍa-matva-guṇasya Kovalā-avayam-avalambanarva (the exclusive self-support of the indivisible Satva-guṇa), Jagatpālakaiva (protection of the world), Hātīrī-svarga-dāritva (power to grant Svarga to enemies killed), Brahma-rudrādi-sevitva (the attribute of being worshipped by gods like Brahmā and Rudra), Paramāśīcīntya-śaktiva (possession of the highest and most incomprehensible energy), and Nitya-nūtanatva (capacity for appearing ever new). In the Puruṣa-Avatāra we have also Māyā-śīyanīva (subjugation and regulation of the Māyā-śakti), Jagat-ṛṣṭyāśī-karīva (agency regarding the creation etc. of the world), Guṇavātīrāśī-bhāva (the attribute of being the germ of the Guṇavātra etc.), and Ananta-brahmāṇḍāśāya-roma-vivaratva (capacity for retaining infinite worlds in the pore of the skin). In the manifestations Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa, we have also Svārūpabhāva-paramā-

ciaryakṣiṇa-mahā-lakṣṇaṭva (possession of the infinite, pre-eminent, incomprehensibly great energy which consists of his own divine will), is Kṛṣṇa, who is the Bhagavat himself, there are also: Hāṣṭri-mukti-bhakti-dāyakaṭva (power to grant both Mukti and Bhakti to cosmic billions), Svayāṃpī viṇāṣaka-rūpīdi-madhuryādivasā (sweetness consisting of beauty etc. which causes wonder even of himself), Anindriya-śreṇa-paryantāṣa-sukhaditī-śvaśāṃpīdhyatva (the attribute of carrying infinitely pleasurable presence to all creatures even including the inanimate beings, who are devoid of sense-organs), etc. This enumeration, however, does not exhaust all the divine qualities which are indeed infinite.

If some traits opposed to some of the above Guṇas are displayed in the Bhagavat, these must not be taken as faults, for the supreme being has been declared faultless in the scripture. The reverse of compassion for those who are not his Bhaktas, for instance, has already been explained in the *Paramāṣṭa-saṃdarbha* as the result of the fact that the Bhagavat is untouched by phenomenal sorrow. The reverse of friendliness, again, which the Bhagavat sometimes shows to his Bhakta by sending him sorrow and separation, is due to the object of fostering the Bhakti of the particular devotee or the particular sentiment of the Līlā concerned. The Kāma displayed in the case of Gopī, as already explained more than once, is in reality blissful Preman, which is similar to but not the same as the erotic feeling of human beings. The childish pranks of Kṛṣṇa, though opposed to the quality of Sthāiryā (steadiness), should not be taken as a fault, but they become a Guṇa in the child Kṛṣṇa. These and similar contradictory qualities must be interpreted not as constituting a real fault but as the semblance of a fault assumed for a particular divine purpose.

The Jātī, which comprehends properties peculiar to a species or class, as the Uddiṣṭa Vibhāva of Kṛṣṇa-rati, is of two kinds, namely, attributes relating to Kṛṣṇa (e.g. characteristics of a Gopa or a Kṣātriya, as well as adolescence, dark colour etc.) and those connected with his favourites (e.g. the characteristics of Go, Gopa etc.). The Kriyā or action

consists of his Līlā, which is again of two kinds, namely, sport of his intrinsic energy (Svarūpa-śakti) or of his extrinsic energy (Māyā-śakti), each of which has already been described. But the former of these, again, may be such as displays his Aīśvarya or manifests his Mādhurya; and of these the Mādhuryamayī Līlā is the best. This is also called the Līlā-śakti of the divine being, which can bring about what is impossible (*durghaṭa*) as well as what is possible (*laghaṭa*). The Dravya or substance, as the Uddīpana Vibhāva, refers to Kṛṣṇa's adornments (Parikara, ornaments, flowers, etc.), his musical instruments (Vādita), his weapons (Astra), his abodes (Śhāna), his retinue (Parivāra), his devotee (Bhakta), etc. The Kāla or time implies the auspicious days or festivals sacred to Kṛṣṇa (e.g. the Janmāṣṭami or Birth-festival). Jīva Gosvāmin adds that those of the Uddīpana Vibhāvas which are concerned with the Vṛndāvana-līlā are the best in relation to Kṛṣṇa-rati.

The Anubhāvas of Kṛṣṇa-rati, which, as consequential circumstances, consist of outward expressions of the inward feeling, are classified into Udbhāvaras and Sāttvikas. The distinction, however, is not very clearly made out. The Udbhāvaras are defined as those which originate, no doubt, from internal feeling (*bhāvaḥ apī*) but which express themselves chiefly in external acts (*bahīrcrīḥ-prāya-sādhyaḥ*), e.g. dancing, singing, rolling on the ground, crying etc. The Sāttvikas spring from Sattva, which in this case implies the mind entirely seized by feeling towards Kṛṣṇa, and are direct involuntary expressions of that internal virtue, e.g. trembling, tears, fainting etc.

The thirty-three orthodox Vyabhicārinā or auxiliary feelings are accepted and exemplified in relation to Kṛṣṇa-rati.

The conception of Rasābhāsa (resemblance of a Rasa) is peculiar, and is comprehensive enough to include what would be strictly called Rasa-virodha (opposition of incongruous Rasas) in orthodox Poetics. Between the five primary and the seven secondary Rasas there is the relation of antag onam,

indifference or congruity, according as the character of the particular Rasa is inherently hostile to, unaffected or supported by the character of the other Rasa or Rasas involved. In a literary composition concerned with Kṛpā, there is Rasābhāsa when the relish of the dominant sentiment, which may be either primary or secondary, is obstructed by the association of an incongruous sentiment, which may also be either primary or secondary.¹ The Rasābhāsa may also occur when there is a conflict or incongruity by the association of the dominant Rasa with an improper Bhāva or with an improper Vibhāva, Anubhāva and Vyabhicārīa. In including Rasa-virodha in Rasābhāsa proper, Jīva Gosvāmin's treatment differs from that of Rūpa Gosvāmin, whose view appears to be more in consonance with that of orthodox Poetics. Jīva Gosvāmin also shows elaborately that there can never occur any real instance of Rasābhāsa in the *Bhāgavata*, implying thereby that the Rasābhāsa is a defect, which cannot find place in the great scripture where there is Rasatīkṣa only.

In the classification of the five primary Rasas, the devotional sentiment of Faithfulness, which is termed Prīta and classified into Sambhrama-Prīta (= Dāsa) and Gaurava-Prīta by Rūpa Gosvāmin,² is, however, further refined by Jīva Gosvāmin into three aspects or shades of the sentiment, respectively called Āśraya-bhakti, Dāsa-bhakti, and Pratraya-bhakti, in which Kṛpā appears respectively as the Pālaka (Protector), Prabhu (Master) and Lālaka (Superior Relative), and his devotee respectively as Pālya (Subject), Dāsa (Servant) and Lālya (Inferior Relative). The Sthāyi-bhāva of Śānta Rasa is given as Jñāna-bhakti, and it is regarded as the lowest in the scale of primary Rasas. The Preyas of Rūpa Gosvāmin is called Maitrīmāya Rasa, and the Mitra or friend who is the Ālambana Vibhāva of this Rasa, may be either

1 *Kṛpā - sambandhān āśraya-va rasasya dyogya-rasāntarādi-sam-paṇāhā bhāgyamānā-dāyārāmā bhāgyam.*

2 See above pp. 194-95.

Subhṛ (well-wisher) or Sakhi (companion), the Sakhi again being finely distinguished as Sakhi, Priya-sakhi (dear companion), and Priya-narma-sakhi (dear companion and confidant), according to the degree of intimacy of the friendly feeling involved.

With regard to the relation of Kṛṣṇa to the Gopīs in the highest Ujjvala (=Madhura) Rasa or sentiment of love, Jīva Gosvāmin repeats what he has said more than once on the subject of the purity and transcendental character of the amorous relationship. He maintains that although the Gopīs are in the highest degree Kṛṣṇa's own (*parama-svīyā apī*), they yet appear as belonging to others (*para-līyamāṇāḥ*) in the Prakāśa Līlā. This is meant to foster the intensity of the sentiment by placing an apparent or imaginary obstacle in the way of their perfect realisation of love. Amour with a woman other than one's own is forbidden, but this applies to the ordinary hero, and not to Kṛṣṇa, who was in fact the husband of the Gopīs, as he is of all women. The relation of the Gopas to them was really one of *Paṭyūbhāsa*; in other words, the Gopas were never their real husbands but only appeared as such. They were thus the immaculate wives of Kṛṣṇa, and their apparent relationship with the Gopas was an illusion created by the divine Yogamāyā. But even in the case of the legitimate love of a Svīyā heroine, impediments and inaccessibility are supposed to heighten the erotic sensibility to the highest degree; and this is said to be the view of such authorities on the secular (*laukika*) Rasa-dāstra as Bhaṭṭa, Rudra and Viṣṇugupta. But Jīva Gosvāmin holds that this view may be true with regard to the nature of the manifestation of the feeling but not with regard to the origin, growth or character of the feeling itself; for the sentiment of the Gopīs being self-established (*svata eva siddhataḥ*), is in itself of the highest class (*jātaḥ pyādhiḥkṛt*) and does not require adventitious support or strengthening (*dādhyaḥ*) of any kind. By overcoming the apparent obstacle, the strength of the sentiment, like that of a mad elephant, is only displayed or mani-

fested, but the strength of the sentiment itself is not engendered by such obstacles. It follows, therefore, that the Parakṛiṣṭa-bhāva alone is not the source of excellence of the sentiment of the Gopis, because in itself this attitude towards an Upapati is to be deprecated. If this attitude were commendable, then the feeling of the Kujā would have deserved the highest praise.¹ It is the very nature of the unique sentiment itself of the Gopis as the Svīyā of Kṛṣṇa which is the source of its supreme excellence. Of all the Gopis, Rādhā, who is singled out in the *Gopāla-tāpani* as the Gāndharvikā, is the greatest beloved of Kṛṣṇa, because the *Bhāgavata* also singles her out as the only Gopi with whom Kṛṣṇa disappeared during the Rāsa-līlā and sported alone. A rival heroine or Pratipakṣa-Nāyikā to Rādhā is Candrāvalī, of whom Bilvamaṅgala² has spoken in his devotional lyric. The Gopis were the real and only favourites of Kṛṣṇa, but the reason why he married the princesses at Dvārakā is to be found in the view propounded in the *Padma-purāṇa*, that the princesses and the Gopis were in essence identical,³ apparently as different manifestations of the divine Svarūpa-śakti. A justification of Kṛṣṇa's exploit of stealing the garments of the Gopis (*Vāstra-haraha-līlā*) is found in the view that in the Pūrva-rāga stage of love, one of the characteristic desire is not the desire of actual touch or taste, but the desire for removing bashfulness (*laṅghā-cccheda*), as this forms the highest indication of the intense love of noble maidens (none of the Gopis being, according to Gautamiya Tantra, more than sixteen years old), who would rather die than forsake their sense of modesty.⁴

1 Rūpa Gosvāmīn, we have seen above (p. 206, footnote 3), would consider the Kujā as Parakṛiṣṭa, but in Jīva Gosvāmīn's opinion she is the best of the Sāṁkhyā heroines (*sāṁkhyāyā saimandirī mahāyā*).

2 In the apocryphal stanza *rādhā-mohana-mandirā* cited by Jīva Gosvāmīn (quoted also by Rūpa in his *Ujjvala-nīlamuṅgi*); see S. K. De, ed. of *Kṛṣṇa-kārgaṇya* (Dacca 1938), p. 343.

3 *rādhā gopa-kumārīhī rātmavātī*.

4 *kula-kumārīrūp laṅghā-cccheda eva parākṛiṣṭā, tā hi dāśamīpṛaṅgi-kuranti, na te vaijāyā*.

During the *Prakāṣa Līlā* at Vṛndāvana there was thus the semblance, and not the reality, of the *Parakīya-bhāva* of the Gopīs but, as explained in the *Kṛpā-saṁdarbhā*, even this attitude was short-lived ; for at the termination of the *Prakāṣa Līlā*, they entered into eternal union with Kṛṣṇa as his *Svīyās* in the *Aprakāṣa Līlā* occurring simultaneously. Jīva Gosvāmin holds that this is the view of his own authority, Rūpa Gosvāmin, expounded in the latter's *Ujjvala-nīlamani* and *Lalitā-mādhava*, where it is clearly indicated that Kṛṣṇa was really the husband (*Pati*), but only appeared for a short time as the paramour (*Upepati*) of the Gopīs during the *Prakāṣa Līlā*. It appears, therefore, that the opinion of the two authoritative Gosvāmins of Caitanyaism was never in favour of the *Parakīya-vāda*, which assumed importance in the later history of the cult.

At the end of the *Saṁdarbhā*, the reader is referred for the elucidation of those points, which may not have been dealt with in detail for fear of prolixity, to the brief commentary (*Tippaṇī*) on the Tenth Book of the *Bhāgavata*, which work is presumably the *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* commentary of Saṅkṛāṇa, which selects only the Tenth Book for brief comments ; or the reference may more probably be to the *Kṛmā-saṁdarbhā* on the *Bhāgavata* composed by Jīva Gosvāmin himself.

The work concludes with a final homage to Kṛṣṇa, appearing in the form of Caitanya (*caitanya-vigrahaḥ*), who became an *Avatāra* (*avatāram ādyataḥ*) for propagating *Bhakti*, which consists of such sentiments as have been described above.

The short classified index, given below, of important quotations, occurring in the six *saṁdarbhā*s, will give a rough idea of the use Jīva Gosvāmin makes of previous philosophical and religious literature. The largest number of quotations is, of course, supplied by the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, on the explication of which text Jīva Gosvāmin professes to base his entire exposition. As these references to the *Bhāgavata*,

occurring almost on every page throughout the six Saṃdarbhās, are innumerable, we have not indexed them. Next come the Purāṇas and the Upa-purāṇas, of which the *Vīṇu*, the *Padma* (Uttara-khaṇḍa) and parts of the *Skanda*, considered canonical by the Bengal school, supply a fairly large number of references, but the quotations from the Āgama, Tantra and other religious texts and commentaries are much varied, even if not equally extensive. The Vedic texts, cited mostly anonymously as Śruti, are generally taken from the Upaniṣads, the citations from the Vedic Saṃhitās being much fewer. It would seem that the Śruti quotations are not always derived from the original sources, but are such well-known ones as are usually employed in religious and philosophical texts and commentaries; and Jīva Goṣvāmin himself acknowledges that he has taken some of the cited passages from Maṇḍva, Vyāsatīrtha and Vijayadhvaṇi, and in several cases quotes them expressly as *maṇḍva-bhāṣya-pramāṇitā śruti*. The *Caturveda-likhā*, for instance, quoted as Śruti, is otherwise unknown, but is taken from Maṇḍva's Bhāṣya on the *Vedānta-sūtra*. Other such curious works are the *Brahma-tarka*, *Nārāyaṇādhyātma* and *Vāṇudevādhyātma*. It is well known that Maṇḍva, in his voluminous writings, quotes many Śruti and Purāṇa passages which are unknown and have remained untraced; and it is often suggested that the passages are fabricated. But Jīva Goṣvāmin accepts and utilises them whenever they are convenient; and a large number of them will be found in his *Sarva-saṃvādinī*. Jīva's quotations from literary and rhetorical works are almost negligible.

[Our references are to pages, by Arabic numerals, of the printed editions mentioned above, p. 131, footnote. The Roman numerals refer to the Saṃdarbhās in their order, thus: I Tattva, II Bhagavat, III Paramātma, IV Śrīkṛṣṇa, V Bhakti and VI Prīti. The index does not pretend to be meticulously exhaustive, but it is hoped that no important work or author is overlooked. The abbreviated references sometimes present difficulty by their being indefinite, but where they could not be identified they are here given as found].

J. Vedic Literature :

Rgveda I 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 22 ; II 152 (anonymously), 373, 383, 400 (Śruti), 655 (Śruti) ; IV 343 [only three well-known passages quoted from the Hymn of Creation x. 129. 6, the Purusa Hymn x. 90. 2 and the Viṣṇu Hymn i. 22. 20].

Yajurveda I 13, 14, 17, 18, 22, 35 (Śālavata-kalpa) ; [no passages quoted].

Śālavata I 14, 15, 17, 18, 22, 39 ; [no passages quoted].

Atharva or Atharvāśākhā I 14, 15, 17, 18, 22 ; [no passages quoted].

Atharvāśākhā III 160.

Kāthaka (Śākhā) I 21 ; III 41.

Pippalāda-Śākhā II 372.

Śaṅgatha-Śruti V 592.

Tāgānīp Śruti VI 184.

Māthara-Śruti VI 38 (anon. 350).

Mādhyaṃdinīyana-Śruti VI 195 ; Mādhyaṃdinīya Yajus IV 346.

Chāndogya-up. (Śāma-kauthmīya-Śākhā) I 16 ; IV 113 (Śāma-paniṣad).

Kena-up. I 94 ; IV 319.

Ataṣṭyaka-Śruti II 330 (also 538 anon.).

Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad II 257.

Muṇḍaka-up. III 201.

Śvetāśvatara-up. III 179, 186.

Upaṇiṣad I 28 ; IV 343.

Śruti or Veda (= Upaṇiṣad) I 14, 123, 126, 145 ; II 76, 77, 79, 80, 84, 85, 91, 102, 103, 104, 106, 130, 138, 141, 181, 199, 220, 223, 225, 227, 229, 235, 236, 239, 247, 252, 254, 285, 286, 287, 289, 293, 294, 296, 298, 302, 349, 355, 356, 370, 372, 375, 425, 454, 456, 490, 499, 514, 571, 582, 584, 586, 593, 595, 598, 604, 605, 608, 610, 611, 616, 662 ; III 33, 41, 49, 64, 66, 70, 71, 119, 120, 126, 129, 154 (Nārāyaṇopaniṣad), 158, 183, 201, 232, 241, 251, 355, 373, 377, 384, 389, 397 ; IV 30, 69, 70, 201, 210, 226, 300, 309, 318, 371, 431, 462, 470, 579 ; V 454, 520, 577, 657 ; VI 7, 11, 20, 27, 32, 39, 84, 87, 90, 94, 97, 128, 170, 172, 186, 289, 586, 601, 650, 805, 1030, 1031 [quotations, anonymously, mostly from Ch., Br.-Ā., Śvet., Kaṭha, Muṇḍaka, Taitt., Māhā-nārāyaṇa].

Bhāṭṭavya-Śruti III 417.

Pañcra-Śruti II 485.

Saṅgama-Śruti II 619 ; V 641 ; VI 239.

Bṛhadāraṇyaka VI 195.

Madhya-bhāṣya-pramāṇā Śruti II 154, 454, 455, 598 ; III 251 ; IV 225.

Bhārata-tīkṣya-pramāṇā Śruti II 454 ; VI 239.

Rāmānujodāhṛtā Śruti II 514.

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Gopāla-tīpaṇī II 62, 67, 68, 252, 555, 559 ; IV 171, 183, 184, 196, 200, 204, 221, 223, 253, 254, 268, 302, 308 (anonymously as Śruti only), 309, 343, 346, 422, 425, 428, 470 (anon.), 498, 561, 562 (as Śruti), 567 ; V 542, 592, 613, 667 ; VI 357, 938.

Nṛsiṃha-tīpaṇī II 154, 373, 558 ; IV 226 (and its Bhāṣya-kṛt) ; V 496 ; VI 244 (Advaita-purubhāṣa saṃgrahā).

Kṛṣṇa-tīpaṇī IV 309, 367.

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Gobhila-saṃdhyopaniṣad II 270.

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2. The Epics etc.:

Mahābhārata or Bhārata I 12, 16, 23, 25, 39, 41, 44, 51, 71, 117 ; II 220, 222, 223, 454, 514 ; III 13, 73, 153 ; IV 9, 61, 63, 72, 73, 74, 75, 147, 199, 259, 299, 346, 435 ; V 463, 468, 494, 500, 504, 599 [the references are numerous to Mokṣa-dharma and Nārīyaṇa].

Rāmāyaṇa I 51 ; V 529.

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Gitā, Gītāopaniṣad or Bhagavad-Upaniṣad (also anonymously as ukṛam bhagavad) I 38, 89, 92 (anon.) ; II 47, 85, 153, 245, 350, 354, 357, 467, 473, 479, 490, 491, 518 (anon.), 519, 548, 551, 611 (anon.), 629 (anon.) ; III 8, 10, 12, 13, 14-21, 24, 78, 95, 111, 117 (anon.), 126, 130, 131, 133, 153, 160 (anon.), 245, 246 (anon.), 249, 250, 347, 363, 367 (anon.), 418 ; IV 47, 78, 148, 153, 157-171, 184, 248, 258, 561 ; V 451, 487, 488, 491, 492,

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Śrīmad-bhāgavata : the references and quotations are too numerous to be indexed here. Referred to as *Mahāpurāṇa* V 452, 485 : as *Sātvata-saṃhitā* I 111 or *Saṃhitā* I 116 : III 377.

Padma [with references to its *khaṇḍas* (generally *Uttara-khaṇḍa*) or episodes] I 34, 38 : II 37, 57, 64, 65, 98. (*Kārttika-māhātmya*), 99, 118 (*Kārttika*^o), 124, 143, 144, 145 (*Pāñcika-khaṇḍa*), 228, 253, 259, 338, 380, 390, 397, 398, 506, 509, 510, 512, 559 : III 22 (anon.), 72, 88, 151, 243, 247, 248, 295 : IV 68, 77, 150, 156 (*Pāñcika*^o), 172, 202 (*Bṛhas-sahasra-nāma*), 220 (*Nirmāṇa-khaṇḍa*), 222 (*Kārttika*^o), 226, 249 (*Nirmāṇa*^o), 257 (*Nirmāṇa*^o), 270, 272, 289, 300 (*Pāñcika*^o), 302 (do.), 305 (do.), 308 (do.), 340 (*Kārttika*^o), 344 (*Pāñcika*^o), 345 (*Nirmāṇa*^o), 346, 349 (*Nirmāṇa*^o), 372, 397, 481, 488, 527, 534, 535, 566 (*Kārttika*^o) : V 486 (*Bṛhas-sahasra-nāma*), 498, 508, 515 (*Pāñcika*^o, *Vaiśākha-māhātmya*), 517, 526 (*Māgha-māhātmya*), 527, 528, 532, 533, 547, 552, 567, 572 (*Pāñcika*^o), 582, 585, 594, 595, 602, 603 (*Māgha*^o), 611, 616, 618 (*Kārttika*^o), 620 (*Pāñcika*^o, *Vaiśākha*^o), 624 (do.), 625, 628, 630, 636 (*Pāñcika*^o, *Vaiśākha*^o), 640, 641, 651, 658, 661 : VI 130, 174, 210, 294 (anon.), 426, 557, 567, 603, 1051, 1052, 1136.

Skanda I 14 (*Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa*), 21, 22 (*Prabhāsa*^o), 24, 25, 27 (*Prabhāsa*^o), 35 (do.), 39 (*Dvārakā-māhātmya*) : II 65, 256 (both *Prabhāsa*^o), 143, 144, 329, 335, 388, 534 (*Kāli-khaṇḍa* *Dhruva-caritra*), 559, 648 : III 34, 70, 74, 149 (*Prabhāsa*^o), 268, 385 : IV 23 (*Rāma-gītā*) 66 (*Prabhāsa*^o), 68, 71 (*Prabhāsa*^o), 192 (*Ayodhyā-māhātmya*), 221 (*Dvārakā*^o), 269, 299 (*Prabhāsa-saṃhitā*), 305 (*Ayodhyā*^o), 308, 344, 364, 467, 548 (*Prabhāsa*^o), 565 (*Prabhāsa-saṃhitā* *Dvārakā-m*^o), 566 : V 453 (*Revā-khaṇḍa*), 486 (*Prabhāsa*^o), 487, 490 (*Kāli-khaṇḍa*), 494 (*Brahma-Nārada-saṃvāda*), 497 (do.), 502, 506 (*Revā*^o), 508 (*Brahma-Nārada*^o), 510 (do.), 513 (do.), 515 (*Sanatsumāra-Mārkaṇḍeya-saṃvāda*), 515 (*Dvārakā*^o), 516, 527 (*Revā*^o), 528 (*Umi-Mahadevara-saṃvāda*), 532 (*Prabhāsa*, *Dvārakā*^o), 572 (*Mārkaṇḍeya-Bhagīratha-saṃvāda*), 534, 575, 613 (*Mārkaṇḍeya-Bhagīratha*^o), 614, 616, 617, 620, 621, 624,

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Mahāvarāha II 322 ; Ādi-Varāha IV 300, 308, 468 ; V 496, 599, 625, 643.

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Bhaviṛya I 16; IV 364 (Malla-dvīdadh-prasaṅga Kṛpā-Yodhi-
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or Śāstraka-bhāṣya II 102, 140, 227, 234; III 408; IV 33,
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Śaṅkara I 36, 70.

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III 90, 368; general reference as Rāmakṛṣṇa or 'cāraṇa or
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bhāgavata, referred to generally as Tīkā—references are too
numerous throughout to be indexed here. Śrīdhara's Com-
mentary on the Vīṇa-purāṇa referred to in III 163, 229.

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 Arjuna-Moṭa-mandira-stotra V 646.
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 Laghu-Bhāgavata V 528.
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6. Miscellaneous Citations:

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Śrīvaṅkṣa-śāṅkrapradīpika Rāma-mandārīśranta II 484.

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tional citations are found in Jīva Goṣvāmī's *Sarva-saṃvādinī* (reference by pages; ed. as mentioned above, p. 139 footnote):

Reference to Caitanya and discussion of his Avatāra pp. 1-4.

Reference to Śrīmad-Advaīta-mahānubhāva-caraṇa 4.

Śrīrabhaṅga-Bhājicīrya 4.

The three Bhāgyas of Rāmānanda, Rāmāṇja and Madhva profusely quoted and utilised.

Vīṇapāṇī (Mīra) 9 (Bhāmatī quoted anonymously).

Tāntra-vīrtika 10, 19 (both anon.).

Puruṣottama Tantra 13.

Vākyapadīya 15 (anon.).

Śrīraṅgarāṭh 11, 29.

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Vīṇa-sūptikā 74.

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Koṭaravya-Śruti 73.

Mādhava-Śruti 81.

Gopavasa-Śruti 110, 112 (Madhvabhāgya-pramāṇā).

Bāṇadīya-Śruti 108 (Madhvabhāgya-pramāṇā).

Bhāṇavaya-Śruti 152.

Pañcī Śruti 57, 143 (udāhṛtā).

Pañcī-rahasya-Bṛithmaga 124.

Rāmānanda-Śrīrāṇa-bhāgya-pramāṇikā Śruti 11 (=BḡV x. 71. 3, anon.).

Taittirīyā-bhāgyakṛa-Madhvācāryodyōhṛtā Śruti 12 (=BḡV x. 190. 3, anon.); other śrutis from Madhva-bhāgya 73, 86, etc.

Cāterveda-dhātā Śruti 44, 64 (Madhvabhāgya-pramāṇā), 74, 85.

Bhāratatīparyya-pramāṇikā Śruti 74.

The Upaniṣads mentioned above are extensively quoted, as also the following: Alāreya 78 (anon.); Kaṇṭikā 106 (anon.), 114 (Madhvabhāgyodyōhṛtā); Māitṛī 78 (anon.), 127 (anon.); Prāśna 92, 109, 115, 117 (all anon.); Iśa 127 (anon.); Ātma 86 (anon.); Atharva-śruti 97, 103 (both anon.), etc.

Māitṛeya Bṛithmaga 126 (but the quotation is from Br.-Ā Up.).

Taittirīya Āraṇyaka 46, 47, 50, 103 (all anon.).

5. CAITANYA-WORSHIP AS A CULT

It is indeed a remarkable fact that although direct worship of Caitanya as a deity prevailed, according to the testimony of his Bengali biographical works, even during his life-time, the Sanskrit sources of Caitanyalism (with the exception of the

Sanskrit biographical works of Muṭāri and Kavīkarpūra) are entirely wanting in all reference to a distinct cult of Caitanya, and they nowhere inculcate directly such a worship. The whole object of the learned Sanskrit works of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīs, we have seen, is to establish that Kṛṣṇa is the exclusive object of worship, not as an Avatāra but as the supreme deity of the faith; and they attempt to demonstrate this proposition by an elaborate system of interpretation of those older Purāṇic and sectarian texts which the Bengal school would accept as authoritative. But they make no similar attempt anywhere to establish the supreme godhead or incarnated divinity of Caitanya, probably because such an attempt would have hardly been consistent with their central position that Kṛṣṇa alone is the supreme god. They acknowledge Caitanya as an Avatāra or even as Kṛṣṇa himself, but they never try to reconcile this practical faith in Caitanya with their theoretical creed regarding Kṛṣṇa. The whole theology or emotionalism of the religious system is deduced, more or less, from older devotional texts, chiefly from the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, and we have no direct presentation of the gospel or personal teachings of its founder, nor any express theological claim regarding his supreme and exclusive divinity. The recognized theologians of the sect, the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīs, are concerned principally with Kṛṣṇa-ullāsa in their serious works on theology or Rasa-śāstra, and do not speak in the same way at all about Caitanya-ullāsa and its place in their devotional scheme.¹

It must not, however, be supposed that there is no reference at all to the divine personality of Caitanya or homage paid to it, but these passages, occurring mostly in the poetical works or in the Namaskriyās only of the more learned treatises of the Gosvāmīs, do not make the position clear. Nor do they inculcate any such worship of Caitanya as obtained at Navadvīpa or Puri in his life-time or in the

1 See above pp. 227-28.

later history of the sect. Caitanya himself probably deprecated the natural tendency of his followers to deify him ; and even his most orthodox biography records in one place¹ (but explains it away) that Caitanya on one occasion disclaimed his identity with Kṛṣṇa. But, at the same time, there can be no doubt that the belief that he was an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa or even Kṛṣṇa himself certainly took form in his life-time among the Goṣvāmīns, who were his immediate disciples, even though the strictly theological position involved in this belief was never discussed by them.

Some of the Sanskrit Stotras or Stavas which Rūpa and Raghunātha-dāsa wrote clearly indicate this attitude. In the *Stava-mālā* of the former Goṣvāmīn there are three opening Aṣṭakas in praise of Caitanya, although the rest of the work, consisting of more than fifty separate Stotras, describes in highly erotic imagery the different aspects of the Vṛndāvana-līlā of Kṛṣṇa. In these three Aṣṭakas, however, which are called *Caitanyāṣṭakau*, the high panegyric of Caitanya forms the direct theme. In the first Aṣṭaka, composed in Śikharipī metre, we are told in one verse that gods like Śiva, Brahmā, and others worship Caitanya, who is the resting place of the Upaniṣads, the all-in-all of the sages, the sweet sentiment of devotion itself to his devotees and the very essence of love to the Gopīs,—epithets which imply an identification of Caitanya with Kṛṣṇa himself. In another punning verse, which applies equally to Kṛṣṇa and to Caitanya, reference is made to the associates and followers of Caitanya, such as Advaita, Śrīvāsa Svarūpa and Paramānanda (Kavikarṇapūra?), as well as to Gaṇapati (Pratāparudra). Mention is also made of Caitanya's reciting of Kṛṣṇa's name, his recollection of Vṛndāvana, his ecstasy, his residence at the sea-side and the Saṁskṛtana processions led by him before the car of Jagannātha. The second Aṣṭaka, also composed in Śikharipī, refers, among other things, to the attitude of some deluded people who, overcome by demoniacal tendency (*asura-bhāva*), do not

1 *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Madhya khāṇḍ, 109-112.

acknowledge Caitanya,¹ who is Kṛṣṇa in fair form (*akṣaṇḍāṅga*), whose Yaṁjā consists of Saṁkīrtana and whose human form is always overflowing with bliss in order to teach the doctrine of love and remove the sorrows of the world. The seventh stanza apparently describes Caitanya in the dress and appearance of a Saṁnyāsīn². It is also noteworthy that the third stanza of this *Aṣṭaka* explains the fair complexion of Caitanya by the supposition that Kṛṣṇa, desiring to experience the sweet feeling of the Gopīs, concealed his own dark complexion by stealing the golden hue of Rādhā, his beloved. We shall see presently that this fancy led to the elaboration of the doctrine that Caitanya is the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa as well as of Rādhā, although the doctrine is already anticipated by the contemporary composers of Bengali Padas on Caitanya and some of his Bengali biographers. The third *Aṣṭaka*, composed in Pīthvī metre, addresses the son of Śacī directly as Mukunda, whose greatness could not be described even by men of great intelligence like [Vāsudeva] Śārvabhauma.³ Caitanya has

1 The detractors of Caitanya are condemned in one whole section of 15 verses, entitled *Caitanyābhakti-nindā*, by Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī in his *Caitanya-candrodāya*.

2 It is the appearance of Caitanya as a Saṁnyāsīn which seems to have appealed to the Vṛndāvana Gōvīṇḍina, and not the personal presence of the comparatively youthful Caitanya who figures prominently in the works of the Navadvīpa disciples. It should be remembered that, according to Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Rūpa met Caitanya only thrice: at Rāmakeli (Madhya, i. 172-212), at Prayāga for ten days only (Madhya, 212), and at Puri for about ten months (Antya, iv. 23). All this occurred after Caitanya's Saṁnyāsa. The Yauṁveda is distinctly emphasised by Sanātana in the third Namaskṛiyā stanza of his *Śālagovindāṅga*.

3 The name of Śārvabhauma is specially mentioned not only because he was one of the foremost veteran scholars of the day but also because he wrote a *Caitanyāṣṭaka*, on which perhaps Rūpa's own *Aṣṭakas* were modelled. Anandīn quotes two verses from this work, one of which is again quoted as Śārvabhauma's by Sanātana and both of which are given as Śārvabhauma's in Kavītarasapūra's *Caitanya-candrodāya* (vi. 43-44). Murārī puts them in the mouth of Śārvabhauma himself.

revealed the great wealth of Bhakti-rasa, which cannot be found in the Veda or the Upaniṣad and which was never divulged before in any other greater incarnation (*gururāvaśāntara*).

In the *Śrāvāṇī* of Raghurāṣa-dāsa, who was the most fortunate of all the six Goṣvāmīns in obtaining longer and greater personal intimacy with Caitanya at Puri, we have only the first two (out of about thirty Kṛṣṇaite) *Stotras* directly concerned with Caitanya. The first is an *Aṣṭaka* of the same type (also composed in the *Śikharipī* metre) as those of Rūpa, while the second, consisting of twelve *Śikharipī* stanzas, is entitled *Gaurāṅga-stava-kalpataṛu*. The *Aṣṭaka* refers chiefly to Caitanya's life at Puri, his daily visit to the Jagannātha temple where he used to stand near the Garuḍa-column, the solicitous care of Svarūpa and the servant Govinda, his fits of frenzy at Saṅkīrtana, and his revealing of the Bhakti-doctrine which was inaccessible to the old sages and lay concealed in the *Śruti*. But the most remarkable statement occurs in the first verse, which repeats the fancy of Caitanya's double incarnation by saying that Kṛṣṇa, having once fallen in love with his own beauty reflected in a mirror, and desiring to taste his own sweetness as it was tasted by Rādhā, was born (*īdṛaḥ*) in Gauḍa in the one indivisible body of fair hue belonging to Rādhā who was his own (*apara-gaurāṅka-saṁubhāḥ*).¹ In his Saṅkīrtana Caitanya has thus merely cited with delight his own sweet names (*mudā gāyaṇaṁ uccair nija-madhura-nāmaṁvair asaṁ*). The *Stava-kalpataṛu*, on the other hand, referring to Caitanya's life of devotion at Puri at the house of [Kāṭhīvara-] Mīdra, as well as to his Guru Īvara Puri (also mentioned in stanza 2 of the *Aṣṭaka*), his disciple Svarūpa and his servant Govinda, describes chiefly the ecstatic

1 This conceit also finds expression in Rūpa's *Lalita-madhava* viii. 32, where the astonished Kṛṣṇa is enamoured of his own beautiful reflection on the jewelled wall and expresses a greedy longing to enjoy it like Rādhā (*sa-rabhasam apabhoktram īdṁaye rādhikera*); but there is no reference to Caitanya in this connection.

feelings of divine love which characterized the last phase of his life. It depicts Caitanya more as a Bhakta of passionate devotionism than as an incarnated deity; but since the *divyānāṁda*, the state of divine frenzy, is regarded in Vaiṣṇava Rāsa-theology as the characteristic of the highest Madana Mahābhāva of Rādhā, there is possibly an implication here of the idea of the Rādhā-incarnation of Caitanya.¹ In the Namaskriyā verse to his *Mukṣā-caritra*,² however, Raghunātha does not refer to the Rādhā-incarnation of Caitanya, but simply regards him as an Avatāra who took birth in the womb of Śacī in order to bestow upon this world the bright nectar of his own Bhakti,³ while in the body of the work itself, which deals with a fancied episode of Kṛṣṇa's career, no such reference occurs.

Although these poetical and passionate Stories do not form a part of the regular theology of the school, they are yet composed by professed theologians; and in spite of their undoubtedly devotional character, they are coloured a great deal by their sectarian beliefs. It is, therefore, interesting to note that, apart from inevitable embellishment and exaggeration, they acknowledge, even if they do not theologically propound, the divinity of Caitanya and even this identity with Kṛṣṇa. It is, however, not clear from these devout poetical utterances whether Caitanya was regarded as Kṛṣṇa himself or merely as an Avatāra of Kṛṣṇa. Some passages, as noted above, incline to the former view, but the term Avatāra and

1 But this need not be presumed or read into it, for it is probable from all accounts that Caitanya preached the Rāgānugā form of Bhakti and imagined himself as Rādhā. Raghunātha may be referring to this fact without say such theological implication of Caitanya's Rādhā-incarnation.

2 Raghunātha-dāsa's *Dāsa-kṛī-śaśṁant* contains no Namaskriyā to Caitanya, as also Rūpa's two *Dūta-kāvya*, *Dāsa-kṛī-śaśṁant* and *Pañjīraṇī*.

3 *nityam ajitāntām bhakti-radhām arpayitam kṛtam /
ulāsam tam śacī-garbha-ryomam pūṣam nityam bhaje //*

its derivatives distinctly occur in other passages. It is, however, evident that here we have the definite suggestion, if not the elaboration, of the doctrine of double incarnation, which later writers developed with great delight. If Caitanya is to be regarded as Kṛṣṇa himself, it was found necessary to explain how Kṛṣṇa's dark colour became transformed in Caitanya into a golden hue. Again, Caitanya's ecstatic feeling of divine love for Kṛṣṇa in an almost feminine rôle of mystically erotic passion also required explanation. It was, therefore, imagined, in accordance with the Mādhurya theory of the school, that Kṛṣṇa, in order to relish the supreme taste of his own Mādhurya as it was relished by his most beloved Rādhā, assumed the feelings as well as the beauty of Rādhā, so that the two became one in Caitanya. It has been noted above that one of the most approved modes of devotional realization of this sect consisted of the practice of the Rāgānuṣṭhāna form of Bhakti, an emotional state in which the devotee imagined himself as one of the dear ones of Kṛṣṇa and played that rôle in his longings for the deity. The orthodox records show that Caitanya himself probably began this practice, often imagined himself as Rādhā longing for her beloved Kṛṣṇa and tried to realize the same intense yearnings. We shall see presently that in this emotional practice of the Rādhā-bhāva, he received support from Rāmānanda-Rāya. If it was a fact that Caitanya, for his emotional devotional purposes, imagined himself as Rādhā, it was only a step that he came to be regarded by his disciples as Rādhā herself incarnated. Rāmānanda's attitude, as reported by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, probably indicates the final shape which the tendency took; and this conceit was undoubtedly strengthened both by Caitanya's fair complexion and his passionate ecstasies. The idea of the Rādhā-incarnation of Caitanya, voiced already by the contemporary composers of Bengali Padas on Caitanya, was thus probably suggested by the Rādhā-bhāva, which his 'divine madness' for Kṛṣṇa typified, as well as by the theological necessity of furnishing an

explanation of the appearance of a fair, instead of a dark, Kṛṣṇa. But the idea is only poetically suggested; its theological implications never appear to have been fully worked out until Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja sets it forth much later as the view of Rāmānanda-Rāya in his Bengali *Caitanya-caritāṃṛta*.

In the professed theological works of the Gosvāmīna, however, Caitanya is referred to only in the Namaṣkriyā, but nowhere else in the body of these elaborate treatises his divinity or incarnated appearance is either mentioned or discussed in the same way as the divinity of Kṛṣṇa. For reasons best known to themselves, these recognized theologians of the sect and authors of systematic treatises do not, except in their brief Namaṣkriyā, make any reference to Caitanya. While the personality and the direct spiritual realizations of the Master are silently passed over, Jīva Gosvāmīna, who gives an exposition of the entire philosophy and theology of the sect in his stupendous six *Samudārbha*s, does not utter a single word about the Caitanya-concept in itself, as well as in relation to the Kṛṣṇa-concept, with which latter concept he appears to be entirely occupied. Rūpa and Sanātana, in their two *Bhāgavatāṃṛta*s, consider with great devotional and scholastic acumen the question of Avatāra, but in this connection they make no reference, either direct or illustrative, to Caitanya. Just as the Kṛṣṇa-concept had to be traced and established in the light of Bhāgavata texts, so it was necessary that the Caitanya-concept in a similar manner should find a distinct place in the authoritative philosophic and theological compendiums of the sect. If Jīva thought it necessary to write an elaborate *Kṛṣṇa-samudārbha*, he never thought it necessary, for some unknown reason, to write a similar *Caitanya-samudārbha*. This remarkable omission is, no doubt, made good by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in his scholastic Bengali biography of Caitanya, but Kṛṣṇadāsa's theology on this point is clearly the theology of a later date, anticipated, no doubt, by the six Gosvāmīna but never clearly expressed. Even in the collection of Stotras mentioned above, written by the

professed theologians of the sect, we have only four (out of nearly one hundred) separate poems which are devoted to the glorification of Caitanya, the rest setting forth in highly sensuous language and imagery the various phases of the *Vṛndāvana-līlā* of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. The realization of the *Līlā* or divine sport of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa indeed forms the central creed, which Caitanya himself is reported to have emphasized by the erotico-religious emotionalism characterizing his own devotional career. But this *Līlā* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is considered by the Gosvāmīns, only as set forth by the *Bhāgavata* texts, and not as directly realized by Caitanya, only in itself and not in relation to the Caitanya-*līlā*, even though they regard Caitanya as the first founder of the emotional creed.

We find the same attitude in the dramatic and *Rasa-śāstra* works of Rūpa Gosvāmīn. One might expect that the systematic exposition of the emotional aspects of the creed in the *Rasa-śāstra* should, by way of illustration at least, make some topical reference to Caitanya's own realization of this supreme emotion as a *Rasa*, but as a matter of fact this is never done either here or in Jīva Gosvāmīn's *Bhakti-* and *Prīti-saṃdarbhāḥ*; and wherever illustrations are drawn, they are all cited from the older *Purāṇas*, and not from the newer living exemplification of the doctrines in Caitanya himself. The *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* of Rūpa is even remarkable in not containing the usual *Namaskriyā* to Caitanya, although there is a *Namaskriyā* addressed to Rūpa's elder brother and master Saṅātana; while in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* Rūpa pays only in one verse¹ his homage to the lotus-feet of Caitanya-deva who is Hari, and acknowledges the emotional inspiration which has stimulated even an insignificant person like himself to undertake the task. Turning to Rūpa's dramatic works, which appear to have been purposely

1 *brh̥d yasya prēmāyā pravaritā'haṃ varāha-rūp'o'pi /
tasya karṣṇa-pada-kamalāṃ vande caitanya-devasya //*

composed to illustrate the emotional aspects of the faith, we find that they are entirely devoted to the treatment of certain aspects of Kṛṣṇa-līlā on the basis of the Purāṇic tradition. The *Dāna-keli-kāumudī*, which was probably his earliest dramatic attempt, contains even no express Namaskriyā to Caitanya but opens with two descriptive Namaskriyās to Kṛṣṇa. The *Sūtradhāra*, however, describes in the third verse the frenzied ecstasy of an unnamed Bhakta, which is probably drawn after Caitanya's example. The work itself, on the other hand, sets forth a supposed episode in Kṛṣṇa's amorous career, which is not found in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* or *Gītāgovinda*, but which certainly became popular in mediaeval times as the *Dāna-līlā* and formed the theme of the *Dāna-khaṇḍa* of Caṇḍiḍāsa's earlier Bengali *Kṛṣṇa-kīrtana*, as well as of many a later Bengali song and poem. In the two other dramatic works of Rūpa, entitled respectively *Vidagdha-mādhava* and *Lalita-mādhava*,¹ Kṛṣṇa is presented as the *Vidagdha* and the *Lalita Nāyaka* respectively of the erotic-religious sentiment, emphasizing in turns the *Aitvarya* and *Mādhurya* aspects of Kṛṣṇa's legendary career. The last named work opens with a suitable Namaskriyā to Kṛṣṇa, but the fourth verse pays homage to Caitanya, the son of Śacī, without however directly identifying him with Kṛṣṇa. But the second verse of the first work gives us a remarkable Namaskriyā to Caitanya, which is often quoted as expressing the author's views about the founder of the sect to which he belonged. Imperfectly translated into English it runs thus:

Let the son of Śacī shine in the hollow of my heart, the Hari, who is lighted up by an assemblage of lustre lovelier than that of gold, and who in his compassion has descended at last in the Kali Age in order to bestow that wealth of his own Bhakti, which was never bestowed before and

¹ The titles are obviously on the model of Jayadeva's descriptive naming of each section of his *Gītā-govinda*.

which consists of the exalted sentiment of love or Ujjvala-rasa.¹

In this verse which is similar to, but more definite than, the Namaṣkriyā verse already cited above from Raghunātha-dāsa's *Mukūṭ-carita*, Rūpa Gosvāmin states quite expressly his belief of Caitanya's identity with Kṛṣṇa: but it also appears that the son of Śaṅkṣa was regarded by him as an Avatāra in the Kali Age (*avatārpaṇ*) for the special purpose of teaching, by his own example, the secrets of Ujjvala or Madhura Rasa, by which is of course meant the religiously sublimated erotic sentiment, which the Rasa-śāstra of this school established as the highest sentiment of Bhakti.

Rūpa in this attitude appears to follow the views of Saṅgātana whom in more than one verse he reverently addresses as his master or Prabhu. The third Namaṣkriyā verse of Saṅgātana's *Bṛhad-Bhāgavatāmṛta* makes it clear that Saṅgātana, like Rūpa, regarded Caitanya not so much as the supremacy of the faith as the ideal devotee-incarnation, the Bhakta-Avatāra of Kṛṣṇa, who incarnated as the fair-hued ascetic son of Śaṅkṣa for the purpose of himself relishing his own sweetness as it was relished by Rādhā, his own greatest devotee. It says:²

Victory be to this son of Śaṅkṣa, the Hari here in the dress of an ascetic, bearing the lustre of gold and the name of Kṛṣṇa-caitanya, who having sweetly contemplated from his own feelings the feelings of his own beloved towards himself, has descended out of greed (to taste them) in the form of a Bhakta or devotee.

1 *amar-pīṭa-rūpa cīrṇa karuṇya-vastūṣaḥ kṛpā
amar-pyāṣam anu-toṣṭa-rasāḥ sva-bhakti-kriyāḥ/
haribḥ paratā-sandara-dyutī-kalamha-saṃpūṭ-piṅg
sodā hṛdaya-kandara-spharata vāḥ śat-mandanah//*

2 *sva-dāyitā-nija-bhūṭaḥ ya viddhaya svabhāndā
umadhuram avāṭṭṛṇo bhakti-vāṇaḥ labhāt/
jayati karuṇa-dhāmā kṛṣṇa-caitanya-nāma
haribḥ ita śat-vāḥ śat-śat-ūṣaḥ sṛjāt//*

It should be noted that by the word 'greed' (*lobha*) employed in this verse is probably meant, as the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* shows,¹ that Sanātana regarded Caitanya's rapture as an example of the Rāgātmikā or Rāgānugā Bhakti. If the nameless running commentary to this work is by Sanātana himself, he speaks, in his own explanation of this verse, of Caitanya as the Bhakta-rūpa Avatāra,² the Parama Guru, the dearest Avatāra of Śrī-bhagavat (*śrī-bhagavat-priyaramā-vatāra*), who spread the sentiment of Bhakti consisting for the most part of the Saṅkīrtana of his own name (*nitya-nāma-saṅkīrtana-prāya - bhakti - rasa - vistarāka*). Elsewhere in the same commentary he makes his views quite clear by saying³ that the Gopī-bhāva was admitted in this particular Avatāra for the purpose of revealing the special excellence of Prema-bhakti. The belief is further indicated briefly in the Nama-kīyā⁴ to Sanātana's *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, where he pays homage in almost similar phraseology to the Bhagavat Śrī-kṛṣṇa-caitanya, who is full of compassion and who became an Avatāra in Gauḍa for the purpose of propagating Prema-bhakti. It is also noteworthy

1 See above p. 176-77. There is evidence to show that many of the disciples of Caitanya followed the Rāgānugā way of worship and tried to realise the sentiments of Sakhya, Dāya and Mādhurya. It is alleged in *Gaura-gopoddēśa*⁵ that the Vṛndāvana Govindas realised the Sakhi-bhāva themselves, and they were thus considered as Mādharis (see above p. 177, footnote).

2 In *Gaura-gopoddēśa-dīpikā* (śl. 10-11) a classification of the stages or hierarchy of Bhakta-rūpa (Caitanya), Bhakta-avarūpa (Nityānanda), Bhaktīvatara (Advaita), Bhakta (Śrīvika and others) and Bhakta-lakṣī (Goddhara) is elaborated; but this appears to be a further scholastic development of fine distinctions. It is difficult to say if Sanātana wanted to imply any such distinction between Bhakta-rūpa and Bhakta-avarūpa, for he appears to use the terms indiscriminately.

3 *yadyapi śrī-caitanya-dēva bhagavad-avatāra eva, tathāpi prema-bhakti - vīṭa - prakāśanārtham svayam avatīrṇatī; tena tadārtham svayam gopī-bhāva vyaśyate* (on śl. 1).

4 *vaude śrī-kṛṣṇa-caitanyaḥ bhagavanam kṛpāmayaḥ / prema-bhakti-vistārtartham gauḍa-janavataṭāra yathā /*

that these passages appear to accept the implications of the theory of dual incarnation of Caitanya, even if they do not expressly state it. But Ānandīn in his commentary on Prabodhānanda's *Caitanya-candrāmṛta* attributes an eulogistic verse to Sanātana, which distinctly gives expression to this idea by saying that since the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is an expression of the blissful divine attribute (Hlādinī Śakti), it divided itself formerly in this world, in spite of its essential identity, into two forms, but the two have now attained a unity, called Caitanya, which is identical with Kṛṣṇa but which is diversified by the brightness of the state of Rādhā.¹

These verses, no doubt, reveal an attitude of adoration which verges almost upon worship, but theoretically the Gopāmins do not maintain any such worship of Caitanya as they insist upon in the case of Kṛṣṇa who alone, in their view, is the supreme deity of the faith. They appear to regard Caitanya more as an Avatāra, the Bhakta-Avatāra *par excellence*, the Kṛṣṇa incarnated as Rādhā, as it were, for a special purpose. It appears, therefore, that Caitanya-worship did not become a definite creed with these learned disciples of Caitanya. This is even more evident from Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's *Hari-bhakti-viṣṭa*, which is the most authoritative compendium of Vaiṣṇava Ācāra of the sect. The eighteen out of twenty Namaskriyās to the twenty chapters of this work express the author's deep reverence for Caitanya and apply

- 1 *rādhā-kṛṣṇa-prajaya-nīlīr hīlāinī-śaktir anmād
rādmānāruṇī bhārī parāśrīr-bhūdaṁ gataṁ tan/
cāitanyālikhyaṁ prajāyaṁ adhvānī tad-dṛayaṁ cākhaṁ dṛṣṭvā
rādhā-bhāradvājī-tābālitaṁ naumi kṛṣṇa-vardham //*

This verse is also cited by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja anonymously at the commencement of his *Caritāmṛta*.—It may be that the Guru, Jayanta, of the Gopakumāra in Sanātana's *Bhāgavatāmṛta* is an allegorical representation of Caitanya, who was Sanātana's Guru. Jayanta is described there as an Avatāra of Kṛṣṇa born in Gauda on the bank of the Ganges (li. 3. 122):

- gauḍe raṅgī-taṭe jīva nāthare-bṛhmaspandanah/
jayanta-nāma kṛṣṇavardhān īr mahān guruḥ //*

to him such eulogistic epithets as the *bhagavat*, *jagad-guru*, *ananta-adbhuta-aṁvarya*, *śrīhottama*, *mahācārya-prabhāvakā*, but there is nothing in them that does not apply, for instance, to one's Guru ; and it is remarkable that nowhere is Caitanya directly identified with Kṛṣṇa or even spoken of as an incarnation. The contents of the work appear to confirm and support this attitude ; for it is significant that this elaborate authoritative text on the ritualism of the sect gives no direction for the worship of Caitanya or his image, although it deals elaborately with the every-day service as well as the temple-ritual connected with Kṛṣṇa and his image.

There can be no doubt that the determinative creed of the Bengal sect is that Kṛṣṇa alone is the Bhagavat or the only and most perfect god. As the trend of their exclusively Kṛṣṇaite hymns, dramas and poems, as well as śāstric works which have Kṛṣṇa as their only theme, should indicate, Rūpa, Sanātana and Jīva, as well as Gopāla Bhaṭṭa and Raghunātha-dāsa, adhere firmly to this creed. But this position, once accepted, would logically exclude every other claimant from the highest divine honour. It was, therefore, not possible from the strictly theoretical point of view to make an explicit declaration of what these personal disciples of Caitanya practically believed, namely, that Caitanya, like Kṛṣṇa himself, was the supreme deity of the creed. This inconsistency could be reconciled only by supposing, as they do suppose, that Kṛṣṇa, as the supreme being of endless incarnations, made his descent in the Kali Age in the form of Caitanya, but that he assumed the fair form as well as the fervid feelings of Rādhā, uniting in himself, for the particular purpose of relishing his own divine bliss, the two incarnated forms (to use a theological phrase) of the Śakti and the Śaktimat in a kind of identity in non-identity. The Gosvāmīs have taken great pains to demonstrate that Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat and not an incarnation, but they never make any attempt in the same way to demonstrate the creed in the case of Caitanya ; for, to avoid inconsistency, they had to

acknowledge that Caitanya was an incarnation, even if a unique incarnation, of Kṛṣṇa.

The theory of double incarnation, however, is not elaborated by the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīna, but we can see from what is said above that the germs of the idea are already contained in the fanciful suggestions scattered throughout their poetical, if not in their theological, writings. We have already remarked that the idea of the Rādhā-incarnation of Caitanya is attributed by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja to Rāmānanda-Rāya whom Caitanya is said to have met on the banks of the Godāvari during his South Indian pilgrimage. It is possible that some such tradition existed, for Rāmānanda is called a Sahaja Vaiṣṇava by Kavikarṇapūra. But Rāmānanda's existing dramatic work, entitled *Jagannātha-vallabha*, the theme of which is the Vṛndāvana-līlā of Kṛṣṇa, makes no reference to Caitanya at all and does not bear out the allegation. The attribution of Sahajiyā tendencies may have originated from Rāmānanda's admiration and close imitation of the frankly sensuous lyrics of Jayadeva, whom Sahajiyās claim, rightly or wrongly, as their Ādi-guru and one of the nine recognized Rasika. But our knowledge of Pre-caitanya Sahajiyā cult is so meagre that it is impossible to come to a definite conclusion. It is remarkable, however, that Kṛṣṇadāsa's account for the first time wants to emphasize that after Caitanya met Rāmānanda, the Rādhā-bhāva in Caitanya became intensified, as if Rāmānanda revealed him to himself. From this time also commenced Caitanya's deep appreciation of Jayadeva's erotic mysticism which he is said to have constantly utilized in Rāmānanda's company at Puri. Before this meeting Caitanya appears in his Navadvīpa career chiefly as an incarnation of or identical with Kṛṣṇa (although occasionally the Pada-composers, as well as the biographers of the Navadvīpa circle refer, as we have noted more than once above, to the Rādhā-bhāva of Caitanya); but after the meeting he is held more and more to be the embodiment not only of Kṛṣṇa but also of Rādhā. The closing years of his

life at Puri, where Rāmānanda was one of his constant companions, are said to have been characterized by what is regarded as the highest emotion of the devotional state, namely, the Mādana Mahābhāva of Rādhā. That association with Rāmānanda apparently formed a turning point in Caitanya's career of Bhakti is indicated also by the report of Kṛṣṇadāsa that it was the spiritual insight of Rāmānanda which revealed to Caitanya that he had, for the purpose of realizing his own divine nature, usurped the complexion and devotional spirit of Rādhā in the present Avatāra.³ We are further told that it is to Rāmānanda alone, and to no other associate or follower, that Caitanya revealed himself in the united form of both Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.⁴

On the other hand, Prabodhānanda Sarasvati makes direct use of and elaborates this doctrine in his *Caitanya-candrāmṛta*.⁵ This work, consisting of a series of 143 devotional lyrics in praise of Caitanya, may not be a recognized work of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, but it has been held in great esteem. In this work, Prabodhānanda appears to regard Caitanya as one of the greatest Avatāras of Kṛṣṇa (śl. 1 and 7), who descended to earth in the womb of Śacī for propagating the spirit of Bhakti unrevealed even to great sages of old (śl. 18). In one whole section (the tenth) of 21 verses he speaks of the greatness of the Caitanya-Avatāra,

- 1 राधिकार भाषयामि करि अचिन्तार ।
निज रस आकाशिते करिबाहु अपसार ॥
- 2 तबे हासि प्रभु निज देखात करुण ।
रसराज महामाधु गुर एव रूप ॥

The Nāgara-bhāva of Caitanya, emphasized by Locana-dāsa's Bengali biography, apparently develops the idea of Kṛṣṇa-reincarnation in a different direction, and has hardly any connexion with the theme of the Rādhā-incarnation of Caitanya. Jayānanda, the other Bengali biographer of Caitanya, generally steers clear of all such theological subtleties.

3 See above pp. 129-30.

although it is maintained that he is not a partial incarnation (Aṃḍa-Avatāra) like the Fish, the Bear and other incarnations of past ages (ḥl. 141). At the same time there are other passages which seem to indicate that Prabodhānanda believed Caitanya to be the *Līvara* (ḥl. 37), golden-complexioned (Kanakā-mucirāṅga) Kṛṣṇa, and Hari himself (ḥl. 41, 57, 112). The author, who was more a devotee than a theologian, does not appear to possess any exact theology; but whatever might be his belief or theology on this point, there is no doubt that his work is one of the early extensive productions which directly inculcate not only adoration but worship of Caitanya.¹ He also seems to be aware of the idea of Caitanya's dual incarnation. He tells us (ḥl. 13) that in Caitanya we have the form of Kṛṣṇa united with that of Rādhā and bearing the beauty of the interior of a full-blown golden lotus.² He therefore addresses Caitanya (ḥl. 43) as the fair-complexioned lord of the Gopīs manifested in the Kali Age.³ It is also noteworthy that in stanza 132 there is a reference to Caitanya as *Gaura-nāgara-vara*, which apparently subscribes to the *Nāgara-bhāva* doctrine of Naraṇari and Locana, deprecated or ignored by the orthodox circles of both Navadvīpa and Vṛndāvana.

It appears, therefore, that in this charming fancy of the Caitanyāite poet-devotees, most of whom were also the

1 But Prabodhānanda's alleged pupil Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, as we have seen above, hardly lends any support to such a cult. It is possible that although the ascetic Prabodhānanda was apparently older than Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, his conversion to Caitanyāism may have taken place later when such a cult was widely gaining ground, and his work consequently may be of a later date; or this view may have been his personal belief. But Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's pupilage of *this* Prabodhānanda lacks proof (see above, p. 129 f.).

2 *Nāhara lāṅgīm vīkara-kāṇḍāmbhoja-parbhābhārdam/
rābhāraṇa vāra arata ra rādhayā mādharāya* //

Also see st. 112.

3 *kaleṇ prakāṣa-gaura-gopīparīḥ*, with an obvious pun on the word *gaura*.

recognized theologians of the sect, an ingenious explanation was found of the golden hue of Caitanya's body, which would have been dark as Kṛṣṇa's had it not been for the Rādhā-element. As it appears from the works of Pada-composers and the Goṣvāmīns, it was at first, more or less, a devotional poetical fancy; but it was soon developed into a fundamental doctrine, and it is probable that from this theory originated the common epithet, Gaṇaḥarī, of Caitanya, with an evident pun on the word *gaura*, which makes the appellation mean at the same time 'Gaura who is Hārī' and 'the fair-complexioned Harī.'

The conception of the dual incarnation was, therefore, not unknown to the Goṣvāmīns, but its theological implications are not found systematically developed until the Bengali Caitanyaite works, which in course of time almost superseded the Sanskrit sources of Caitanyaism, came to be composed. We find it set forth in its full-fledged form in the Bengali theological biography of Caitanya written by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja about 1615 A.D. We need not consider here in detail this later theological elaboration of the idea, but the process of Caitanya's elevation from single to double incarnation, as we have already noted, can be traced in the account which Kṛṣṇadāsa records. Although there are many passages in which Kṛṣṇadāsa speaks of Caitanya as an Avatāra, the ideal Bhakta-Avatāra with the mission of Prema-bhakti, yet he expresses in unambiguous language his belief that *śrī-kṛṣṇa-caitanya prabhu svayaṁ bhagavān*, thus employing to the case of Caitanya the technical theological expression *svayaṁ bhagavān* which had been hitherto applied to Kṛṣṇa alone. In Kṛṣṇadāsa's time Caitanya-worship apparently became an accomplished fact.¹ This zealous biographer of

1 Some of the immediate disciples of Caitanya like Nityānanda Paṇḍita and Vṛndāvana Paṇḍita appear to have believed in their own way in the worship of Caitanya's image; and there is evidence to show that some followers of Caitanya established and worshipped his image even during his life-time. In the *Paṇḍita-līlā* of Vṛndāvana Paṇḍita we are told that

Caitanya's who also appears to have been a trained theologian in the school of his acknowledged Gurus, Rūpa, Sanātana and Jīva, spares no pains to demonstrate, with a wealth of theological texts and arguments, Caitanya's essential identity with Kṛṣṇa, laying down emphatically that there is no other greater Tattva in the world than Caitanya who is Kṛṣṇa (*na caitanyo'pi kṛṣṇo jagati para-tattvaṃ param iha*). Kṛṣṇadāsa, therefore, takes upon himself the task of analysing the Caitanya-concept and thus supplying an important omission of the previous theologians of the sect. He achieves this end chiefly by applying to the case of Caitanya all the divine attributes and energies of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa which had been elaborated by his predecessors and which have been discussed from the theological point of view by Jīva Gosvāmī in his *Kṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha*. Some writers even go further, and, identifying Caitanya with Kṛṣṇa, evolve a series of Caitanya's Parikaras and Pāṇḍas parallel to those of Kṛṣṇa, so that each associate and follower of Caitanya becomes from this point of view an incarnation of the various associates and followers of Kṛṣṇa.

It is not necessary to consider here the arguments by which Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja establishes his position, but what is interesting for us here to note in his analysis of the Caitanya-concept is the further development of the theory of dual incarnation, in which he finds one of the principal

Vaṇḍāna, being convinced by means of a vision that he should propagate the worship of Caitanya's image, carved an image out of the wood of the tree under which Caitanya was born. It is also said elsewhere that Pratiṣṭhānārāyaṇa of Orissa had a life-size image of Caitanya made some time before his death, but since there is no independent evidence that Pratiṣṭhānārāyaṇa was ever a convert to Caitanyāism, the authenticity of this story is doubtful. According to Murlī-guṇa (iv. 14. 8, if this part of the work is genuine), Caitanya-image was worshipped by Viṣṇupriyā. Gaṇḍīśa Paṇḍita is also said to have established and worshipped an image of Caitanya and Nityānanda (Gaur-Niṭi). In any case, these are isolated and sporadic instances and do not bear witness to any theoretical establishment of Caitanya-worship as a cult.

theological justifications of the advent of Caitanya. In applying the characteristics of the already established Kṛṣṇa-concept to the analysis of the Caitanya-concept, Kṛṣṇadāsa appears to maintain that the latter concept may be regarded as a supplement to the former. The motiveless attribute of divine bliss is the *raison d'être* of Caitanya-llā as it is of Kṛṣṇa-llā; but while in the latter case the supreme deity enjoys the bliss as the subject (Āśraya), in the former case the bliss is enjoyed both as the subject (Āśraya) and the object (Viśaya). In other words, Kṛṣṇa the Śaktimat in his Vṛndāvana-llā enjoys the bliss arising from his association with his Śakti, Rādhā, but he does not enjoy the bliss, which Rādhā realizes, as inherent in himself. In the Caitanya-llā, therefore, he combines the rôles of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, who have separate and real existences in spite of essential identity in the supreme but hitherto unattained divine unity of the subject and object of bliss.¹ The display of the blissful divine attribute (Hlādīśa Śakti), therefore, is supposed to receive a further development in Caitanya than in Kṛṣṇa. The difference is merely a difference particular Līlā or divine sport, resulting in Caitanya's adoption of the complexion and feelings of Rādhā, as well as those of Kṛṣṇa, for a greater realization of the blissful attribute, but it does not affect Caitanya's intrinsic divine selfhood as Kṛṣṇa. The doctrine of the inscrutable Bhedā-bheda, which is peculiar to the school, applies also here between the Kṛṣṇa-concept and the Caitanya-concept; for there is identity so far as the intrinsic divine nature is

1 It is curious, however, that in the later hagiology of the sect Caitanya's intimate friend and follower Gadādhara is regarded as an incarnation of Rādhā and the śakti of Caitanya (*Govra-gopoddhāra*, ll. 11), while this honour is not accorded to either of the two wives of Caitanya. It is not denied that Caitanya is Rādhā, but since Caitanya is also Kṛṣṇa, his Śakti from this aspect is Gadādhara. As Anandīya puts it: *mayam ut-rādhāllā.....śrī-pādānām ut-caitanya-pādābhinnā, pralābhānām gadādhara-pādābhinnāpā* (on Caitanya-candrānām, ll. 118). See above p. 93, footnote 2.

concerned but there is a difference in the character of the divine sport.

But other theological difficulties were also perceived and had to be reconciled. In the orthodox Purāṇa lists of Avatāras and direct advents of the deity, Caitanya is not expressly mentioned, but his descent has to be presented as a case of fulfilled prophecy in order to bring conviction to the mind of the unfaithful. Then again, there is a *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* text (xi. 2. 13)¹ which apparently informs us that Kṛṣṇa appeared in the three earlier ages in three different complexions respectively, namely, White (Śukla) in the Satya, Red (Rakta) in the Tretā and Golden-yellow (Pita) in the Dvāpara Age, but it further adds that now, i.e., apparently in the Kali Age, he appears as dark-blue Kṛṣṇa. But the same *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* tells us elsewhere that the god is dark-blue in the Dvāpara (*dvāpare bhagavān dyāmaḥ*, xi. 5. 25), so that the two statements appear to contradict each other. To reconcile this conflict it is maintained by an ingenious interpretation of the texts that the intension really is to indicate that the deity appeared as dark-blue in Dvāpara and not as golden-yellow, which must be the colour, as evident from Caitanya's complexion, suitable to the Kali Age. In this connexion both Rūpa and Jīva employ (without indicating that it is a quotation) as a part of their respective Nama-kṛtyā to their *Saṁkṛpa-bhāgavatāṁṛta* and *Tattva-saṁdarbha*, the following verse, which occurs also in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* (xi. 5. 29):

kṛṣṇa-varṇaṁ tviṣṭākrpāṁ sākṣopāgāstro-pārsadam /
yaśāstḥ saṁkīrtana-prāyaś yaśanti hi samedhasaḥ /

The verse has been explained by Śrīdhara, without any particular sectarian colouring, as applying generally to Kṛṣṇa; but both Rūpa and Jīva, as well as Sanātana in his *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, appear to take

1 *śaṅkha varṇaḥ trayo hyeṣa gṛhṇato'nurūpaṁ tanūḥ /*
śuklo raktaś tathā pita śāntaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ kalīyuge //

the verse as predicting in particular the advent of Caitanya in the Kali Age. According to Śrīdhara's explanation, the verse emphasizes the pre-eminence of the Kṛṣṇa-Avatāra in the Kali Age.¹ The phrase *kṛṣṇa-varṇam*, in his opinion, apparently refers to his dark colour, and the phrase *ivipāḍakṛṣṇam* is interpreted in two ways by disjoining the word differently, namely, (i) in effulgence he is not dark (*ivipāḍ akṛṣṇam*), as he is dark in complexion, but shines like a bright sapphire (*indranila-maṇivad ujjvalam*), or (ii) in his bright divine presence he is Kṛṣṇa (*ivipāḍ kṛṣṇam*), meaning that in the Kali Age he is pre-eminently the Kṛṣṇa-Avatāra. According to Śrīdhara, again, the word *atga* in the verse refers to Kṛṣṇa's beautiful limbs, *upāṅga* to his natural embellishments like Kaustubha, *astra* to such weapons as Sudarśana, and *pāṇḍa* to his retinue consisting of Śaṇanda and others. The word *yaḥ* need not, in his view, refer to anything more than general worship (*arcand*), and the word *saṁkīrtana* need not in the same way be taken in any narrow technical sense but should be interpreted generally as meaning the reciting of Kṛṣṇa's name (*nāmoccāraṇa*) and praise (*stuti*).²

For those who see in this verse an anticipation of Caitanya's advent it is not difficult to interpret it accordingly. Such methods of interpretative ingenuity are not unknown in Sanskrit mediaeval theology or philosophy; and such feats are comparatively easy in a language like Sanskrit which

1 *anena kalau kṛṣṇavācārāya pradhānyam darśayati*.

2 Even if *Saṁkīrtana* here be supposed to mean the peculiar Vaiṣṇava mode of singing Kṛṣṇa's name, the occurrence of the word in this passage in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavate* only indicates, apart from any sectarian interpretation, that the mode was fairly old, at least older than Śrīdhara who accepts this passage as genuine. If this is correct, then the *Saṁkīrtana* is probably not such an innovation introduced by Bengal Vaiṣṇavism as it is often supposed to be, although it must be admitted that Bengal Vaiṣṇavism first realized its possibilities and made it into an effective mode of propagating the mass-emotion of Bhakti.

affords special facilities regarding the large number of meaning which may be assigned to particular words, the different modes of splitting up compounds and the diverse ways in which the syllables comprising a word or a sentence can be disjoined. It is quite natural, therefore, for the predisposed Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīs to find in this verse a prophecy of Caitanya's appearance and press it into sectarian service. Accordingly, they agree in splitting up the phrase *tvīṣṭākṛṣṇam* only in one way, namely, *tvīṣṭ* *ākṛṣṇam* 'in brightness not dark' and making it refer to Caitanya's bright and fair complexion; while the phrase *kṛṣṇa-varṇa* is supposed to refer to the citation of the syllables (*varṇa*) of Kṛṣṇa's name by Caitanya, although the more subtle Jīva Gosvāmīn appears¹ to think that the phrase refers to the fact that Caitanya was inwardly Kṛṣṇa himself (*antah-kṛṣṇa*) but outwardly Gaura

1 This verse is explained at some length by Jīva at the beginning of his *Sarva-saṃpradāiṇi Anuvṛtṭikhyā* to his *Tattva-saṃdarbhā*. The prose passage at the commencement of this explanation states as relevant context that the *Śrīmad-bhāgavatā* verse eulogises Caitanya, to whom an eulogistic reference is also made. In this reference of his, Jīva Gosvāmīn appears to believe that Caitanya in the Kali Age is an Avatāra worthy of worship by the Vaiṣṇava, that he is the presiding deity of his own Saṃpradāya, that by his descent he spread the current of loving devotion for the Bhāgavat, and that his Bhāgavad-bhāva has been well established by the insight of endless believers in the Bhāgavat. This is high praise indeed, but it is not clear if Jīva attempts here at all to establish that Caitanya himself is the Bhāgavat, as he has in his *Kṛṣṇa-saṃdarbhā* taken pains to establish that Kṛṣṇa himself is the Bhāgavat. On the other hand, Jīva appears inclined to accept Caitanya as an Avatāra of Kṛṣṇa, though he also uses the technical word *Avīrbbhāva*. The only other reference that Jīva makes to Caitanya occurs in the *Namaskriyā* to *Gopāla-campā* and *Sopānā-pa-lāpadrūma*. In both these works he employs the same *Namaskriyā*, which comprehensively includes in one Anuṣṭubh verse homage to Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa-caitanya, Śeṣitana, Rūpa, Gopālā Bhaṭṭa and his own father Vallabha, and which can also be interpreted so as to apply exclusively to Kṛṣṇa. The theme of both these works is of course Kṛṣṇa-āra. In his *Haridambhāṣya-vṛtṭikāraṇa* there is a *Namaskriyā* to Kṛṣṇa, but not to Caitanya.

or Caitanya, fair in complexion (*bahīr gaura*, with the usual pun on the word *gaura*), with an implied allusion to the Prakāśa and Aprakāśa aspects of the divine sport. All interpretations of the Bengal school, however, agree that the *samkīrtana-prāya yajña* in the verse undoubtedly refers to the new mode of emotional worship by loud singing, music and dancing which the school made so popular. They also agree that the rest of the verse means that in this Uṣṇ Caitanya had for his weapon (*astra*) only his companions like Nityānanda (*aṅga*), associates like Advaita (*upāṅga*), as well as followers like Gadādhara and others (*pārśada*). What value this interpretation in itself may be judged to possess, there can be no doubt that it has an important bearing on the practical creed of Caitanyaism. But it is at the same time somewhat extraordinary that, apart from such passing references in the Namaskriyās and poetical effusions, neither Rūpa, Sanātana nor Jīva in the body of their elaborate and voluminous theological writing ever discusses, amplifies or illustrates the question from the point of view of this important bearing.

It is clear, however, from what has been said above, that the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīs of Caitanyaism implicitly accept Caitanya's identity with Kṛṣṇa, even if they explicitly declare only his Avatāratva; and, to explain this identity, they indulge in the mystical devotional fancy of the dual incarnation of Caitanya. The accepted theory is that Kṛṣṇa's dark colour and form of a Gopa sporting in Vṛndāvana-III are real and eternal, being essential and intrinsic to his divine selfhood; but here, in Caitanya, Kṛṣṇa has apparently manifested himself differently. Here we have none of the mighty divine qualities of Kṛṣṇa but only the rapture of erotic mysticism. These facts present theological difficulties which have to be explained. They are explained by this curious fancy of the external Rādhā-incarnation containing in itself the internal Kṛṣṇa in essence. This fancy became a creed in the next generation, and the cult of Caitanya-worship became an inevitable result. It would seem strange indeed that these

devout minds should exercise themselves so much on the question of colour and complexion, but this is in perfect accord with the scholastic spirit of the age, as well as with the theological position of the school. The colour and complexion of Kṛṣṇa was regarded as a part of his divine essence, and any anomaly in this direction in his subsequent appearance had to be scholastically explained. The task was to establish the supreme godhead of Caitanya, and all the theological difficulties arising out of the sacred authoritative texts must be settled by the proper scholastic method. The fact of Caitanya's fair complexion and display of ecstatic feminine emotions, which were absent in the legendary Kṛṣṇa, thus gave an opportunity of establishing as a doctrine the theory of dual incarnation, which was indeed suggested but not fully developed by the recognized theological authorities of Caitanyatism.

So much about the views of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīns and their disciple Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. When we turn, however, to the Bengali writings of the followers of the Navadvīpa circle, which (with the exception of a few *Padas* apparently composed in Caitanya's life-time) were contemporaneous with the theological and poetical productions of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīns, we find that they regard Caitanya as the *Parama Tattva* of the Bengal faith. We have already indicated their attitude briefly above¹; but the *Gaura-pāramya-rāda*, though implicitly accepted without question, is hardly discussed from the theological point of view, in the same way as the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīns discuss the *Kṛṣṇa-pāramya-tattva*. The Bengal writers are concerned more with practical faith than with theological exposition, more with *Līlā* than with *Tattva*; and they scarcely think it necessary to examine a question critically which was devotionally or intuitively accepted as a matter of unquestioned faith. The records, however, reveal that the divinity of Caitanya was only

¹ See above pp. 329-331.

gradually established. Murāri-gupta tells us that Caitanya revealed himself as an Āveśa of the supreme deity, not consistently from his birth (as Vṛndāvana-dāsa, Locana and others believe) but occasionally (ii. 4. 4 ; ii. 5. 14, etc.) before his pilgrimage to Gayā ; but after his return and transformation into an ecstatic Bhakta (ii. 12. 5-26), he became the acknowledged centre of devotion of the Navadvīpa circle. Nityānanda saw him as the six-handed (Ṣaṣ-ḥaṇḍa) Viṣṇu (ii. 8. 27), and one day Caitanya, in divine inspiration, sat on the throne in Śrīvāsa's chapel (ii. 9. 18). Murāri, Kavikarṇapūra (Drama Act i : Kāvya vii. 30-35) and Vṛndāvana-dāsa (ii. 6) record the incident and describe how Advaita and others worshipped Caitanya, for the first time, as the Bhagavat himself. The second declaration of Caitanya's divinity is set forth in the description of what is called the Mahāprakṛtī-bhīṣaka incident in Śrīvāsa's house before a large assembly of his Navadvīpa followers (Murāri ii. 12. 12-17 ; Vṛndāvana-dāsa ii. 9 ; Kavikarṇapūra, Kāvya v. 38-125). But it was after his Saṁnyāsa that his followers looked upon him as the supreme deity ; and it is interesting to note that such Āveśas became rare thereafter, and he himself deprecated such ascription of divinity to himself on many occasions. One such occasion was the public Saṁkīrtana of the name of Caitanya (and not Kṛṣṇa) organised by the followers at Puri, which is apparently the first more public and wider declaration of Caitanya's divinity ; and Advaita appears to have been, here also, the most prominent figure (Vṛndāvana-dāsa iii. 10. 504 f ; iv. 10. 16-20). All this the Vṛndāvana-Govāmins did not witness ; but the descriptions would indicate how Caitanya appeared in the eyes of his Navadvīpa followers, and how their adoration and worship of him as the supreme reality of the faith was implicitly accepted and widely declared. The Vṛndāvana Govāmins saw Caitanya for the first time as a Saṁnyāsin, in what they extol as his Yati-veśa (garb of an ascetic) ; but his Navadvīpa followers hailed him as the centre of their devotion even before his Saṁnyāsa. The

respective differences of tradition and attitude, therefore, are intelligible. It is only among Caitanya's Navadvīpa devotees that views like Gaura-āṅgāra-vāda or Gaura-pīramya-vāda could develop; and Caitanya worship as a cult (along with Kṛṣṇa-worship which the Vṛndāvana Gopāmins encouraged) could establish itself in a highly devotional environment, which led to a rapid deification even during Caitanya's lifetime, even before he left Navadvīpa for Puri.¹

1 A curious metrical work in eight Paśālas, called *Śhaṅkṣi-candrikā* (ed. Rāghavananda Sāstri of Śrīkṣhapā, Satyavama Press 1920), ascribed to Lokānanda Ācārya and purporting to embody the direct instruction of Nara-hari Śaṅkṣa of Śrīkṣhapā, has for its general theme the worship of Caitanya and the mode of initiation into the Caitanya Mantra. It contains a great deal of ritualistic matter e.g. on Mantra-luddhi and Mantroddhāra generally (I-II), Dhṛyā (Vr. mostly Tāṭric!), Stotra to Caitanya (ascribed to Advaita by the modern author of the accompanying commentary!), Paraicaraṇa (vi-vii) and various kinds of Bija. The profusion of Tāṭric rites and formulas is a noteworthy feature. We are told (iv. 21, 24) that in the six corners of the Tāṭric lotus-circle (Maṇḍala), the various followers and associates of Caitanya are to be worshipped—Gadādhara Paṇḍita in front, Svarūpa and Nara-hari (!) on the right and left respectively, and so forth. Nara-hari is given the foremost place of honour in the inner region of the Maṇḍala, but men like Nityānanda, Advaita and Mādhavendra Puri are allowed place on the outer circle! The work is not mentioned or quoted anywhere, and comment is needless regarding its genuineness. See above p. 139, footnote.

CHAPTER VI

THE RITUALISM AND DEVOTIONAL PRACTICES OF BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM

1. *The Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*

The entire body of the ritual and devotional practices of Caitanyalism has been codified by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa,¹ one of the six Vṛndāvana Gosāminis, in his elaborate and erudite *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*. We have already spoken briefly of its scope and extent; but since it is an almost exhaustive metrical compendium of the corpus of Vaiṣṇava Ācāra and Anuṣṭhāna, which aims at an authoritative exposition of most of the compulsory and occasional rites and ceremonies of the cult, a more detailed account of its content is necessary to indicate the ceremonial requirements connected with certain aspects of the faith. Although the highest form of Caitanyalism dispenses with mere Śāstric rule and outward ceremony, and lays stress upon an inner and more esoteric way of realisation, the faith does not at the same time ignore the impulse to devotional acts which comes from the injunction of the Vaiṣṇava Śāstra and outward forms of piety. The comparatively mechanical process of the Vaidhī Sādhana-bhakti, which depends upon Vidhī or injunction of the Śāstra, is an important step to the highest type of spontaneous Prema-bhakti;² and as such it demanded the attention and careful treatment of the professed theologians of the sect. An elaborate scheme of devotional acts, therefore, is to be prescribed for the less enlightened and larger mass of devoted followers; and the task was accomplished with such success by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, in collaboration probably with Saṁdāna,

1 On the authorship of the work, see above pp. 136-40.

2 See the concluding remarks of our author, below.

that this stupendous compilation is now regarded to be the highest ritual authority of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism.

As the *Harī-bhakti-vilāsa*, the 'Charm of Devotion of Harī', epitomises Vaiṣṇava Ācāra, it naturally includes in its scope a great deal of Smṛti topics; and in this sense it may be regarded as the most important Smṛti work of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism. The name of the work itself may have been suggested by that of the *Saravast-vilāsa* of Gaṇapati Prākpaṛadra; but in its content, method and treatment, it differs a great deal from this and other orthodox Smṛti works. It professes to follow the Śruti and the Smṛti, but since the theology of the Bengal school places a somewhat different interpretation upon these terms, it draws very largely upon the Purāṇas, especially upon Purāṇas which are regarded as canonical sources by this school. Little heed is paid to the orthodox Smṛti tradition, for it evolves a Smṛti of its own on the basis of its own sectarian scriptures, although it agrees with the later orthodox Smṛti-Nibandhas in accepting the Purāṇas as an authoritative source. Like the orthodox Smṛti, again, of Bengal, which absorbed very largely Tāntric ideas, rites and formulas since the time of Raghunandana, most of the rituals and ceremonies of this Vaiṣṇava Smṛti appears to have been profoundly influenced by the tenets and practices of Tantra, which must have been widely and deeply spread in Bengal at this time.

The work consists of twenty chapters or *Vilāsas*, and the distribution of subject-matter given below will sufficiently indicate its general scope and object. The chapters deal in their order with the following topics: I. The Preceptor, Disciple and Mantra, II. Initiation or Dīkṣā, III-IV. The Daily Devotional Acts, V-VI. Daily Morning Worship, VII. Offering of flowers, leaves, etc., in worship, VIII. Use of incense, ringing of bells and other rituals connected with worship, IX. Midday Rites and Duties, and Partaking of the Food-offering (*Mahāprasāda*) dedicated to the Deity, X. The characteristics of the Vaiṣṇava devotee and Vaiṣṇava

religious practices, XI. The Evening Service, Rules of pious conduct and Efficacy of the sacred Name and of Bhakti, XII. Fortnightly Fasts and Observances, XIII. Rites and Duties connected therewith, XIV - XVI. Monthly Observances throughout the year, including Festivals, XVII. Puraścaraṇa (preparatory ritual) and its initiation, XVIII. Construction of Images, and XX. Construction of Temples. It will be seen from this enumeration that the topics of the work are peculiar to itself, and differ from those of an orthodox Smṛti treatise. It is of the nature of a guide-book to the Vaiṣṇava devotee rather than a work on social and legal customs and usages. While it enumerates the compulsory and occasional duties and ceremonies, as well as the rules for everyday service, it omits, for instance, all treatment of the Smṛta purificatory rites, known as the Saṃskāras (even of the Vaiṣṇava form of the Śrāddha or funeral ceremony); but it devotes one chapter to the peculiar Vaiṣṇava rite of Initiation or Dīkṣā. As Festivals form an important part of the religious practice, they are treated fairly fully, although it is remarkable that while the non-Vaiṣṇava Śiva-rītri is included, no reference is made to the important Vaiṣṇava festival of Rāma-yātrā. It has nothing to say about Caitanya-worship or worship of Caitanya's images which became a remarkable feature of the later development of the faith. Of the worship of Kṛṣṇa as such, or construction of images of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, it has equally little to say.¹

The work is composed in the usual Anuṣṭubh Śloka metre, but each rule or prescription is supported and illustrated copiously by long quotations from the Purāṇas and other scriptures. The main contents of the work can be summarised briefly, but the quotations swell the work into an enormous bulk. The second of the four opening stanzas of the work names Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, a disciple of Prabodhānanda, as compiling it to satisfy Raghunātha-dāsa, Rūpa and Sanātana. The

¹ See above pp. 137-39.

fourth verse refers to the venerable Vaiṣṇavas residing in the circle of Mathurā and to Kāṣāyara and Lokanātha then living at Vṛndāvana. This is followed by a synopsis of nearly 140 heads of subjects dealt with in the work, after which the first *Villāsa* begins with the topic of Mantra-Dīkṣā or initiation of a Vaiṣṇava. The running commentary on the work, entitled *Digdarśanī*, is attributed to Saṅgata Gosvāmīna, but no name of the author is found in the commentary itself. We give below a brief survey of the principal contents of the work, chapter by chapter, and it will fairly indicate the peculiar character of the various religious practices of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.

Villāsa I

The subjects dealt with in the first *Villāsa* are: the necessity of a Guru or Preceptor; the qualifications respectively of the Guru and the Śiṣya or Disciple; greatness of the Bhagavat who is the supreme object of worship; efficacy of the Mantra or mystic formula which has the Bhagavat for its object; persons qualified to receive the Mantra; the method of finding out the nature of the particular Mantra, to be imparted by the Guru to the Śiṣya, and the purification of particular Mantras.

The first qualification that a man requires for becoming a Vaiṣṇava is Mantra-Dīkṣā or Initiation for the purpose of receiving the proper devotional formula of the sect from the qualified Guru or Preceptor. For the acquirement of Bhakti to Kṛpā, which is regarded as the highest object of life, a worthy preceptor is of the greatest importance, for without resorting to the feet of the preceptor, people become overwhelmed by hundreds of perils, like merchants without a pilot in the sea. A long list of the characteristics of a good preceptor, such as good descent, purity, worthy conduct, continence, vast learning, clean dress, young age, physical beauty, knowledge of ritualistic practices (*prayoga-vid*), skill in worship (*arcāṇa kṛta dāh*) etc., is compiled from such works

as *Mantra-mukhadvait*, *Agastya-saṃhitā* and *Viṣṇu-smṛiti*. The Guru is to be preferably a householder (*gṛhastha*). He should be versed in Tāntric lore, capable of *Maestroddhāra* and *Mantra-saṃhāra*, must have a deep knowledge of mystic diagrams and spells, and should know how to perform *Purāścaraṇa* and *Homa*. A Brahman preceptor who can impart the *Mantra* to all castes is highly desirable. In his absence, worthy people of the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya castes may act as preceptors to men of their own or lower castes respectively, while a Śūdra preceptor can initiate only a man of his own caste. Thus, *Anuloma* initiation is permitted, but *Pratiloma* initiation is expressly prohibited (*prātilomyaṃ na dīkṣayet*) on the authority of a text cited from the *Nārada-pañcārtra*. In other words, a man of a higher caste can never accept initiation from a man of a lower caste. In expressing this view, the author of the *Harī-bhakti-viṭāsa* recognises the implications of the *Vaṃśārama-Dharma*, although his attitude is liberal enough to permit persons other than Brahman to act as preceptors to men of his own or lower castes.¹ The author, however, is clear in stating that in no case, even a Brahman, who is not a Vaiṣṇava, should be accepted as a preceptor. On the authority of the *Padma-purāṇa* a Vaiṣṇava is defined as one who has taken the initiation relating to Viṣṇu (*Viṣṇu-dīkṣā*) and who is devoted to the worship of Viṣṇu. Here, as well as in what follows, our author is somewhat singular in emphasising devotion to Viṣṇu, which form of the deity is apparently exalted even over that of Kṛṣṇa. This fact is noteworthy, because the other Goevilāsa and followers of Caitanya regard the form of Viṣṇu to be a lower manifestation than that of Kṛṣṇa, who in its fundamental creed is the exclusively highest deity and

1 Caitanya himself does not appear to have encouraged monopoly by any particular caste or person of the function of a spiritual teacher. He was willing to learn from Rāmananda-śya, and himself selected Raghunātha-śya, a Kṣatriya, and Rūpa-Saṅgīta of doubtful social status, to become the highest spiritual teachers of the faith.

the only object of worship. This partiality for Viṣṇu, which is distinct throughout this work, is presumably due to the lingering influence of the Southern Vaiṣṇavism of the Śrīvaiṣṇava sect, to which Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, hailing from the South, is said to have originally belonged. If this surmise is correct, then the authorship of this work can hardly be ascribed to Śaṅkara, whose attitude towards Viṣṇu does not agree with what is expressed here so distinctly.

Disciples are also to be carefully selected. Their character, lineage, physical beauty, attitude of deep reverence, pious inclination, health, youth etc. should be counted. Long lists are furnished not only of such desirable qualities but also of characteristics which are undesirable. Persons lacking the desirable qualifications, and also those who are addicted to the objects of senses, acquire wealth by evil means or work hard to gain their livelihood (*kaṣṭha-vṛtti*), are to be rejected. The *Hayagrīva-pañcarātra* is quoted to show that Mantras are never to be imparted to the Hetuvādin followers of Jaimini, of Kapila, of the atheist Gautama, of Sugata (the Buddha) and of Mahāvīra.

Before people enter into the relationship of preceptor and disciple, at least one year's constant companionship on their part is necessary for the discovery of each other's qualities and defects. During this time the person desiring discipleship should serve and honour the preceptor by various acts of devotion and service, of which a long list is given. The name of the Guru is not to be lightly taken; and, in uttering it one must prefix it by *om* *hrī* and suffix it by the phrase *viṣṇu-pāda*, in accordance with the direction of the *Nārada-pañcarātra*. When the prescribed period has elapsed, the disciple should pray to the preceptor to initiate him in the Mantra of Viṣṇu; for Viṣṇu is the highest god and the only saviour, and alone deserves the epithet of the Bhagavat. Viṣṇu is incomparable, and one who compares him with other deities is a low-born infidel and is sure to go to hell! The worship of a god other than Viṣṇu is compared to saluting a Cāṇḍāla woman rather

than one's own mother, and to taking poison instead of nectar. The Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Mantra, therefore, is highly glorified as the means of attaining all supernatural powers. There are two kinds of Viṣṇu-Mantra : namely, the Mantra of eight (*om namo nārāyaṇīya*) and twelve syllables (*om namo bhagavate nārāyaṇīya*) respectively. The former is called the Maṇḍarāja, because it is highly potent ; and those who utter it go to the abode of Viṣṇu for good. This great Mantra is called the essence of the Vedānta : it is inseparable from Viṣṇu himself and comprises all lores and gods. The Mantra of twelve syllables is also highly efficacious. Similar also are the Mantras of Naraśiṃha and Rāma. The Śrī-Kṛṣṇa Mantra of eighteen syllables (*kṛiṃ kṛṣṇāya govindāya gopī-jana-vallabhāya svāhā*) is also very potent ; for the real Svarūpa of Kṛṣṇa is described in it as revealing the world with the help of Svāhā, which means Māyā. In the *Gopāla-rāpani* the universe is mystically said to have originated from the component part of this Mantra, namely, water was evolved from the syllable *ka*, earth from *la*, fire from *i*, the moon from the nasal *vinḍu* or *anuvāra*, and the sun from its sound (Nāda), the sky from the syllables *kṛṣṇa*, air from the syllable *ya*, cows from the word *govindāya*, the fourteen branches of learning from *gopījanāya*, and the sexes from the word *vallabhāya* !

Before imparting a Mantra to the disciple, the preceptor should be guided by several considerations. Of these the selection of worthy recipients is of primary importance. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa holds that chaste (*sādhvī*) women and noble-minded (*sād-dhī*) Śūdras are entitled to receive initiation into Tāntṛic Mantras, and quotes several authorities from the Pūrāṇas and Saṃhitās to support this view. People of mixed or low castes, including even the lowest Capāla, can also enjoy this privilege. The preceptor should also find out the suitable nature of the Mantra to be imparted and determine whether it is favourable or not, in accordance with the Tāntṛic principle of a Mantra being of twenty types, such as Siddha,

Siddhya, Susiddha, etc.¹ This is to be accomplished by the purely Tāctic method described in the *Sārada-tilaka*, by means of a rectangular Maṇḍala. In the sixteen Koṣhas of which the letters of the alphabet are to be written.² Some of the Mantras are declared to be beneficent and some harmful, while others are deficient and impure. The latter kind, therefore, requires Saṃskāra or purification, which consists of the ten operations of Janana, Jivana, Tīḍana, Rodhana, Abhiṣeka, Vimalikaraṇa, Āpyāyana, Tarpana, Dīpana and Gūpti, described in the *Sārada-tilaka*, which work is again quoted extensively. But there are, of course, certain Mantras which are beneficent in themselves and do not require any Saṃskāra.

Vilāsa II

The second Vilāsa deals with the mode of initiation or Dīkṣā, in accordance with directions, we are told, of the *Krama-dīpikā*. A man without initiation is not entitled to worship, for the act of initiation destroys all sins and bestows divine knowledge.

For initiation careful choice of the proper month, day, planetary influence and so forth is essential. The months of Jyaiṣṭha, Āṣāḍha and Bhādra should generally be avoided. No initiation should take place on an intercalary month (Malamāsa) during which religious ceremonies are forbidden. Tuesday and Saturday are inauspicious. The stars, such as Rohini, Śrāvastī, Ārdrā, the three Uttaras (Uttara-phālguni, Uttarāṣāḍha, Uttara-bhādrapada), Pūrva and Śatabhiṣā are declared to be auspicious; but some add Aśvini, Svāti,

1 The twenty kinds are: Siddha, Siddhya, Saiddha, Ari-Siddha-siddha, Siddha-siddhya, Siddha-saiddha, Siddhāri, Siddhya-siddha, Siddhya-siddhya, Siddhya-saiddha, Siddhyāri, Saiddha-siddha, Saiddha-siddhya, Saiddha-saiddha, Saiddhāri, Ari-siddha, Ari-siddhya, Ari-saiddha and Ari-ari.

2 The method, with a diagram of the Maṇḍala, is explained in Śyamacharya Kavirāja's ed. of the *Harī-bhakti-vilāsa* (Calcutta 1911-12), p. 40-41.

Vidākhā, Hastā and Jyēṣṭhā. With regard to the Tithi or lunar day, the second, fifth and sixth days of the fortnight are specially favourable; but the Dīkṣā can also be performed on the twelfth and the thirteenth day; while some authorities prescribe also the seventh and the tenth day, as well as the day of the full-moon. In holy places, during eclipses, in the Tantu-parvan in Śrāvaṇa and Dāmana-parvan in Caitra, and on the acquisition of a worthy preceptor, who is rare in this world, no discrimination of time is necessary. The direction of the Guru regarding all these should be strictly followed; for if the Guru permits, any day, month or place is auspicious.

The *Sāradā-tīlaka* enjoins four forms of initiation, namely, Kriyāvatī, Kalātmā, Varṇamayī and Vedhamayī. Of these Gopāla Bhāṣya is now concerned with the form called Kriyāvatī. For the purpose of this ceremony a Maṇḍapa, measuring seven cubits and having an altar (Vedikā) in it, is to be built. It must have eight flag-staffs with flags in eight directions, four doors, four portals (Toras) consisting of Kāra-plants like Plakṣa; and it should be encircled by a thickly corded string of Kula-grass. On the north of this Maṇḍapa a square pit (Kuṇḍa) with three enclosures or girdles (Mekhālā), one marking line called neck (Kapṭha) and a cavity or Yoni, is to be dug. The measurements of the depth of the pit and of its Kapṭha and Yoni, as well as their position in relation to each other, are also given. But the size of the pit or Kuṇḍa should vary according to the Maṇḍapa, the directions of the Śāstras are to be strictly followed to avoid calamity. The Maṇḍapa is then to be sprinkled with Paṇḍagavya (milk, sour milk, butter, cow-dung and urine of the cow) and with fragrant water. On the altar of Vedikā of the Maṇḍapa is to be drawn a Dīkṣā-maṇḍala, consisting of the figure of an eight-petalled lotus bounded by three circles, twelve Rāśis (zodiacal signs), a four-footed seat (Pīṭha), four paths and doors embellished with Sobhā, Upasobhā and Koṇa. After performing his morning duties, the Guru should place

the conch-shell (*Śaṅkha*) and things necessary for the ceremony in their proper places as described below. Then the Guru should worship his own Guru and Gaṇeśa, as well as the *Piṭha* itself. He should then place *Kuśa*-grass and *Śālī* rice on the figured lotus, the ten *Kalās* of the fire¹ (symbolised by the letters beginning from *y* and ending with *ka*) on the *Kuśa* with appropriate Mantras, and the *Kumbha* or consecrated pitcher as directed. The twelve *Kalās* of the sun² (symbolised by the letters *k* to *ph* and the letters *bh* to *d* in the reverse order) are then to be placed on the pitcher with certain incantations, and the pitcher worshipped. Then white flowers with sugar, rice, gold, gems and *Kuśa*-grass should be thrown into it. Filling it with holy water from some holy place, the sixteen *Kalās* of the moon³ (symbolised by the fourteen vowels, the *Ānurvāra* and the *Viśarga*) are to be placed and worshipped in the water. Mystic operations of the same nature are also to be performed in placing the conch-shell (*Śaṅkha-sthāpna*). Some water, mixed with eight kinds of perfume favoured by the deity, is to be taken into the conch-shell and poured into the pitcher, its mouth being then closed with a *lāṭ* lid (*Śarīṇa*) and covered with flowers, twigs of the mango-tree and two pieces of cloth. The *Bhagavat* is then to be worshipped in the pitcher with various kinds of *Nyāsa*,⁴ with the exception of *Karapa-nyāsa* and *Piṭha-nyāsa*. The

1 The names of the ten *Kalās* are given as *Dhūmrāśa*, *Urmā*, *Jalāśa*, *Jvālīnī*, *Virbhūlīgī*, *Saśrī*, *Surūpā*, *Kapālā*, *Havyavahā* and *Kavyavahā*.

2 The twelve *Kalās* are *Tapaśī*, *Tāpaśī*, *Dhūmrā*, *Bhramarī*, *Jvālīnī*, *Ruci*, *Sujyotī*, *Bhogadā*, *Vivā*, *Bodhaśā*, *Dhīrīgī* and *Kṣamā*.

3 The sixteen *Kalās* are *Amṛtā*, *Mānadhā*, *Pāśā*, *Tuṣṭī*, *Puṣṭī*, *Ratī*, *Dhṛtī*, *Sālinī*, *Candrikā*, *Kīnī*, *Jyotīśā*, *Śrī*, *Prīṭī*, *Aṅgadā*, and *Pūṣṭāntī*.

4 It is difficult to translate this *Thētric* word. It has been described generally as the mental assignment of the various parts of the body to the divinities, accompanied by *Japa* (muttering of formulas) and gestures.

Dīkṣā-homa (sacrifice or oblation appropriate to the Dīkṣā) is then to be performed 1,008 times in the Kuṇḍa after placing in it fire which is also worshipped elaborately in the Tāctic fashion. Details of this worship and a list of things necessary for such Homa, as well as quantities required, are also given. The preceptor should then allow the disciple, who has fasted and taken the vow, into the Maṇḍala, and performing the Mātṛkā-nyāsa on his body, give him instructions regarding this Nyāsa. The Guru will then contemplate the deity in the pitcher, perform 1,008 Japas, and after eating something will lie down to sleep. The Śiṣya also, contemplating his Guru and doing the Japas, should lie down by the side of his Guru on a piece of deer-skin placed on Kula-grass. All these are preliminaries to be performed on the day preceding that fixed for the actual Dīkṣā.

On the day of the Dīkṣā the Guru should, again, worship the pitcher, his own Guru and various deities (such Gaṇeśa, Viṣṇu, etc.) ; and, after performing Homa and Saṃhāra-mudrā,¹ he should sprinkle and consecrate (*abhiṣeka*) his disciple, and purify his body by Bhūta-śuddhi and by various ceremonies, Nyāsas and Mantras. Then, solicited by the disciple, the preceptor should dedicate the disciple to Kṛṣṇa, place sectarian marks, garlands etc. on his body, whisper the Mūla-Mantra thrice in his right ear, and infuse his own power into the disciple. The preceptor should then offer to the disciple the Mahāprasāda or food consecrated to the deity, and bless him. The disciple should repeat the Mantra imparted to him one hundred and eight times, and receive from the preceptor instructions with regard to his conduct and the conventions (*Samaya*) to be followed. The instructions are inviolable. Among them, secrecy regarding the Mantra, reverence to the Guru and to all Vaiṣṇavas, painting of sectarian Tilaka marks on the body, avoidance of all kinds

1 A Mudrā consists of particular positions or intertwinings of the fingers (24 in number) practised in religious worship (chiefly Tāctic).

of unclean food (such as fish and flesh), observance of the Ekādaśī and other fasts, daily reading of or listening to the Purāṇas, performance of such rites as Tāntrikī Saṃdhyā, Bhūta-śuddhi and various kinds of Nyāsa, avoidance of all acts concerning deities other than Viṣṇu, as well as of such Tāntric Abhikāra acts as Uccipasa, Vadhikaraṇa, etc. are noteworthy. A list of 104 duties is compiled from the *Viṣṇu-yāmala* in this connexion! The Dīkṣā is completed with the disciple doing obeisance by falling prostrate (Dapḍavat Prapāma) at the feet of the preceptor, with offer of money and things as fee (Dakṣiṇā) to the preceptor and with feeding of Brahmans and friends.

The above mode of Dīkṣā is mainly Tāntric, and Gopāla Bhaṭṭa also admits it.

But another kind of Dīkṣā, called Paurāṇikī Dīkṣā, is also mentioned, the main outlines of which are thus summarised from the *Varāha-purāṇa*:

Testing of the disciple for one year : the disciple's prayer for Dīkṣā, and lying down by the side of the Guru on the bright tenth day of the month of Kārtika : determination of the good or bad effects of Mantra by the nature of dreams dreamt by the disciple : fasting on the next Ekādaśī day and visiting the temple on the next Dvādaśī morning after a bath : the drawing of a mystic Maṇḍala, Soḍaśāra or Navanābha Cakra (circle having sixteen spokes or nine navas), or an eight-petalled lotus : worship of Viṣṇu with other deities ; placing of eight pitchers in eight directions with a ninth dedicated to Viṣṇu : sprinkling of the disciple with water from one of the nine pitchers, preferably from the ninth : making him enter the Maṇḍala (mystic circle) with his eyes covered, and purifying him with Bhūta-śuddhi and Tattva-nyāsa : performing of Homa with the locustation *om namo bhagavate viṣṇave sarva-rūpiṇe huṃ svāhā*, and of the various Smārta Saṃskāras or sacraments : uncovering the eyes of the disciple and whispering the Mantra into his ears : and lastly, the offer of Dakṣiṇā to the Guru.

It should be noted that although Gopāla Bhaṭṭa prescribes this Purāṇic initiation on the basis of the *Varāha-purāṇa*, the ceremony in its employment of Tāntic operations and incantations is not free from obvious Tāntic influence.

In case of inability, elaborate ceremonies are dispensed with, and shorter ways are prescribed for what is called *Saṃkṣipta-Dīkṣā*. The Mantra, for instance, may be imparted to the disciple after sprinkling him with water from a pitcher placed in a *Sarvatobhadra Maṇḍala*, or with water from a consecrated lotus, or after performing Homa with grains, or even with words only.

The chapter concludes with an enumeration of the merits of the Mantra-Dīkṣā.

Vilāsa III

The third Vilāsa deals with the conduct and daily pious duties (*sādācāra*) of the initiated Vaiṣṇava devotee.

Waking up in the *Brāhma-muhūrta* (early dawn, between the 4th and 2nd Ghaṭikā before sunrise) with the name of Kṛṣṇa on his lips, the Vaiṣṇava devotee should wash his face, hands and feet, cleanse his teeth and change his clothes. He should then contemplate the feet of his spiritual preceptor and think of Kṛṣṇa. This meditation is called mental bath (*Mānasa Snāna*); it produces the merit of bathing in all the places of pilgrimage, and is, therefore, the best of all holy baths. He should utter verses from *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* (such as x. 90, 24 ; x. 46, 35 etc.) in praise of Kṛṣṇa. These verses are said to be very efficacious ; but our author adds that although this is the prevailing custom, one may contemplate the deity in his own way in the form most desirable. Then he should perform morning obeisance (*Prāṭhaḥ-Pranāma*) no less than four times to the deity. This mode of morning prayer and contemplation (*Prāṭha-Dhyanā*) and its effects are described in detail by means of quotations from the *Pañcārātra* and other scriptures. The form of the deity to be contemplated should, according to one's inclination, be such

as is described in the *Gopāla-tāpanī*, the *Sārada-tīlaka* and other sectarian and Tāntic works.

Then the devotee should go to the temple and rouse the deity by ringing the bells and citing verses from the *Bhāgavata*. After performing *Nirākṣana* (illustration or waving of lights as an act of adoration), he should remove the remains of the previous day's offerings (*Nirmālya-apasāraṇa*), with the exception of the offering of Tulasi leaves. If this is not done properly, atonement for the consequent sin is to be performed by *Japa* and *Puraskarṇa*. The face of the deity is then to be washed by offering all the requisites for the purpose, namely, tooth-brush, tongue-scraper, earth for cleansing the hands, water, towel and Tulasi leaves. Then the *Ārātrika* (adoration by waving of lights etc.) is to be performed.

As soon as the sun rises, the devotee, singing Kṛṣṇa's name, should go out to a sacred bathing place. After answering the call of nature and cleaning himself with earth and water, about which elaborate directions are given, he should do the *Yakṣava Ācamana* (sipping of water from the palm of the hand), wash his hand and feet and cleanse his teeth with appropriate Mantras by means of the twig of some sappy tree. The choice of such tooth-brushes and the avoidance of particular kinds on particular days are important. After this, he should do the *Ācamana* again, arrange and tie up his long tuft of hair (*Śikhā*) and take his bath which is compulsory, as well as necessary, for purity and health. One may bathe in a river, lake, pond, hill-stream or even with water drawn from a well. Placing fresh clothes, *Kuśa*-grass and *Mṛtikā* (earth) on the bank, the devotee should again wash his hand and feet, and having done *Ācamana* again, he should contemplate the sacred river, *Gaṅgā*, and make offerings with proper Mantras to the Tirtha or place of bath. He should then enter the water, facing the current in the case of a river, or facing the sun in other cases. He should then invoke the *Gaṅgā* from the orb of the sun, and holding *Kuśa*-grass in hand, he should perform *Prāṇāyāma* (the three

'breath-exercises,' Pūraka, Recaka and Kumbhaka), meditate upon Kṛṣṇa's name, repeat the Mūla-mantra (*oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya*) and immerse himself in water twelve times. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa tells us that the mode of bath described above is partly Vedic and partly Tāntric, and then goes on to mention some other special modes in accordance with the *Padma-purāṇa* and other texts. For instance, the devotee may, after invoking the Gaṅgā in a square Maṇḍala, bathe with the repetition of certain Mantras. He may hold on his head the water with which the feet of his preceptor, his parents and Brahmans have been washed, or water with which the sacred Śālagṛhṇa stone has been washed and which is fragrant with Tulasi leaves. He may take water in a conch-shell, and after drinking it a little, throw a portion of it on his own head; he may then pour water on his head with the Kumbha-Mudrā and with offer of libations of water to the gods.

After finishing his bath, the devotee should dry his body with a piece of cloth, and putting on fresh clothes he should sit down and do Ācamana again. He should put proper sectarian Tilaka marks on his body and perform Saṃdhyā (religious act to be performed at the three divisions of the day), according to the Vedic and Tāntric modes. In the case of the former mode, he should sit on a seat of Kusa-grass facing the east, perform Prāṇāyāma thrice and repeat the Gāyatrī a thousand times, or a hundred times, or even ten times only. In the case of the latter mode (Tāntric), he is to offer libations of water thrice to Kṛṣṇa with the utterance of the Mūla-Mantra, and make offerings to Kṛṣṇa, residing in the orb of the sun, with the citation of the Kāma-gāyatrī (*kṛiṇ kāma-devāya vidmahe, puṣpa-bāṇāya-dhimahi, san na'naṅgaḥ pracodayāt*). Leaving off with the word 'forgive' (*kṣamayau*), he should then make offerings to the sun. There is, however, according to some authorities, a different mode of the Tāntric Saṃdhyā. The devotee in this case should attain inner and outer purity by uttering the Hṛdaya mantra (*namaḥ*), the Netra-mantra

(*vaṁṣṭ*), and the Astra-Mantra (*phaṭ*). Then libation of water is to be offered thrice to Kṛṣṇa, residing in the orb of the sun, with the citation of the Gopāla-gāyatrī (*gopī-janāya vidmahe, gopī-janāya dhīmahi, tan naḥ kṛṣṇaḥ pracodayāt*). The six parts of the Mantra are to be placed on the six limbs, namely, head, forehead, two eyes, two arms, two feet and the whole body. Contemplating Kṛṣṇa as enjoying the Rāsa-sport in the orb of the sun, the Vaiṣṇava should then extend his two hands and repeat the Gopāla-gāyatrī for a while. He should perform the Śaḍ-aṅga Nyāsa, Mudrās like Dhenu-mudra, utter the Pīṭha-mantra and offer libations of water (Tarpaṇa) one hundred and eight times, first for the satisfaction of the god and then for the whole world, including other gods, Piṭṛs, saints and sages.

The merits of the holy bath are many, but its effects are enjoyable only by those who have faith in it. Otherwise, it becomes fruitless like the diving of fishermen.

Vilāsa IV

This Vilāsa continues the topic of daily devotional acts.

After performing the Saṁdhyā, the devotee should cleanse the temple, sprinkle and besmear it on all sides with cow-dung, earth and water. He should adorn it by drawing various kinds of figure, such as Maṇḍalas of lotus and Svastikas, with earth, Dhātu-rāga (coloured mineral), Varṇaka (pigment) and powder of various colours, placing flagstaffs and flags, fastening garlands and planting pillars of platocain trees. The methods and results of these pious acts are described in detail. Then, after cleansing the utensils, clothes and seats of Viṣṇu in the manner described in the scriptures and Smṛtis, he should gather Tulā leaves, flowers, twigs etc. necessary for worship. Regarding the plucking of flowers, Hārīta is of opinion that flowers, which are plucked before one takes one's bath, are never acceptable to the gods, but Gopāla Bhaṭṭa thinks that Hārīta's remark is applicable only to the midday bath. Goṣāla Bhaṭṭa also differs from the

Padma-purāṇa in the view expressed in the work that Tulasi leaves plucked before bath cannot be used in the worship of gods, unless they are sanctified by the *Pañcagavya* ; for he thinks that there are other texts to the contrary.

Gopāla Bhāṣya then takes up the topic of bath at home (*Gṛha-snāna*) and ceremonies connected with it. Both cold and hot water, mixed with Tulasi leaves, may be used in house-bath, the former on the special occasion of *Naimittika* or *Kāmya Snāna* and the latter on all occasions. The efficacy of hot bath is supposed to lie in the fact that contact with fire lends additional sanctity to the water. Before bath, *Āmalaki* (*Embilic Myrobalan*), *Tila* (*Sesamum*) and *Taila* (*Oil*) should be used, except on forbidden days. The *Vaiṣṇava* should perform *Ācamana*, *Prāṇāyāma* and *Nyāsa* ; and, summoning all the holy waters of *Gaṅgā* in the reservoir of water, he should think of self-purification by the holy *Ganges* proceeding from the feet of *Kṛṣṇa*. Then he should put on fresh clothes ; elaborate instructions are given regarding the kind of clothes to be worn. He should then sit down in due form on a seat made of prescribed kinds of wood, besmear his body with the preparation of sandal-paste and *Gopī-candana*, and paint *Tilaka* marks, consisting of *Ordhva-puṇḍra* (upright and perpendicular mark on the forehead), *Nārāyaṇī Mudrā*, figures of *Vaiṣṇava Avatāras* (the Fish, Tortoise etc.), or of the *Vaiṣṇava* weapons such as *śaṅkha*, *Padma* etc., on twelve different parts of the body. The method and merit of drawing these marks, especially the distinctive *Ordhva-puṇḍra*, are dealt with in some detail, possibly because in later *Vaiṣṇavism* these became the peculiar sectarian marks. Gopāla Bhāṣya cites a large number of texts to eulogise them and their proper wearing, but he allows freedom with regard to the drawing of different figures, and says that these may be worn, as one wishes, in accordance with the established sectarian usage (*Śūlpa-dharmika Śippicāra*).

The next topic is that of the wearing of garlands, made of

Tulasi leaves, Tulasi beads, lotus seeds or Āmalaki fruits, after dedicating them to Kṛṣṇa. These should be purified with the Pañcagavya, with the uttering of the Mūla-mantra over them, and with repeating eight times the Gāyatrī, accompanied by certain eulogistic formulas addressed to the garlands themselves. With the garlands on, the devotee performs his prayers and offers libations of water to the deity. He can attain supreme merit even by merely wearing them.

The devotee should worship his spiritual preceptor (Guru) first, because the Śāstras ordain that the worship of a preceptor should precede that of the gods, inasmuch as the preceptor is the representative of all the gods, and calamity is bound to befall one who does not observe this duty. The chapter ends with the eulogy of the spiritual preceptor : but it is laid down in this connexion that the Mantra should be taken preferably from a Vaiṣṇava preceptor, although a preceptor once accepted, even if he is a non-Vaiṣṇava, should not be given up.

Villāsa V

In this Villāsa Gopāla Bhaṭṭa proposes to describe mainly the Tāntric method (*prāyaśas tāntriko vidhiḥ*) of daily morning worship of Gopāla-deva, as given in the *Krama-dīpikā*, by means of the Mantra of eighteen syllables (mentioned above) pertaining to the deity. We are informed that this method is followed even by Brahmins : for in the Kali-yuga worship is possible, according to the *Vipṛa-yāmala*, only through the way of the Āgama, and not by the Śrauta or Vedic method.

The chapter begins with the worship of the Attendants (Pārśadas) of Kṛṣṇa, namely, Garuḍa, Dvāra-lakṣmī, Caṇḍa and Pracāṇḍa, Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ, Jaya and Vijaya, Bala and Prabala, Vāstu-puruṣa, Gaṅgā and Yamunā, Śaṅkhanidhi and Padmanidhi, Gaṇapati, Durgā, Sarasvatī, and Kṣetrapālas at the door and at different parts of the temple. The worshipper should then enter by putting his right foot

forward, and without touching the threshold with his feet. He should then worship Brahmā and the Vāstu-puruṣa, as well as the special Pārśadas of Kṛpā inside the room. He should throw some rice and flower with appropriate Tantric Mantra before the image, and take his seat in the Padmāsana or Svastikāsana posture after greeting (Āmastrapa) and worshipping (Arcanā) the deity with proper formulas. If there is an image he must sit facing it; otherwise, he should turn his face towards the east in the day-time and towards the north in the evening. The seat (Āsana) may be made of various materials, e.g. bamboo, stone, wood, earth, Kula-grass, leaves etc., of which the skin of antelopes and tigers, woollen blankets, or mats of Kula grass are preferable. Thus seated, he should place the requisites of worship, such as conch-shell, the plates and pots for Arghya, Pādyā, Ācamanīya and Madhuparka, the basin for Tulasi leaves, sandal and flowers, the pitcher filled with water, ghee, oil, lamps etc. in their respective places. The utensils may be made of gold, silver, earth and bell-metal, but copper is the most desirable material. In this connexion Gopāla Bhajja refers to the view of some people who prefer other metals to copper for holding the Madhuparka, on the ground that copper wares are spoiled by the products of cow's milk. Some like to use the conch-shell as the receptacle.

The auspicious pitcher (Maṅgala-ghaṭa), properly filled with water and accompanied by a piece of stone, camphor and fruits, is to be placed before the deity. Directions are also given for placing sandal, flower, rice, Kula grass, honey, milk, water etc. in the different utensils for the offering of Arghya, Pādyā, Ācamanīya and Madhuparka. Each of these utensils should be protected by muttering the Mūla-mantra eight times and performing the Cakra-mudrā on them. After reciting the Maṅgala-śānti Mantra and the Astra-mantra (*astāya phay*) for averting evils and accidents, clapping the palms of one's hands thrice and doing obeisance to the Guru and the different gods and other preliminary ceremonies, the

devotee should perform the Bhūta-suddhi (purification of the five elements) in the Tāntṛic manner, practise control of breath (Prāṇāyāma) and engage himself in the contemplation of Kṛṣṇa. Next comes the repetition of the Mūla-mantra : but unaccompanied by the Nyāsa, the repetition is fruitless. The process of performing such Nyāsa as Mātṛkā-nyāsa, Ketavādi-nyāsa, Tatva-nyāsa, Pīṭha-nyāsa, Aṅga-nyāsa, Akṣara-nyāsa, Pāda-nyāsa and Rājādi-nyāsa, as well as the description of the forms, Śaktis and Dhyānas, are then given in some detail. For instance, in the Mātṛkā-nyāsa all letters of the alphabet from a to kṛ are to be placed on the petals of the six lotuses in one's body, as well as on the different limbs. In the Ketavādi-nyāsa, the letters are to be placed with the fifty-one forms of Kṛṣṇa and his Śaktis. Regarding the use of the different parts of the body in the different Nyāsa, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa does not find any objection in placing them on such forbidden parts as the feet or anus, because they all get sanctified by the process of Bhūta-suddhi. Then the devotee proceeds to perform the five kinds of Mudrā dear to the Lord (namely, Veṅṇa, Vāṇamālā, Śrīvatsa, Kaustubha and Bilva) and meditate on Kṛṣṇa with the Mudrā, called Karakacchapikā, by placing the hand with palm upward on his lap. This meditation or mental worship (Antar-yāga or Mānasa-Pūjā) consists of various operations : and the various articles of worship, which are employed in the external worship, may also be utilised in the internal.

The objects of outward worship are the image of the deity and the Śālagṛīva stone. The image (Mūrti) may be of various kinds according to the material out of which it is constructed, namely, stone, wood, metal, sand, jewels, paint and drawing material, besides being purely mental (Māṇmayi). The special characteristics, which confer upon an image the names of Vāsudeva, Ketava, Nārāyaṇa etc., are then enumerated : and twelve principal varieties are distinguished, some authorities like the *Siddhānta-saṃhitā* giving as many as twenty-four varieties of the image of the deity.

The special kinds of dark-coloured stone found in the region round the banks of the Gaṇḍakī are termed Śālagrāma. They are distinguished according to their size, colour and other characteristics, but the merits and demerits are spoken of only in connexion with Śakāma worship meant for the attainment of some mundane object; for, however defective a Śālagrāma stone may be, it possesses in itself sanctity and merit. They are also termed Vāsudeva, Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyaṇa etc. in accordance with the special signs or characteristics they possess. These signs are enumerated in detail, and the list of names include most of the well known names of Kṛṣṇa, his Associates and Avatāras.¹ The smaller the stone in size, the more auspicious it is. The worship of one Śālagrāma is said to be more efficacious than that of thousands of Śiva-līṅgas. The purchase and sale of Śālagrāma are strictly forbidden. Its worship is compulsory (*nitya*); and even women and śūdras² are entitled to worship, the prohibition being applicable only to those who are non-Vaiṣṇava. Greater merit may be attained by worshipping the Śālagrāma along with the symbolical stone known as Dvārakā-dīkṣā. The latter is characterised by the thirteen names of Kṛṣṇa and his Associates, such as Sodarāna, Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa, Trivikrama, Janārdana, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna, Baladeva, Puruṣottama, Nava-vyūha, Daśa-mūrti, Aniruddha, Dvādaśīmukha and Ananta, according as the stones possess increasing number of

1 The names are: Vāsudeva, Saṅkṛpaka, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyaṇa, Hari, Paramaṣṭhin, Vṛṣṇa, Kapila, Narasimha, Varāha, Mātṛa, Kūrma, Hayagrīva, Vāṅmukha, Śrīdhara, Vāmana, Sodarāna, Dāmodara, Ananta, Yogadeva, Padmanābha, Hiraṇyagarbha, Hṛṣīkeśa, Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa, Trivikrama, Kṛṣṇa, Caturmūha, Vṛṣṇa-pañjara, Śeṣa, Garuḍa, Janārdana and Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇa.

2 This view is endorsed in the commentary, ascribed to Śaṅkara, which explains: *bhagavan-chikīṭṣa-prabhedena śūdrāḥ na pi vipra-janyam siddham eva*. But a śūdra in Bengal never received the right of worshipping the Śālagrāma! Caitanya himself, however, is said to have entrusted a Govardhana-dīkṣā to his śūdra disciple, the Gopāṇin Raghunātha-dīkṣa (see above p. 121).

circular lines or Cakras from one to thirteen or more. The merit of their worship may vary with variation in their size and colour.

Vilāsa VI

This chapter deals with the operations relating to the daily morning worship of the image of the deity and its bathing and washing. Though the Śālagrāma worship is declared to be superior to image-worship, yet the latter has its importance, because it attracts the mind easily by its form and beauty. The images are self-revealed (*svayam-vyakta*) or established by some pious devotee (*sthāpita*), of which the former is rare.

The process in its different stages is then described in detail. First comes the Sarpakāra of the image. This is done by washing it with water, if it is of a kind other than Lepya or Lekhya (i.e. meant to be bemereared or painted); and the Mūla-mantra is to be repeated during the act eight times. This is called Mūrti-śuddhi or purification of the image; but the purification may also involve (i) self-purification (Ātma-śuddhi), which follows as a direct result, (ii) purification of the place of worship (Sthāna-śuddhi), (iii) purification of the articles employed in worship (Dravya-śuddhi), (iv) purification of the formula of incantation (Mantra-śuddhi) and (v) purification of the mind (Citta-śuddhi) by the relinquishment of every other thought. These six forms of Śuddhi are permissible as auspicious, and they are to be preferred according to the custom of one's own sect. After this, comes the Pīṭha-pūjā or consecration of the seat of the image. In a square drawn on the seat, which is made of copper, should be painted a lotus of eight petals. On the left and right side of the divine seat, the devotee should perform Tāntric Nyāsa, and worship the Pūrva-gurus and their footweary, as well as Nārada and the great Vaiṣṇava, Durgā, Gaṇeśa, Sarasvatī, the Ādhāra-kṛtā and the Maṇḍalas of Sun, Moon and Fire. The worshipper should then place the image on the seat with the citation of the Mūla-mantra and offer of flowers. Then

mentally identifying the image with the particular deity he adores (lāṣa-devatā), offering flower three times and placing his foot on the ground, he should perform the eight operations, called Āvāhana (invocation), Sthāpana (establishment), Samnidhāpana¹ (showing complete surrender by the words 'I am yours'), Samparodhana² (restraining the deity till the end of the worship), Sakalīkaraṇa³ (displaying all the limbs of the deity), Avagunṭhana⁴ (display of great joy), Amṛtīkaraṇa⁵ (restraint by all the limbs) and Paramīkaraṇa⁶ (accomplishment of the desired object), with their respective eight Mudrās (called Āvāhani, Sthāpani, etc.) According to the custom of his sect, he can also, with his fingers besmeared with sandal, show seventeen other Mudrās, named after the weapons, ornaments and appendages of the deity, namely, Śaṅkha, Cakra, Gaḍā, Padma, Musala, Śārṅga, Khaḍga, Pīṣa, Aḍaka, Garuḍa, Śrīvatsa, Kaustubha, Vapu, Abhaya, Vara, Vanamālā and Bilva, which are elaborately explained in the commentary.

After throwing three handfuls of flowers, the Āsana or seat should be formally offered with appropriate words and Mudrās. Then the deity should be offered the Pādya, Arghya, Ācamanīya, Madhuparka and Punar-ācamanīya; but, according to others, the sixteen Upacāras are Āvāhana, Āsana, Pādya, Arghya, Ācamanīya, Sālā with Ācamana, Vāstra with Ācamana, Abharapa, Upavīta with Ācamana, Gandha, Puṣpa, Dhūpa, Dīpa, Naivedya, Vandana and Punar-Ācamanīya. The different methods of offer of these are then described, with the details of each of these ceremonies, their merits, and the articles necessary for their performance.

1 *śarṇāmlai tvadīyaro-darśanam.*

2 *kriyā-samāpi-paryantam sthāpanam.*

3 *śar-śarṇāṅga-pratīṣṭanam*, explained by commentary, which adds the verse—'śaṅkhaḥ śārṅga-viṅḍam sakalīkaraṇam vidur' iti vacanāpikṛtayaḥ brūmad-śaṅkhaḥ mantrādīṅga-viṅḍam sakalīkaraṇam manyante.

4 *ānanda-gaṇāḥśryanto-pratīṣṭāḥ.*

5 *śarṇāḥ śarṇāḥśryanto-pratīṣṭāḥ.*

6 *abhiyā saṃpādanam.*

The bathing of the image (Sāṁa) is then dealt with. After soliciting permission and offering a pair of footwear, the worshipper should take the image to the bathing place, and exhibit the *Amṛtitarapa-Mudrā* after placing *Āsana*, *Pādya*, *Ācamanīya* etc. The image is then placed on a copper-plate (for the purpose of collecting the sacred water after washing), or on the leaf of lotus, banyan or plantain, besmeared with unctuous substances (*Abhyasa-gṛavya*) and bathed with five nectars (*Pañcāmṛta*), namely, milk, curd, ghee, honey and candied sugar (*Śarkarā*). During the bath of the deity, incense is to be burnt. After removal of oil and dirt by means of powdered wheat, barley, *Kūrcā* (bundle of *Kuśa* grass) or other cleansing substances, the image is to be bathed with the citation of proper formulas, first in warm and then in cold water, purified with *Tulasī*, camphor and various herbs and scented with *Aguru* (the fragrant *Aloe*), sandal and perfumes. A bath with the holy water from a conch-shell is said to be very desirable. Those who bathe the deity in the above manner become free from all sins and earn the merit of heavenly bliss. Incense is then to be burnt, and bells, conch-shells and musical instruments are to be sounded with the pronouncing of appropriate Mantras. Singing and dancing should also accompany the performance. The thousand blessed names of the deity and famous hymns should be recited; and the *Bhagavad-gītā* and the *Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas* should be read. Then, with the exhibition of the *Sāṁa-Mudrā*, the body of the image should be dried by means of a piece of fresh fine cloth. With the *Vastrārpaṇa-Mudrā*, it should then be dressed in a pair of garments or with special dress for special images or occasions, and invested with the sacred thread. Blue garment is forbidden. After offering ornaments and besmearing the image with sandal and other scented pastes (the forbidden pastes being *Padmaka*, *Rakta-candana* and *Uśra*), the image should be fanned with *Cimara* (chowry) or with a fan made of palm leaf. The merit accruing from all these acts is also described elaborately.

Villāsa VII

This Villāsa, called Pauspika or Puspā-karman, begins with the topic of offering of flowers in worship, and gives long lists of commendable and forbidden flowers, as well as a description of their merits and demerits with reference to their species, colour, smell and season of growth. Flowers which blossom in the forest, or in the city, or in one's own garden, which are fresh, uninjured (*acchinna*), purified by sprinkling (*prokṣita*) and free from insects and impurities, and which have colour, smell and grace, even if they have thorns, are the best for Vaiṣṇava worship. Long lists of such flowers are compiled from the Purāṇas (chiefly the *Vāmana*, *Skanda* and *Nāradya*), *Vijayadharmottara*, *Hārta-smṛti* and other works ; and the merits of the offering of different kinds of flowers at different seasons are detailed. The dedication of an arbour (*Maṇḍapa*), umbrella (*Chatra*), canopy (*Vitāna*), swing (*Dolā*) and bed (*Śayyā*), all made of flowers, is prescribed : and artificial flowers, made of gold and set with precious stones, may be offered by rich persons. The forbidden flowers are those which grow in places where dead bodies are burnt and on wayside trees (*Caitya-dṛoma*) which people worship, those which are fallen on the ground or those which are no more than buds (*Kalikā*). White flowers alone are preferable ; but of red flowers (e.g. *Jabā*),¹ as well as flowers which have thorn (e.g. *Ketaka*),² those that possess sharp smell or no smell, or blossom out of season, those which are specifically approved in the scriptures, may be offered. The flowers specially forbidden in Vaiṣṇava worship are *Karavi*, *Dhustūra*, black *Kujā* and *Arka*, but some add *Jhiṣṭi*, *Girīkarṣikā*, *Kaṣṭakārikā*, *Śālmali* and *Śirṣa*. The

1 The *Jabā*, favoured by the Śakti-worshipper, is permitted by the *Vīṇa-raṅgāya*. Some authorities also permit the offer of buds of certain flowers.

2 It is forbidden by the *Vāmana-purāṇa*, but allowed by other authorities.

undesirable flowers can, however, be used if the commendable flowers are unavailable, but not those which are expressly forbidden; and it is curious that some authorities permit stealing of flowers for purposes of worship, if they cannot be obtained otherwise. The flowers can, however, be substituted by the leaves of *Durva* and *Kula* grass, of *Apāmārga*, *Bhr̥ggarāja*, *Bilva*, *Baka-vṛkṣa*, *Tulasī*, *Āmra* and *Jambīra*; but of these, the five (beginning from *Apāmārga* and ending with *Tulasī*) are the best and possess successively higher merit. In any case, the offering of *Tulasī* is obligatory, being declared the most efficacious and sacred in the scriptures, and all *Vaiṣṇava* worship being fruitless without it. In the recounting of the merits of *Tulasī*, which are innumerable, *Gopāla Bhaṭṭa* compiles a large number of texts; its power of removing sin and destroying enemies, of giving prosperity and happiness here and hereafter, of producing religious merit and devotion to the deity and of conferring emancipation is endless.¹

After the worship of the supreme deity, comes the *Āṅga* and *Upāṅga Pūjā*, with reference to the *Mantra*, *Varṇa*, *Pada*, *Yogu*, *Mūlā*, *Śrīvatsa* and *Kaustubha* of the deity at the particular place of *Nityā* on the image, and to his attendant deities (*Āvaraṇa-devatā*), retinue, weapons and paraphernalia. This worship must be performed, with his permission, by means of bath, flower-offering and appropriate *Mantras*. The lists of such subsidiary objects of worship include the friends (*Sakhi*) of the deity, such as *Dāma*, *Sudāma* and *Varodāma*; his wives such as *Rukmiṇī*, *Satyabhāmā*, *Nāgajitī*, *Sanandā*, *Mitravṛodā*, *Sulakṣaṇā*, *Jāmbavatī* and *Suśīlā*; such relatives as *Nanda*, *Yasodā*, *Balarāma*, *Subhadra*, the *Gopa-Gopīs* (but *Rādhā* is not explicitly mentioned!); the eight *Dīkṣā*as; the five sacred trees (*Mandāra*, *Pārijāta*, *Kalpa-vṛkṣa*, *Hari-*

1 The topic of *Tulasī-māhātmya* is again taken up and elaborated in *Vilāsa* IX below. The veneration for the *Tulasī* plant long antedates the *Caiṭanya* movement.

candana and Saṃplāna); his eight weapons and ornaments (such as Vajra, Śakti, Daṇḍa, Khaḍga, Pāśa, Aṅkoda, Gaḍā, Tridhūla, as well as Cakra and Padma); and lastly, his eight sacred names, Kṛṣṇa, Vāsudeva, Nārāyaṇa, Devakī-nandana, Yadu-droṣṭha, Vārṇasya, Asurākrānta-bhāra-hārin and Dharma-sthāpaka. Gopāla Bhāṭṭa adds that those who are unable to go through elaborate ceremonies may worship with these eight names alone, which are equally efficacious.

Vilāsa VIII

This Vilāsa continues the topic of morning worship (Pātar-Arcā). It begins with a description of the burning of fragrant incense (Dhūpana), accompanied by the ringing of a small bell carried in the left hand, and by proper Mudrā and Mantra. The usual ingredients of the incense are Rubikā, Kaṣa (Guggula), Dāru, Sibilaka, Aguru, Sitā, Śarkarā and Jāti-phala but some add ghee, honey and sandal. No animal product, except musk, is to be used. The Yakṣa-dhūpa, prepared from the exudation of Śāla trees, or incense made from the Uśira grass and Śalka-rasa, is forbidden. After offering Dhūpa to the deity, one should fumigate oneself with the remainder fume. The burning of incense before the deity is highly praised in the Purāṇas, and it is said that it qualifies one for the Sārūpya form of emancipation.

Next comes the offering of light (Dīpana) and waving it in adoration before the image of the deity, directing the illumination from its feet to its eyes, with proper Mudrā and Mantra. In the light, which must be kept in a metal (and not earthen) receptacle (Dīpa-vṛkṣa), and never on bare ground, one may use camphor, ghee or scented oil. The offer of big lights (Mahādīpa), containing 108 Palas of oil and a wick of untorn cloth (vāsaś tu samagrāṇa), is highly approved. The wick should not be double (ayugma); but red or blue wick is to be avoided, and torn, dirty and used cloth should not be employed in preparing it. One who reverentially illuminates the deity or his temple in the manner described acquires great

religious merit, but one who wantonly puts out the light is liable to great sin and calamity.

The offer of the Naivedya (food), which follows, is elaborately described. Besides Naivedya-mudrā, different kinds of Mudrā (such as Cakra-mudrā; Dhenu-mudrā; Grāsa-mudrā; the five Mudrās, called Prāṇa, Apāna etc. explained in the commentary, are to be employed at different stages of the ceremony, with the muttering of different Bijas (mystical letters or syllables which form the essential part of a Mantra), such as Vāyu-bija (yam), Vahni-bija (ram and Amṛta-bija (ṛham); the procedure thus indicating that the entire ritual is Tāntṛic. Long lists of different kinds of food, which should constitute the Naivedya are compiled from the different Purāṇas; but the *Bhāgavata* briefly and simply mentions Guḍa, Pāyasa, Ghṛta, Śaṅkulī (cooked in oil, as the commentary explains), sweets like Apūpa (=Maṇḍaka), Modaka and Saṃpyava (oblong wheaten cake fried with ghee and milk, sugar and spice), Dadhi (coagulated milk) and Sūpa (broth or sauce), and whatever is most desirable and tasteful to oneself. A long list of fruits is also given from the *Vārāha-purāṇa*. The forbidden food is that which is unclean (like meat, fish and wine) and which is not fit to be taken (like ghee made from the milk of buffalo, sheep or goat; certain vegetables like Vātīka, Udumbara, Mūlaka and Alāba; potherbs like Kalambī, Jālikā, Kurumbha and Aśmantaka; lentils like Maruṇa; and garlic, Laṭuṇa). After describing at length the religious merit accruing from the proper offer of the Naivedya, the author gives a list of sweet and fragrant drinks compiled from the *Vijñānārṇava*. Drawing a curtain before the image, the worshipper should contemplate outside, with the muttering of prayers (Japa), that the deity is accepting the food and drink offered. Some perform Homa in the manner described in the chapter on Dīkṣā, but those who are unable to do it should mutter Japa four times. He should then offer water to the deity for rinsing the mouth (Gaṇḍūjika); and finally, with Saṃhāra-

mudrā, he should make the divine halo, which came out to accept the food, re-enter the mouth of the deity!

Removing the curtains, the worshipper should offer a part of the *Naivedya* to *Viṣvakṣena* and to such *Vaiṣṇava* devotees as *Bali*, *Bibhiṣaṇa*, *Kapila*, *Nārada*, *Arjuna*, *Prahlāda*, *Ambariṣa*, *Yasu*, *Hanūmat*, *Śiva*, *Uddhava*, *Akrūra*, *Sanaka*, *Suka* and others, famed in the *Purāṇas*. Having besmeared with cowdung the ground on which the *Naivedya* was offered, the worshipper should again place water for rinsing the mouth and a tooth-brush, *Ācamanīya* water for sipping and washing the hand, and a towel for rubbing the body. He should then rub the image, clothe it in a new garment, offer another seat and water for washing the feet (*Pādya*), and perfume the hands of the deity with paste of sandal and aloe, his mouth with *Tulasi* leaf and fragrant camphored betel. Again offering perfumes and unguents, he should besmear and paint *Tilaka* marks on the body of the image, offer regal dress, chowry, umbrella and footwear, and place a mirror before the deity. For the pleasure of the deity the worshipper should then have music, song and dance, preferably of the type introduced by the sage *Bharata*. The deity is then to be lustrated again with a light and with a conch-shell containing water, and honoured with the chanting of hymns derived from the sacred scriptures or composed by later poets. The worshipper should then prostrate himself before the deity like a log of wood (*daṇḍavarā*) and offer homage with the proper *Mudrā*.

All this is followed by a series of devotional acts which complete the ritual : namely, circumambulation (*Pradakṣiṇa*) from the left to the right of the divine image ; dedication of self in the spirit of a servant (*Dāsa-bhāva*) ; muttering the *Mūla-mantra* 108 or 1,008 times with the performance of *Prāṇāyāma* ; prayer for the attainment of *Bhakti* and absolution from thirty-two kinds of sin ; and lastly, reverentially placing on one's head the remains of the offering presented to the deity (*Nirmālya*). Then the worshipper should take leave of the deity with the *Vinirjaṇa Mudrā* and the prayer

that the heart of the worshipper should become the resting place for the deity, accompanied by Lakṣmī.

Gopāla Bhāṭṭa concludes with a few general remarks on the mode of worship, which, in his opinion, is a means of Bhakti, meant for the perfection of Mantra and Japa. He lays down distinctly that the Bhāgavatas should proceed with devotion always in accordance with the views of his own Sampradāya (*eva-eva-sampradāyānusārataḥ*), for every act is fair and fit if performed with due devotion (*bhaktau sarvaṃ hi śobhanam*). In a temple the worship is either compulsory or occasional, and all ritualistic details should be carefully observed; but in one's own house the worship is compulsory, although one may follow one's own fancy in the matter of details.

Vilāsa IX

This Vilāsa purports to deal with the Mahāprasāda or the 'great favour' of food-offering, accepted by the deity and then distributed among devotees and people present at the worship; but in reality the chapter digresses into various connected topics.

The water in the conch-shell (*śaṅkhodaka*), sanctified by the sight of the deity, should first be given to the Vaiṣṇavas and then held on his own head by the worshipper. By doing this, he can reap the fruit of a holy bath in the Ganga. He should then offer the Pāṇodaka (water used for washing the deity's feet) to the Vaiṣṇavas and himself drink it, placing a few drops on his own head. The house, which is daily sanctified by the Pāṇodaka of the deity, remains free from all sins and calamities. In the eloquent and lengthy series of eulogy of the Pāṇodaka, culled from the different Śāstras, Gopāla Bhāṭṭa remarks in conclusion that it is possible to count the waves of sea, but it is not possible to exhaust the enumeration of the endless virtues of the divine Pāṇodaka. It is added that the Pāṇodaka mixed with the sacred leaves of the Tulasi is specially efficacious.

The worshipper should then go to the Tulasi grove, and worship the shrub, which is Hari's darling, with perfume, flowers and rice, bow down before it with complete prostration of the body, and pray with appropriate Mantra and Stava for its favour. A large number of Purāṇa and other texts supplies exuberant and endless eulogy of the sacred Tulasi. Sometimes the laudation is extravagant, but nothing appears exaggerated to the devout mind, which even believes, among other things, that if one sits even for a single moment under the Tulasi shrub, the sins of one crore of re-births melt away ! In this connexion the religious efficacy of the Āmalaki tree is also glorified. By carrying an Āmalaki fruit, a man purifies himself ; by eating it, he becomes equal to Nārāyaṇa ; and by keeping it in the house, he remains untouchable by sin !

After finishing the worship, the members of the three higher castes, especially the Brāhmaṇa, should study the religious books (Śāstras) themselves or teach others ; for the Śruti and the Smṛti are said to be the two eyes of the twice-born. After daily study, one should make an effort to earn one's livelihood ; but if this is not necessary, one should join the assembly of good men and listen to their virtuous talk. The various modes of earning livelihood are classified in the *Bhāgavata* (vil. 11. 18-19) as (i) *Rikṣmṛta*, gleanings things here and there (*uśchadā*) and receiving them unsolicited (*ayādāta*), (ii) *Mṛta*, constant begging (*Nitya-Yācā*), (iii) *Prāmṛta*, agriculture (*Karṣaṇa*), (iv) *Satyāmṛta*, merchandise (*Vāpījya*). A Vaiṣṇava should prefer these to waiting upon a low and wicked person, which is rightly called 'dog-subsistence' (*Śva-vṛtti*), fit only for a low toady. But the really pure livelihood (*Śuklā Vṛtti*), for a Brāhmaṇa, consists of gifts (*Pratigraha*), receipts from priestly service or presents from a worthy disciple ; for a Kṣatriya, it consists of military service (*Yuddhopakāra*), application of power (*Danda*) and legal practice (*Vyavahāra*) ; for a Vaidya, the worthy means are agriculture (*Kṛṣi*), merchandise (*Vāpījya*) and preserva-

tion of cattle (*Go-rakṣā*) : for the Śūdra, service to people of higher castes is the best way of livelihood. The best wealth is that which is inherited, which has been received by friendly gift or which comes with the wife as her dowry. In this connexion it is laid down that food and certain things should not be accepted from the Śūdra. The Vaiṣṇava should accept food from a Vaiṣṇava, but not from a non-Vaiṣṇava, even if he is a Brahman. It will be seen from all this that the system of caste and consequent restriction of food and gift are not altogether rejected. If it is impossible to support oneself in the ways described above, one may accept things from men of those castes and professions from whom acceptance is not disallowed by the Śāstras. Some authorities advise muttering of the Mūla-mantra with firm faith in the deity without caring for livelihood.

Of the midday rites and duties, the foremost is the mid-day worship, performed after an actual or symbolical (by means of Mantra) bath in the same manner as described above. In the sixth part of the day one should perform, with rice dedicated to Kṛṣṇa, the five "great" Grhya sacrifices (*Pañca Mahāyajña*), namely, *Deva-yajña* (sacrifice to the gods by means of Homa or offer of oblations), *Bhūta-yajña* (offer of food, *Bali*, to all created beings), *Pitṛ-yajña* (dedication of oblation, *Piṇḍa*, to the dead ancestors), *Manuṣya-yajña* (entertainment of guests) and *Brahma-yajña* (study of the Veda or *Purāṇa*). In this connexion Cōṇḍa Bhāṣya makes some incidental remarks on the ceremony of *Vaiṣṇava Śrāddha*, the daily or periodical present of food and water to the dead ancestors. It should be performed with food, first dedicated to the Bhagavat and mixed with *Tulsi*. The Vaiṣṇavas are to be fed, but while eating, non-Vaiṣṇavas should not be allowed to sit on the same row. Regarding things which should be dedicated to the Bhagavat, it is said that such food, light, flower water and so forth, as are meant for any other deity, should not be offered to the Bhagavat. A Vaiṣṇava should not eat until the worship of the deity is finished.

or without first offering what is meant for oneself to the deity.

The mode of taking and distributing the Mahāprasāda is then described in detail. After respectfully saluting the Mahāprasāda, the worshipper should consecrate it with the name of his īṣa-deva or tutelary deity (with Gāyatrī, according to the commentary) and seven times with the Mūla-mantra. Keeping aside portions meant for Yama and the Pitṛs, it should be sprinkled with the Pāṇodaka and Tulasi leaves, and some verses are then to be recited. After dedicating the food to the Paśica Prīṣa, the worshipper should distribute portions to Vaiṣṇavas (but in no case to non-Vaiṣṇavas!) and himself partake of it, in front of the deity, with his face turned towards the east. The ceremony of eating also has an elaborate set of pious rules, but it is not necessary to summarise them here. The Villāsa concludes with the glorification of the Mahāprasāda by quotation of texts on its Mūhātmya.

Villāsa X

This Villāsa is devoted entirely to the characterisation of the Vaiṣṇava devotee and Vaiṣṇava religious practice, and gives an epitome of social and religious usages known as Vaiṣṇava Sad-bhāra.

After performing the rites and ceremonies described above, a Vaiṣṇava should adorn himself with sectarian Tilaka marks and repair humbly to the assembly of Vaiṣṇava devotees. The characteristics of a Vaiṣṇava devotee are then enumerated and illustrated by the citation of a large number of authoritative texts. The general definition is that one whose deity is Viṣṇu is a Vaiṣṇava.¹ Even those devotees of Śiva, who do not make any distinction between Śiva and Kṛṣṇa, and observe Vaiṣṇava usages are good Vaiṣṇavas. After mentioning the general excellences of piety, good birth, learning, devo-

1 *viṣṇur eva hi paryayaḥ devatā vaiṣṇavaḥ smṛtāḥ.*

tion, humility, compassion and good conduct. Gopāla Bhajja deals with the special qualities in detail. They are: (i) attachment to the Bhāgavata Śāstras and Bhāgavata religion (Bhagavacchāstra-dharma-paratā), (ii) paying honour to the Vaiṣṇavas (Vaiṣṇava-saṁpūjā-niṣṭhā), (iii) devotion in the service of Tulāśī (Tulāśī-sevā-niṣṭhā), (iv) joy in the sacred names (Nāman) and in the recollection (Smaraṇa), meditation (Dhyāna) and worship (Pūjā) of the deity, (v) exclusive devotion (Ekāntikā), causing undivided intentness (*ananya-paratā*) by the knowledge (*viśādanena*) of the Bhagavat. This exclusive devotion presents four aspects, namely, faith in the religion, indifference to other things like Jñāna and Karma, deep affection (Manorati) in spite of hindrance (*vighnāḍkāśa-ive'pi*), and absoluteness of love for the deity (Premāka-paratā). There are three grades in this love or Preman. That love is superior which sees the deity in all creatures and all creatures in the deity, and attains the consciousness of identity (Abheda-jñāna). That love is middling which is devoted to the deity, friendly to his devotees and compassionate to the ignorant but which disregards the hostile and thus adopts an attitude of distinction (Bheda-jñāna). That love is inferior and common (Prākṛta) which concerns itself only with the worship of the deity and does not respect his devotees nor regard anything else.

This is followed by an elaborate glorification of the Vaiṣṇava devotee and the supreme benefit of his devout company, each statement being illustrated, in the usual manner, by the citation of a large number of texts. The company of the Vaiṣṇava devotee (Bhagavad-bhakta-saṅga) is said to destroy all evil (Anartha-nivartakatā), turning all evil into good (Anarthāyāpyarthāpādatā), accomplish the attainment of all desired objects (Sarveṣṭa-siddhakatā) and absolution from all sin (Sarva-pāta-mocakatā), sharpen the intellect (*buddhiṃ-vibhādayati*), produce devotion (Bhakti-sampādatā), make one forget everything about the Deha (body) and Dehin (soul), bring joy to the whole world (Jagad-ānandakatā) and

lead to emancipation (Mokṣa-pradātā). It is indeed superior to taking baths in all holy places (Sarva-tīrthādhikatā) and higher than all pious deeds (Sarva-satkarmādhikatā): in fact, it is the essence of everything (Sarva-sārātā). The evils of bad company (Aśai-saṅga) and of reviling the Vaiṣṇava (Vaiṣṇava-nindā) are then dealt with in detail, as well as the mode of approaching the holy company of the Vaiṣṇavas (Vaiṣṇava-saṁgama-vidhi). If a Vaiṣṇava meets a devotee of Viṣṇu, he should welcome and embrace him, greet him with sweet words, and salute him by falling prostrate at his feet (*daṇḍavat*): for Viṣṇu resides in the heart of all Vaiṣṇava devotees. In this connexion Gopāla Bhaṭṭa describes at length the merits of praising and paying respect to the Vaiṣṇava and of reading or listening to their scriptures (Śāstras), of which the most sacred and purifying is the great *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*. By listening to the deeds of Śrīkṛṣṇa described therein, both the speaker and the hearer ensure the highest religious merit for themselves by the removal of their sins, gratification of all desires, and awakening of resignation and love for the deity.

Gopāla Bhaṭṭa now proceeds to explain in detail the general characteristics of the Bhāgavata religion (Bhagavad-dharma), which leads to the love (Rati) of the deity. The subject is approached more from the point of view of religious practice than theology and philosophy. Besides general qualities like kindness, friendship, reverence, piety, penance, compassion, restraint of words and deeds, study, simplicity, continence, power of endurance, contentment and so forth, the list of special characteristics includes such overt acts of piety and observance of vows, rites and usages as are enjoined by the Vaiṣṇava Śāstras. These are, for instance, the observance of the eleventh day of a fortnight (Ekādaśī), on which day fasting is considered indispensable and efficacious, celebration of certain nights with vigil, daily worship, reciting of the thousand sacred names, keeping vows on the Mahā-viśādaśī days, constant use of Tulasi garland, Tulasi paste and

Tulasi leaves in all religious acts, holding the Pādodaka on one's head and partaking of the sacred food-offering (Naivedya), annual visit to Mathurā, listening to the scriptures and singing the glories of the deity, dancing and music on the nights of vigil and a series of similar pious acts which foster devotion to the Bhagavat. The chapter concludes with a description of the merits of celebrating the glories of the deeds and sports (Līlā) of the Bhagavat.

Vilāsa XI

This Vilāsa deals with worship in the evening and at night, and contains incidental remarks on certain rules of virtuous conduct and on the efficacy of repeating the sacred names.

According to the *Vijñā-purāṇa*, the proper time for evening worship comes when the sun is half set. Punctuality is necessary, but if one is possessed of the highest devotion, no sin will accrue if one fails to be punctual. The religious rites are not indispensable for a man who has reached the highest stage of devotion, and the question of Pātitya (degradation) does not arise on account of unintentional mistake, which is always pardonable.

There are rules, given by the *Gautamiya Tantra*, for different modes of meditation and worship at the three junctures of the day (Tri-saṃdhyā). In the morning Kṛṣṇa should be contemplated as seated among Gopa-Gopīs under the shade of the divine Wishing Tree (Kalpa-vṛkṣa) at Vṛndāvana, and worshipped with sixteen kinds of gifts (Śoḍaśopacāra, to be mentioned below), and with the offering of milk and curd (Dadhī) in a golden plate to Kṛṣṇa and in a plate of bell-metal to the Gopas respectively. At midday, Kṛṣṇa should be contemplated as seated in the Padmāsana posture at the foot of a golden mountain adorned with lakes, lotus, birds and trees, and worshipped with the offer of Jāti flowers and with rice-food placed in a silver plate before Kṛṣṇa and his companions. In the evening, Kṛṣṇa should be

contemplated as seated in an arbour of jewels under the Kalpa tree and adorned with sandal decorations, garlands and ornaments, and worshipped with fragrant flowers and offer of pure boiled milk in a silver cup. All these three are really mental modes of worship (*Mānasa Arcanā*) and should be accompanied by the muttering of the Mantra one thousand and eight times (or, for brevity, one hundred and eight times).

The worship at night follows by an offering of oblations (*Homa*) in accordance with the usage of particular *Saṃpradāyas*. After some music and dance, the worshipper should pray to the deity to retire to bed, take the image there, offer thick sweetened milk, camphored betel, unguent and garland, and leave it to rest after dedicating mentally all his own acts to the deity. Wealth properly acquired receives its fruition in elaborate ceremonial worship, but those who are unable to undertake it should offer the minimum requisites of gift, or may only witness the performance. The witnessing of the worship or the sight of the image is in itself productive of the highest good.

Gifts to the deity are never wasted, but they always produce the highest merit. Special gifts are specially efficacious. Among such gifts are mentioned the offer of a black milch-cow with a calf, the dedication of a pond and garden, the construction of market-avenue (*Āraṇya-vṛthikā*), the building of a city, the gift of palanquin, horse, elephant, ringing bells, pitchers, stands or receptacles for incense, light, garlands and perfume, metal utensils, various kinds of jewels, dress and ornaments, flower and fruit trees, religious books (like the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*), dancing girls and maid-servants, musical instruments, and lastly, the construction of altar (*Vedi*), portal (*Toraṇa*) or temple (*Mandira*).

Regarding the requisites of worship, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa states that though the number of *Upacāras* is not limited, the Theistic *Valṣṇavas* have grouped them into three classes to suit the means and convenience of different kinds of worshippers. The group of five *Upacāras* consists of perfume

(Gandha), flower (Puṣpa), incense (Dhūpa), light (Dīpa) and food-offering (Naivedya). The second group consists of ten Upacāras, namely, the five just mentioned and Arghya (reception-offering of rice, Durvā-grass and flower, or water only), Pādyā (water for washing the feet), Ācamanīya (water for purificatory sipping), Madhuparka (offer of milk and honey), and Punar-Ācamanīya (water for sipping again). The third group of sixteen Upacāras comprises all these ten, and Svāgata (word of welcome), Āsana (seat), Snānīya (water for bathing), Yaśana (garment), Ābharaka (ornament), and Candana (sandal-paste).¹ But there is also a long list of sixty-four Upacāras, which is also enumerated, but we are told that they are differently given in different books. If these requisites of worship are not available, simple procedure is prescribed. In such a case, one may offer flower and unhusked barley-corn (Akṣata-yava) or pure water, or a piece of Tulasi leaf only. Whatever is unavailable may also be imagined and offered mentally.

In this way is completed the perfect day of the Vaiṣṇava devotee. After saluting the deity with prostration of the body, he should take his meal, retire to bed and fall asleep with the remembrance of the deity and with the muttering of prayers and sacred names. He should wash his hand and feet and perform Ācamana before retiring to bed and lie down with his head either towards the east or the south. In this connexion Gopāla Bhāṭṭa lays down, for the benefit of householders, certain rules with regard to sleeping with one's own wife.

The rest of the chapter is devoted to the glorification of Vaiṣṇava worship of the Bhagavat, its necessity and efficacy, and dwells at length on the cultivation of the devotional attitude of Bhakti and the supreme merit of uttering the various sacred names of the deity. The worship of the Bhagavat is

1 In this last enumeration some substitute Pradakṣiṇa (circumambulation), Namaskāra (obeisance) and Vismarga (parting) for Punar-Ācamanīya, Madhuparka and Candana. Gopāla Bhāṭṭa speaks of local custom in the enumeration of Upacāras.

the highest good and brings all bliss and blessing in this and next life. This thesis is illustrated in various ways by the testimony of a large number of authoritative texts, which speak of its wonderful virtue and its obligatory character. Even worship performed negligently does not become fruitless; it is much more meritorious than, for instance, the study of the Vedas or offering of oblations. But the best form of worship and devotion in the Kali Age is the recollection and uttering of the blessed names. A list is given of the various names to be uttered at different times and in different situations; for the Śāstras declare the utterance of particular names for the accomplishment of particular objects. For instance, the name Viṣṇu is appropriate at the time of taking medicine; Janārdana at meals; Padmanābha when one retires to bed; Prajāpati at the time of sexual enjoyment; Cakra in the battle-field; Varāha in water and Jalatāyin in fire; Narasiṃha in the forest and Rāghunandana in the mountain; Govinda in case of bad dreams; Nārāyaṇa at the time of inauspicious sneezing; Garudadhvaṇi to avert the effects of poison; Vāruḍeva in bathing, worship, Homa and Pradakṣiṇa; at all times Mādhurūdana and in all acts Mādhava! Different results can be obtained by uttering the different names in different seasons, months, fortnights, days and Tithis.

Gopāla Bhāṭṭa refers to the dogma, which we have already mentioned,¹ that the name (Nāman) and the possessor of the name (Nāmin) are in the case of the supreme deity identical. From this, the supreme efficacy of taking the divine names, which is not mere eulogium (Artha-vāda), necessarily follows. It is said to have the power (i) to destroy all sin (Akhilāpāpamūlanaṭva), (ii) to remove all misery (Sarva-duḥkhopaśamaṇaṭva), (iii) to take away the evil effects of Kali Age (Kali-bādhāpahāritya), (iv) to rescue one destined for hell (Nārakyuddhāraṇaṭva), (v) to demolish the effects of Prārab-

1 See above p. 289.

śha Karmaṇ¹ (Prārabdha-viśuddhitva), (vi) to dispel all offence (Sarvāparādhha-bhañjanatva), (vii) to act as a complement to human effort (Karma-sampūrṭi-kāritva), (viii) to be more than all the Vedas, all holy bathing and pilgrimage, and all good acts (Sarva-veda-ūrtha-saikarmādhikātvā), (ix) to bestow all desired objects (Sarvārtha-pradātvā), (x) to be all-powerful (Sarva-śaktimātvā), (xi) to bring joy to the whole world (Jagad-ānandakatva), (xii) to make one universally adorable (Jagad-vandyaśīlīdakatva), (xiii) to be the only way to those who have no other way (Agatyekagatitva), (xiv) to be practised always and everywhere (Sadā sarvatra sevya-tva), (xv) to make one attain emancipation (Mukti-pradātvā) and the Vaikuṇṭha-loka where the deity resides (Vaikuṇṭha-loka-prāpakatva), (xvi) to please (Prīṇatva) and bring the deity himself under the control of the devotee (Vādīkāritva), (xvii) to be in itself the highest good (Svataḥ parama-puruṣār-thatva), and lastly, (xviii) to be the highest form of Bhakti or devotion (Bhakti-prakāreṣu traigūhyam). Of all the sacred names, there is a special efficacy in taking the name of Kṛṣṇa. The Nāmāparādhha² or offences relating to the sacred names are then briefly dealt with, and it is laid down that the taking of the name itself is an expiation of such offences.

The next topic is the rarity (Durlabhatva) and efficacy (Māhātmya) of the devotional attitude called Bhakti. It cannot be had on demand, but it is the fruit of merit acquired in succession of births. It may be acquired by knowledge, meditation, worship or penance, but it is the grace of the deity alone which awakens it in the minds of men. It destroys sin, removes the necessity of activity (Karmādhikāra-nirvāṇatva), purifies and makes the mind serene, stimulates all good qualities, strikes at the root of egoism, pleases and subjugates the deity, effects union with him, makes one attain all desired objects and reach the Vaikuṇṭha-loka. It is the

1 See above pp. 172.

2 See above p. 173.

highest duty, the highest path ; it is higher than Mokṣa or mere emancipation ; it is in its very nature the highest good.

The outward acts of piety,² such as Śravaṇa, Kīrtana, Smaraṇa, Pāda-sevā, Arcanā, Vandanā, Dāya (=Karmārpaṇa according to the commentary), Sakhya (=Trust) and Ātma-nivedana, determine the characteristics of Bhakti ; and such Aṅgas or means may be eight, nine or sixteen. They may include initiation (Dīkṣā) into the Viṣṇu-Mantra, taking of the Pādodaka and Mahāprasāda, wearing the sectarian marks, doing service to Valaṇavas, worship of the Tulasi plant, observing the fast days and night vigils, singing, dancing or enacting a religious play (on the divine Līlā) before the deity, visit to Mathurā and so forth. Some of these acts are obligatory, but some optional ; and of all these, as well as of the characterisation of Bhakti into three grades as Tīmasa, Rājasa and Sāttvika according to the nature of the devotee, we are told that detailed information will be found in such works as the *Mukṛā-phala* (of Yopadeva) and (the commentary adds) the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*.

The highest form of Bhakti, however, is what is called the Prema-Bhakti or loving devotion for the deity, which dispenses with the necessity of overt acts and brings the Caturvarga (Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa) under the unsolicited control of the devotee. The inner and outer springs of the Prema-bhakti, such as complete detachment from objects of senses, tears, thrilling of the body and mind, singing, dancing, laughing, crying, melting of the heart, and so forth, are described. Such a devotee is neither sane nor insane. He is above all fear, all shame and all misery. The attitude consists of complete surrender of self (Śaraṇāpatti) to the grace (Prasāda) of the deity, who thereby reveals himself to the devotee in all his self-surrendering charm. The necessity, characteristics and effect of Śaraṇāpatti are then dealt with in detail.

² See above p. 175.

The chapter concludes with a list of rules of virtuous conduct and traditional usages for Vaiṣṇava householder (Sādācāra),¹ but it is too long and detailed to be summarised here. It is noteworthy, however, that in addition to the Purāṇas, the orthodox law-books of Viṣṇu and Atri are also drawn upon. Some injunctions are noteworthy. For instance, one should expiate by looking at the sun if one comes across the sight of a low-caste Caṇḍāla, an atheist or a Yavana! It is forbidden to receive any gift from a Śūdra. These and similar injunctions point to a regard for Varṇāśrama-Dharma as a curious feature of this Vaiṣṇava faith.

Vilāsa XII

This Vilāsa, called the Ekādaśī-nirṇaya, deals with the topic of fasting on the eleventh (and also the twelfth) day of the fortnight, and opens with a salutation to the Bhagavat, to whom these days of fasting are said to be very dear.

Of the necessity of fasting on the eleventh lunar day or the Ekādaśī Tithi, four reasons are given, namely, satisfaction of the Bhagavat (Bhagavat-priṇatva), observance of Śāstric injunction (Vidhi-prāptatva), prohibition of eating on that day (Bhojana-nipēdha) and liability to sin resulting from non-observance (Pratyavāya).

No distinction should be made between the Ekādaśī days of the dark and the bright fortnights respectively, and fasting on both days produces the same result. If the Ekādaśī falls on a Sunday or on the day of the sun's zodiacal passage (Samkrānti), it is specially effective. Jaimini expresses a contrary opinion and forbids fasting on these days, as well as during solar and lunar eclipses; but Gopāla Bhaṭṭa thinks that the prohibition is applicable to what is called Kāmya Upavāsa that is, optional fasting for the attainment of a particular object, and not to fasting on the Ekādaśī which is

1 Some of the rules are almost similar to those prescribed for the Sāntaka in the Dharma-Śāstra.

compulsory. The Ekādaśī should be observed even during the period of impurity (*Aśauca*) consequent upon birth and death. The Śrāddha day, which might happen to fall on the Ekādaśī, should be shifted to the following day in order that the Ekādaśī fasting may be observed duly.

Every one, without distinction of caste, sex, creed, or station in life, is entitled to fasting; but those whose age is below eight and above eighty, need not fast. A householder (*Gṛhastha*), a student (*Brahmacārin*), a sacrificer (*Āhūtāgri*) or a hermit (*Yati*), as well as a Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva or Śakra, should, therefore, observe fasting on the Ekādaśī day. In case of inability, a substitute, who is a near relative (son, wife, brother, sister, or any Brahman) and who is not paid for the purpose, may be appointed; but the substitute appropriates to himself a large part of the merit of fasting. Or, one may, in lieu of fasting, offer gifts to good Brahmins. If he is very old or very young, or afflicted with disease and disability, he may eat once at night or live on milk, fruit and water. But in no circumstances should a Vaiṣṇava eat on those days when the deity goes to sleep (*Sayana-Ekādaśī*, the eleventh day in the light half of the month of Āṣāḍha), or when he rises from sleep (*Uttāna-Ekādaśī*, the eleventh day in the light half of the month of Kārttika), or when he turns on the other side in his sleep (*Pārśva-parivartana-Ekādaśī*, the eleventh day of the light half of the month of Bhādra). The merits of Ekādaśī fasting are then exuberantly detailed; we are told, for instance, that such fasting is superior in merit to the performance of thousands of horse-sacrifices or, of the Vājapeya.

The Tithi (lunar day) of Ekādaśī may be Viddhā (Mixed) or Saṃpārṇā (Pure). It is Pūrva-viddhā when touched in the forepart by Dvādśī, and Uttara-viddhā when touched in the latter part by Dvādśī. Of these two, fasting on the Pūrva-viddhā day is to be avoided, although it is generally stated that fasting of the Viddhā Ekādaśī day is highly inauspicious. In this connexion four kinds of Vedha (namely, Vedha, Ati-

vedha, Mahāvedha, and Yoga) are distinguished: and Mādhava's interpretation of these terms is quoted. It is explained that other Tithis are called Sāmpūrṇā when they last from one sunrise to the next sunrise: but in the case of Ekādaśī, if it lasts for two Muhūrtas¹ before sunrise it is Sāmpūrṇā, and a Vaiṣṇava should fast on that day. The term 'sunrise,' or strictly speaking, 'dawn' (Arupodaya), is explained as the time consisting of four Daṇḍas before the actual sunrise: while a 'Vaiṣṇava' is described as one who has accepted the Viṣṇu-Mantra and worship of Viṣṇu and who is very particular about his duties and observes fasting on the Ekādaśī day.

All this is more or less technical discussion, but it is necessary to determine the exact time and period of fasting as a vow. Various types of Ekādaśī are distinguished. If the Sāmpūrṇā Ekādaśī begins at dawn and remains up to the next morning, the fasting, which is called Unmīlani, should be observed on the Dvīdaśī. If a portion of the Sāmpūrṇā Dvīdaśī, which is preceded by a Sāmpūrṇā Ekādaśī, falls on the thirteenth day (Trayodaśī), then both the fasting and its break, which is called Vajjani, should occur on the Dvīdaśī. If the three lunar days, the Ekādaśī, Dvīdaśī and Trayodaśī, fall on the Dvīdaśī, it is called Tri-sparśa; the fast, beginning on the Dvīdaśī, should be broken on the Trayodaśī. It is said to be one of the most efficacious fasts. If the Sāmpūrṇā Pūrṇimā (full-moon) or Amāvasyā (new moon) covers a portion of the next day (Pratipad), then one should not fast on the preceding Ekādaśī (even if it is Sāmpūrṇā), but on the Dvīdaśī, which vow is called Pakṣa-vardhani. The conjunction of stars also gives us four divisions of the Dvīdaśī, namely Jayā, Vijayā, Jayanti and Pāpa-nāśani, but the details are considered in the next Villāsa. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa concludes the subject with the remark that the correct ascertainment of the Ekādaśī Tithi is difficult. In case of doubt, learned and pious Vaiṣṇava Brahmins should be consulted;

1 A Muhūrta is said to be 30th part of a day, a period of 48 minutes.

but those, who pay no attention to the Veda, Tantra and Dharma-śāstra, or have no regard for their preceptor, Mantra and Vaiṣṇava scriptures, should be avoided.

Vilāsa XIII

In this Vilāsa the connected topic of the rites and duties of the days respectively preceding and following the Ekādaśī fast is dealt with.

On the tenth day of the fortnight (Dadami), the Vaiṣṇava should take his morning bath, put on a fresh garment, and take a solemn vow with the Saṃkalpa-Mantra of performing it for three days with effect from the Dadami and completing it without hitch by the grace of the deity. During this time it is not necessary to bathe again, even if he comes in contact with one who is not touchable. At midday he should take his meal consisting of Haviṣya and Kṛīra, the ingredients of which are described in detail. Without taking any food at night, he should lie alone on the ground, thinking of the deity. The use of certain things are forbidden on this day; bell-metal utensils, meat, the lentil or pulse called Masura, the chick-pea (Capaka), honey, eating twice, physical labour, speaking untruth, gambling, sleeping at daytime and society of women.

On the day of fasting the Vaiṣṇava should bathe in the morning and worship the Bhagavat; then, facing the north and holding a copper pot filled with water, he should take the vow (Saṃkalpa-Mantra) of fasting for the day and taking his meal on the following day. Offering flowers to the deity, he should drink the water thus sanctified by the Mantra. If the Dadami extends beyond midnight, the vow (Saṃkalpa) should be taken after the first four Prāhara (Prāhara=about three hours) of the Ekādaśī claps. The Upavāsa (Fasting) is characterised in the *Gṛhya-pariṣiṣṭa*, *Kāryāyana-smṛti*, *Viṣṇu-dharma*, *Brahma-vaivarta* and other works. It is said to be association (Vilāsa) with virtue by the avoidance (Upa=Upā-vṛtya) of sin. As a form of continence, it consists chiefly of

the discarding of all objects of luxury or enjoyment (Bhoga), such as ornaments, garlands, perfumes, unguents, betel, collyrium, fine dress and even tooth-brush! In addition, one should avoid gambling, untruth, sleep by day, meat and drink, sexual enjoyment, and the sight of unbelievers, which last act entails an expiation. The virtues that should be cultivated are forbearance, truth, kindness, silence, purity, control of the senses, worship of gods and fire-sacrifice, contentment, avoidance of anger, injury and theft, as well as meditation, recollection and repetition of Kṛṣṇa's name. After performing evening worship, the Vaiṣṇava should observe vigil at night (Jāgara). This may be done by worship, prayer, dance, music and other entertainments for the pleasure of the deity, listening to the Purāṇas and so forth,—twenty-six different kinds of acts being prescribed for the purpose. The vigil is obligatory, as well as dance and music; and the glory of observance and sin of non-observance are described in detail on the testimony of the scriptures.

The break of fast (Pīrāga) has also a set of rites and duties. After morning worship, the vow is to be dedicated, with appropriate formula, to Hari; but, in the opinion of some authoritative Vaiṣṇavas, the Upacīras need not be offered at this worship, and the image of deity should not be bathed. After finishing his daily duties, the Vaiṣṇava should feed the Brahmins and eat a few Tulasi leaves before breaking the fast. The Dvīdasi should never be allowed to pass. If the Dvīdasi lasts for a short period, the morning and midday duties must be performed early in the morning. If this also becomes impossible, then they should be completed before daybreak. In case of difficulty even in this period, the fast should be broken with water only, and then the duties performed in due course. The first quarter of the Dvīdasi is called Hari-vīlara, or Hari's day; it should be allowed to elapse before fast is broken. Regarding choice of food, the same rules about permitted and forbidden food as mentioned under Daśami should be observed.

The rest of the chapter is taken up with a detailed account of the eight kinds of Dvādasi, already mentioned, namely, the quartet depending on Tithi (Umāṣṇi, Vādjaṣṇi, Tri-śpaṣṇi and Pakṣa-vardhaṣṇi) and the quartet depending upon certain stellar conjunction (Jayāṣṇi, Vijayāṣṇi, Jayantī and Pāpa-nāṣṇi) : their merits, method of observing vows and rules of worship on these special occasions : determination of time for observing and breaking fast by consulting such works as the *Nṛsiṃha-parikṛyā* : and topics connected with these rites and observances.

Vilāsa XIV

This and the two following Vilāsas deal with the subject of monthly religious observances, occurring throughout the year, and rites and duties connected with them, and includes a treatment of the various Vaiṣṇava festivals. The present Vilāsa is devoted particularly to those occurring from the month of Agrahāyana to that of Caitra.

The month of Agrahāyana or Mārgaśīṣṭa is the most important and foremost of the months, during which the rites and ceremonies mentioned below confer much merit. One should worship the Bhagavat under the Tulasi shrub with dance and music. The performance of Nakta-vrata (nightly vow), that is, fasting at daytime and taking food once only at night, worship of the Fish-incarnation (the other nine incarnations to be worshipped successively in the following months), morning bath, Japa and Homa, offer of Pāyasa (a preparation of milk, rice and sugar) as Naivedya, and gift of warm clothes for protection from cold, are acts of piety approved in this month. The only Vrata that may be undertaken is the Kātyāyanī Vrata, which the Gopis, living on Haviṣya, performed for the pleasure of the deity.

In the month of Pauṣa, a pious Vaiṣṇava should sleep on the ground, bathe and worship thrice daily up to the twelfth day of the bright fortnight. This may be observed for the whole month or for a fortnight or for ten or five days. He

should complete, with dance and music, the act of worship by the Festival of Curd and Rice (*Dadhyaodanotsava*), and besmear the image of the deity five times with five seers of Ghee.

The month of Māgha is said to be highly auspicious from the devotional point of view. Besides worship of the deity three times daily in the manner already described, placing of gifts of light, blankets, fuel, garment, footwear, oil, sheath of cotton, cotton tree and cotton covering, distributing painted piece of cloth and rice and feeding of Brahmans, are mentioned as praiseworthy. The most meritorious and obligatory function in this month is the daily morning bath (*Māgha-snāna*), bare-bodied, in the Ganges or in a pond, to which every one, without distinction of caste, creed, sex or age, is entitled. The three festivals and Vratas in this month are the *Vāsanti Pañcamī*, *Bhīṣma-Aṣṭamī*, *Bhīma-Ekādśī*, and *Vārāhi Dvādśī*. The first, the early Spring Festival, occurs on the fifth day of the bright fortnight, during which there is great worship with fresh flowers, leaves and unguents, songs sung in the *Vāsanta Rāga*, dance, music and illustration. The second occurs on the eighth day of the bright fortnight, during which libation of water is to be offered to *Bhīṣma*, the best of *Bhāgavatas*, and fast is to be observed. The *Bhīma-Ekādśī* and *Vārāhi Dvādśī* follow on the eleventh and twelfth days respectively.

In the month of *Phālguna*, worship of the deity with *Campaka* flowers, mango-blossoms, incense and perfume, as well as offer of libation to the Fathers, is prescribed. Among the chief festivals we have the *Śiva-rātri* to be observed on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight. Though it is not compulsory for *Vaiṣṇavas*, it is mentioned in accordance with the practice of good *Vaiṣṇavas*, who should not be indifferent to it but observe it for the pleasure of *Kṛṣṇa*.¹ On this

1 According to the theology of this school, *Śiva* is a devotee (*Bhakta*) of *Kṛṣṇa*. In *Kṛṣṇadīpa Kavirāja's* biography we are told that Caitanya visited Śaiva temples in his South Indian pilgrimage.

particular night, it is necessary to fast, worship Śiva and keep a whole-night vigil. If the twelfth day of the bright fortnight is connected with the Puṣya asterism, it is called Govinda-dvādaśī. It involves fast, vigil, and worship, and is observed after the manner of the Pāpa-nāśini Vrata mentioned above ; it is also called Āmarakṣī Dvādaśī, as the worship of the deity is prescribed under the Āmarakṣī tree. On the day of full-moon, there is the Vasanta-Utsava (Spring Festival), which consists of the worship of Vasanta (Spring), Kṛṣṇa's favourite, with mango-blossoms ; the method of worship is described in the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa*, revealed therein to Yudhiṣṭhira by the Bhagavat himself.

The three important observances in the month of Caitra are, during the bright fortnight, the Rāma-navamī on the ninth, the Dola-yātrā on the eleventh, and the Madanārpaṇa festival on the twelfth day. The first of these consists of fast with worship of Rāma and the five series of his attendant deities (Āvarapa-devatā), such as Kausalyā, Hanūmat, Bharata, Bibhīṣaṇa and so on forth. The accomplishment of the vow (Vrata) abounds with Tāntṛic practices of Mudrā, Nyāsa, Maṇḍala etc. The Dola-yātrā is an important Vaiṣṇava festival. In the opinion of some Vaiṣṇavas, it may be held on the third day of the bright fortnight ; if possible it should be continued uninterruptedly for the rest of the month. The image of the deity, with its face turned towards the south, is placed on a swing and moved to and fro with the celebration of song, dance and music. Lustration, worship, night-vigil and other usual rites are to be duly performed. The other Vaiṣṇava festivals of Śakā yātrā, Candana-yātrā and Ratha-yātrā, like Dola-yātrā, are to be celebrated on the days and after the manner of those of Jagannātha at Puri. The Madanārpaṇa or Damanaka-rapaṇa festival consists of the planting of an Aśoka tree with appropriate Mantras and ceremonial worship, being really a devotional service to the love-god, whose symbol is the red Aśoka. On the preceding night the Aśoka plant should be placed in a Sarvatobhadra

Maṇḍala in front of the deity : and on the eight quarters the love-god is to be invoked, with appropriate Bija and Mantra, as Kāma-deva, Bhāma-dātā, Ananta, Manmatha, Vāsanta-mukha, Smara, Itṣu-cāpa and Puṣpa-bāṇa, and worshipped with flowers and with the repetition of the Kāma-gāyatri 108 times.

In the month of Vaiśākha, various devotional acts, known collectively as Keśava-vrata, are prescribed, such as bathing twice in a river or pond, living on Haviṣya, practising continence, lying on bare ground, worship of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī at the three Saṃdhyās, offer of sesamum, ghee, water, rice, candied sugar and a real cow or a sesamum-cow (to be specially offered by the rich devotee), and gift of gold, food, clothes, footwear, umbrella and other things to worthy Brahmanas. Of special merit are the acts of morning bath, worship, gift, fasting, living on Haviṣya and Brahmacharya, to which is added feeding of Brahmanas. These are to be specially observed on certain days, namely, the Akṣaya-tṛtīyā (the third day of the bright fortnight), the day on which the Yugas and the Vedas commenced ; the Śuklā Saptamī (the seventh day of the same), celebrating the drinking up and releasing of the Jāhnavī (Ganges) by the sage Jahnu ; and the full-moon day which commemorates the commencement of the Varāha-kalpa. The festival of Nṛsiṃha-caturdaśī, on the fourteenth day of the bright fortnight, deserves special observance as the day on which the Man-lion incarnation appeared. It includes elaborate worship of the deity and his devotee Prahlāda. Gopāla Bhāṣya concludes the chapter with the remark that those who are unable to undertake all the rites and ceremonies of the month of Vaiśākha need only observe morning bath and worship (to be performed according to capacity) on the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth (full-moon) day of the bright fortnight, or only feed ten Brahmanas.

Vilāsa XV

In this Vilāsa Gopāla Bhaṭṭa continues the subject of monthly festivals and observances, and deals with those which occur from the month of Vaiśākha to that of Āśvina.

From the full-moon day of Vaiśākha to that of Jyaiṣṭha, the worship of Kṛṣṇa reposing in water is the most important rite. This may also be performed in Āṣāḍha or Śrāvapa, if there is no rain to allay the heat of the season. The image of the deity, consisting of the dark Sālagrāma stone, is to be placed in a receptacle of gold, silver, copper or even earth, which is filled with cool and fragrant water; and daily worship is to be performed in the usual manner. In the evening, after the image is anointed with unguent and perfume, it should be placed on a throne and honoured with the waving of lights (Nirūjana) and other forms of worship (Ārātrika); this should be specially performed on the Dvādśī night. It is highly efficacious on the days in which the sun stands in the zodiacal sign of the Cancer (Karkapa) or of Gemini (Mithuna).

In the month of Jyaiṣṭha, when the sun stands in the signs of Taurus or Gemini, on the eleventh or Ekādaśī day of the bright fortnight, one should undertake the vow of what is called 'waterless fasting' (Nirjala Ekādaśī), in which one should avoid even a drink of water from sunrise to sunrise. It is said that those who are unable to keep periodical fasts, this one fast is enough to cover the deficiency. At night, the deity is to be worshipped with the usual rites and bathed in milk; and an all-night vigil is to be observed with dance and music in front of the image. After a bath next morning and worship of the Trivikrama form of the deity, the worshipper should make gifts of gold or of pitchers filled with water to Brahmans, and then break his fast after drinking water.

On the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha when the Bhagavat goes to sleep, the worshipper, after breaking his fast, should wear Viṣṇu's marks (conch-shell, disc, mace or

lotus, Śaṅkha, Cakra, Gaḍā or Padma¹) burnt on the skin with red-hot iron. This is meant to be a sign of the devotee's ardent love for the deity, and should never be ridiculed on the pain of punishment in hell! Kṛpā is to be worshipped on the occasion with five Upacāras:² and the emblems, Śaṅkha, Cakra, Gaḍā and Khaḍga, of the deity are to be invoked, propitiated and worshipped with appropriate Mantra and Tāntṛic spells (Bija) like *oṃ raṃ raṃ raṃ maṃ naṃ pādcaṣanyāya namaḥ* or *oṃ raṃ raṃ khaṃ caṃ phaṃ saṃ gaḍāyaḥ namaḥ*, and so forth. The worshipper should get these tokens made of gold, silver, copper, bell-metal or iron as amulets, and wear the Śaṅkha and Cakra on his two arms, the Śārāṅga on the head, and the Khaḍga on the heart. The chief festival of this month is the Śayani-kṣīrābdi-mahotsava, and the chief Vrata is the Cāturmāsī. The first is to be celebrated on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight, which is known as Śayana-Ekādaśī, and the second on that day, or on the passage of the sun to the sign of Cancer (Karkaka-saṃkrānti), or on the full-moon day. The first festival, with its attendant ceremonies, is described in detail. The image of the deity, after lustration, should be carried in a palanquin, with song and music, to a sacred tank; and after due worship, it should be requested, with proper prayer and Mantra, to lie down and sleep on the water. The Cāturmāsī vow, lasting for four months during which the deity sleeps, may be taken immediately. During this period the Vaiṣṇava should practise restraint in everything, bathe daily, observe pious rules of conduct, take his meal only once daily but avoid certain edibles, lie on the bare ground, preserve nails and hair, and keep the Cāndrīyaga fast regulated by the course of the moon (the food being diminished every day by one mouthful for the dark fortnight, and increased in like manner during the bright

1. As Khaḍga (sword) and Śārāṅga (Viṣṇu's bow) are also mentioned, the six-armed Viṣṇu is probably meant.

2. See above p. 485.

fortnight). Besides his favourite fruits, he should discard potherbs in Śrāvapa, coagulated milk (Dadhi) in Bhādra, milk in Āśvina and flesh or fish in Kārttika.

In the month of Śrāvapa, the only important ceremony is the Pavitrārōpaga, for which authority is quoted not only from Vaiṣṇava and Tantra texts, but also from recognised Smṛti works like those of Bodhāyana and Manu. It is to be observed on the bright Dvādasi or the full-moon day. It consists of the investiture of the image of Kṛṣṇa with the Pavitra (or Upavita, sacred cord), and offer of the cords also to the retinue of the deity, to Fire, to the spiritual preceptor, to good Vaiṣṇavas and to self. The cord is to be prepared with threads of gold, silver, copper, silk, lotus-fibre, cotton, Kuta or Kāśa grass. If only simple cotton is available, the thread should be spun by unmarried Brahman girls, should be folded and re-folded thrice. After sprinkling it with Paścagavya and washing with pure water, one should sanctify the cord with the repetition of the Mūla-mantra one hundred and eight times. There are three kinds of cord, according as they contain 108, 54 or 27 such threads and 36, 24 or 12 knots; and their length should respectively reach the knee, thigh or the navel of the image. If the cord is made of 1008 pieces of thread and 108 knots, it is called Vanamālā, and it extends from the crown on the head of the image to its feet. For the attendant deities, the cord should consist of 27, 16 or 12 pieces of thread; for the Guru and Agni, 27 threads folded nine times; for himself, 26 folded nine times; for others there is no definite rule. On the previous day the threads should be coloured and perfumed with saffron (Kunkuma), fragrant aloe (Agaru) or Gorocanā (a bright yellow orpiment prepared from the bile of cattle); and the cords should be covered with cloth and placed in a basket. On the day of investiture, the cords should be placed on full pitchers, in a Sarvatobhadra Maṇḍala, for preliminary purification by the invocation and worship of the twenty-one presiding deities of the cords, threads and knots. The cords should then be dedicated with

appropriate Mantras and ceremonies, with worship and lustration of the image, and with all-night vigil of song and dance. The cords are to be worn for a month, for a fortnight, for three days and nights, or for one day and night.

In Bhādra, on the eighth day of the dark fortnight, comes the Kṛṣṇa-janmāṣṭami, or the Birth-festival of Kṛṣṇa, one of the most famous of all Vaiṣṇava festivals. Its mythical origin, as detailed in the *Bhāgavyasara*, is quoted at length, and the method of determining the exact time and period of the vow and its great efficacy are discussed and described. In this connexion the authority of the *Gaṇṭamīya Tantra*, which is said here to be the exclusive Śāstra on Kṛṣṇa-worship, is quoted and followed with great respect. The festival consists of the construction of a lying-in chamber of Devakī and installation therein of her image and that of the infant Kṛṣṇa sucking at her breast. There should also be placed the images of a large number of attendant deities, including that of Śaṅkhī, the goddess presiding over child-birth. Then follows an elaborate course of ceremonial worship and adoration, accompanied by fast and vigil, and enlivened by song, music and dance. On the eleventh fast-day of the bright fortnight of Bhādra is also to be celebrated the Pārīva-parivartana or Kaṣṭi-dīna-Utsava of Viṣṇu, in which the image should be taken, after the manner of the Śayana-Utsava described above, to a tank, laid on the water and made, after due worship, to change its side from left to right. If the next following Dvādaśī day is connected with the asterism Śravaṇā, the Śravaṇa-dvādaśī-vrata is to be undertaken with a bath at the confluence of rivers, and with fasting and worshipping of the Vāmana incarnation of the deity. If one is unable to fast on two such consecutive days, he may fast only on such a Dvādaśī. If this Dvādaśī touches the preceding Ekādaśī, the conjunction forms the Viṣṇu-śṛṅgala-yoga, and fasting on such a day is declared to be highly meritorious.

In the month of Āśvina, on the tenth day of the bright fortnight, one should observe the Vijayotsava festival, which

Rāma is said to have performed under a Śami tree after Hanūmat brought back the message of Sītā. In this ceremony, Rāma is to be worshipped with kingly honour under a Śami tree, which also should receive proper worship.

Vilāsa XVI

This Vilāsa is devoted entirely to the month of Kārttika, which is notable for a series of religious vows and pious observances involving fast, daily bath, continence, worship, vigil, distribution of gifts and festivity.

The rites and ceremonies for this month are dealt with in detail in *Skanda*, *Padma* and other Purāṇas; Gopāla Bhaṭṭa purports to summarise them in this chapter. The general acts of piety, which are obligatory in this month, are daily bath in the river, living on Haṁṣya which should be taken in silence on Palāśa leaves, association with pious men and listening to pious words, gifts of various things (especially of Tila or sesamum), tending the Tulasī shrub, keeping vigils at night by lying on bare ground, and general worship and adoration. One of the special observances is the placing of lights (Dīpa-dāna) inside and outside the temple, on its pinnacle (Śikhara-dīpa), the lights being fed with ghee, sesamum oil or camphor. Lights may also be placed on streets, cross-ways, in water, in the house of Brahmins, under trees, in cow-pens, and on difficult roads through forests or wilderness. Of great efficacy is the posting of lamp on an elevated pole in the air (Ākāśa-dīpa), and the nocturnal illumination with rows of light (Dīpa-mālīkā) on the dark new-moon evening (Amāvasyā) after due worship of Lakṣmī. The vows of Kārttika are to be taken from the eleventh fast day of the bright fortnight of Āśvina. Certain articles of food are to be avoided in this month, of which a list is given (including honey, fish and flesh); one should not use oil or unguent, sleep on others' bed, take others' food or associate with others' women. The special worship of Rādhā and Dāmodara in this month consists of the usual ceremonies,

but a Brahman and his wife should be made to represent the deities and worshipped with garment, ornament and feeding. On this occasion the eight stanzas on Dīmodara (Dīmodarāṣṭaka) from the *Padma-purāṇa* are to be recited. Other pious rites and acts of worship are: bath in the spring or well called Rādhā-kuṇḍa, on the eighth day of the dark fortnight (Kṛṣṇaṣṭamī); offer of light to Yama placed outside one's house on the thirteenth night (Kṛṣṇa-trayodaśī); worship of Dharmarāja or Yama the next day (Kṛṣṇa-caturdaśī); nocturnal illumination (Dīpālī), mentioned above, on the new-moon night (Amāvasyā), and fasting; worship of the Govardhana hill, represented by an artificial hillock of cowdung, on the first day of the bright fortnight (Śuklā Pratipad), accompanied by worship of cows (Go-pūjā), and by their sport (Go-kṛīḍā); worship of the mythical king Bali and his wife Vindhyāvall, represented in a picture, the same evening; worship of Yama, bath in the Yamunā and taking of meals served by one's affectionate sisters the next day (Yama-dvitiyā or Bhrātṛdvitīyā), a well known observance in Bengal; worship of cows on the eighth day of the bright fortnight, called Gopāṣṭamī; and so forth.

One of the important festivals of this month is the Prabodhanī or awakening Viṣṇu from his sleep, on the twelfth day of the bright fortnight, to be conducted in the same manner as the Śayana and Pūrva-parivartana ceremonies of Viṣṇu mentioned above. The image is to be taken to a tank, laid there and roused after due prayer and worship. In the night, it is to be brought back to the temple in a chariot, with song, dance and music, along roads brightened by garlands of light. It is highly meritorious to follow the chariot, look at the deity and sing and dance in the procession. A night-vigil, with worship, is to be observed.

The Cāturmāsyā is to be completed on the same day with proper observances and with the feeding of Brahmins. As parts of the Cāturmāsyā are mentioned various Vratas, such as Krocra, Tri-rātra, Ekāṣṭaropavīsa, Eka-bhakta, Nakta,

Vastra, Aykṣita, Phalāhāra, Pāyasa, Śākāhāra, Taila-tyāga, Gṛta, Dadhi-varjāna, Kṣāra-tyāga, Apūpa, Vṛthi, Dhānya, Lavaṇa and Abhyasājana, most of which, as their names imply, relate to restriction or taking of particular kinds of food, as well as to distribution of particular gifts prescribed by the Śāstras for particular vows.

A Vaiṣṇava, if capable, should observe the vow of Bhīṣma-pañcaka for five days beginning from the Ekādśī, the Dhātṛi-vrata on the full-moon day, and Akṣaya-navamī-vrata on the ninth bright day. If the intercalary month (Mala-mās) occurs, the Vaiṣṇava should offer gold and thirty-three pieces of cake, made with ghee, to a pious Brahman householder.

Vīlāsa XVII

After having dealt with the daily, fortnightly and monthly practices, Gopāla Bhāṣya proposes in this chapter to deal with occasional observances. The subject is mainly Purāścaraṇa (preparatory rite), the rules of which the author purports to derive from the *Krama-dīpikā* which, in his opinion, is the essence of all works on the worship of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa.

The Purāścaraṇa, which is described as unavoidable for the complete attainment of the Mantra (Mantra-siddhi), is a preparatory procedure which consists of five heads of pious acts¹ daily performed, namely, worship of the deity at the three junctures of the day (Traikālīki Pūjā), repetition of the Mantra (Japa), offer of libations (Tarpaṇa), sacrifice with oblations (Homa) and feeding of Brahmana (Brāhmaṇa-bhojana). It is necessary, in the first place, to select a spot suitable and solitary for the purpose of undisturbed and intensive performance. A long list of such places is given: temple, cave, mountain-top, cow-pee, river-bank, Tulasi-grove, one's own house, Agni-śālā, lonely garden, confluence of rivers, the proximity of one's spiritual preceptor, seashore, the foot of an Advaita or Āmalaki tree, or any holy place which

¹ *pañcāṅga-pañcāṅga-siddhyai purāṇa-caitāya siddhiyate.*

leads to purity and concentration of the mind ; but the selection should be made with an eye to the best possible result. Directions are given regarding preparation of the place, the orbit of which should be imagined to extend to two or four miles. Eight pegs, measuring twelve fingers' breadth, made of the wood of some sappy tree (*Kṣīra-vṛkṣa*, a common name for four trees, *Nyagrodha*, *Udumbara*, *Aśvattha* and *Madhuka*), are to be consecrated with the *Astra-mantra* (*phoṣ*) ten times, and fixed on the ground respectively towards the eight quarters by an invocation of the eight *Dik-pālas*. A *Tāntric* circle, in the form of a tortoise (*Kūrma-cakra*), which is described in detail, is to be drawn ; and the worshipper, sitting on the figure which represents the head of the tortoise, should practise repetition of his *Mantra* (*Japa*). During *Purificaraṇa*, light food should be taken, and forbidden food (especially such as cause excitement of the senses) avoided ; all luxury, such as music, unguent or perfume of flowers, as well as association with women, should be strictly discarded. Certain rules of conduct should be observed, such as daily bathing and worship, sleeping on a mat of *Kuśa* grass, restraint of body, mind, speech and act, putting on clean clothes and associating with pious people. In accordance with the result desired (such as success, knowledge, removal of misery or disease), the seat or *Āsana* should consist of the skin of a tiger or deer, cotton, cane, silk or wool. The rosary for counting muttered prayers or spells requires elaborate directions with regard to its material, construction, length, number of constituent beads, and suitability for different kinds of worshippers, as well as its consecration (*Saṃskāra*), method and number of counting for different purposes, rules to be observed and things to be avoided at the time of counting, atonement for deficiencies, and the merit and efficacy of the act. These details need not be summarised here, but certain broad features may be indicated. The beads may be made of conchshell, gold, silver, seed of lotus or night-lily, jewels, pearls, *Rudrākṣa* (berry of

Elaeocarpus Gantirua). Kuda grass, seed of *Putramjiva* (*Putramjiva Roxburghii*). Āmalaki (*Emblie Myrobalan*) or wood of Tulasi; and the number may be 108, 50 or 25. The result is said to differ according to the material or number of beads; and for persons of different castes or of different motives, the different kinds are prescribed. The best and most efficacious for a Vaiṣṇava is the rosary of Tulasi wood. The muttered prayer with the rosary may be loud (*Vācika*), whispered (*Upāśā*) or mental (*Mānasa*), the last mode being the best. There are directions also regarding the number of Japas and the fingers to be employed in different modes. The rosary should be hidden from sight at the time of Japa by a piece of cloth or by the upper garment; and the Japa should be performed in solitude with a contented, covered and clean body and a continent, undisturbed and undivided mind. If any breach of rules occurs, atonement is available by sipping water (*Ācamana*), bathing, repetition of the Viṣṇu-mantra, Yogic breathing exercises (*Prāṇāyama*) or Tāntric Nyāsa. If the Mūla-mantra is muttered with different Tāntric spells (*Bija*), different results are obtained. Thus, if the Kāma-bija (*kṛīm*) is prefixed, the whole world comes under control; with Māyā-bija (*hrīm*), the eight superhuman powers (*Aṣṭaiśvarya*) are attained; and so forth. But all Japa eventually should be conducted in accordance with the particular usage of one's own Saṃpradāya.

The Homa should be performed, in accordance with the rules laid down in the section on *Dikṣā*, with the offer of red lotuses besmeared with honey, ghee and treacle (or simply boiled rice mixed with lumped sugar and ghee). The number of such offers should be one-tenth of that of the muttered prayers or Japas. In case of inability, the Japa may be a substitute for Homa.

Libation of water (*Tarpana*), mixed with flowers and unhusked corn (*Akṣata*) and sanctified with Japa, should then be offered to Kṛṣṇa, the number of such libations being

one-tenth of that of Homa. When this is done, the worshipper should sprinkle handfuls of water on his own head, the number of such sprinklings being one-tenth of that of libations.

The feeding of Brahmans (Brāhmaṇa-bhojana), with offer of Arghya, Pādyā and other requisites of worship, comes next. The Brahmans should be also satisfied with the offer of perfume, garland, garment and suitable fee (Dakṣiṇā). Alms and food should then be distributed to the people deserving charity. Then the spiritual preceptor, the Guru, should be honoured with gifts of cow, land, gold and clothes. The whole ceremony is concluded with the taking of sweet and savoury food with one's relatives and friends.

If any mistake is committed in the Puraścaraṇa, it may be atoned for by Japa and oblation (Namaskriyā), or by the feeding of Brahmans.

There are also shorter modes of Puraścaraṇa, but they are meant for those who are unable to follow the elaborate process described above. The man, who succeeds in attaining the Mantra, is said to receive supernatural powers, as well as joy, beauty and energy. Even such a person should worship Kṛṣṇa thrice daily and mutter the Mantra 108 times.

The chapter concludes with describing the method of preparing a Yantra or amulet with mystical diagrams and Tāntṛic spells, written on a leaf of gold, silver, copper, Bhūrja, silk or finely woven cloth. It is said to have the power to make the wearer very powerful, attractive to women, endowed with occult energies, defiant of all evil spirits; and he can attain emancipation and paradise with great ease!

Vilāsa XVIII

The construction, from diverse materials, of different kinds of images of the various forms of the Bhagavat, as well as their characteristics, defined in the Śāstras, forms the subject-matter of this Vilāsa, in which, as usual, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa

supports his statements by copious quotations from the Purāṇas and from Tāntric and Vaiṣṇava texts.

The account begins with the statement that it is necessary to construct images of the deity, because Vaiṣṇava worship depends on them and derives as much happiness from their sight as from the direct beatific vision. The characteristics of the appearances, as revealed to great devotees and recorded in the Śāstras, should be strictly followed. The main features of the Viṣṇu-image and the measurement of its various limbs are then described in detail, chiefly on the testimony of the *Matsya* and the *Nāradya* Purāṇa. The number of arms of the image may be eight, four or even two; and various weapons and emblems are to be placed accordingly. In the eight-armed image, the Khadga, Gadā, Śara and Padma are to be assigned to the four hands on the right, and Śārtga, Carman (shield), Śaṅkha and Cakra to the four on the left. If it has four hands, Gadā and Padma should be placed on the right and Śaṅkha and Cakra on the left hands. If it represents the two-armed Kṛṣṇa, then Śaṅkha and Cakra (and not Veṇu) may be assigned to the two hands without any discrimination. Below, between the two feet, the image of Pṛthivī (Earth) should be inserted. On the left side of the Viṣṇu-image, there should be Garuḍa and on the right the beautiful Lakṣmī with lotus in her hand; and on the two farther sides there should be Śaṭ and Puṣṭi. On the arch overhead the Vidyādhara and the adoring godlings should be imaged. The Gopāla-image has some variations. It should be dark-coloured (Ghara-syāma), two-headed (Dvi-bhūja), decorated with a chaplet of peacock feathers (Barhīpīṭha), and engaged in playing upon his flute (Veṇu-vādana-tatpara). But the most remarkable omission is that the Kṛṣṇa-image as such, with that of Rādhā, is not described at all by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa.

The height of the image should vary according to the accommodation of the place where it is to be installed. When intended for one's own house, it should not be smaller in size than a joint of the thumb (Aṅguṣṭha-parvan) and bigger

than one Vitasti (12 Angulas or about 9 inches). In a temple, its height should fluctuate between one and sixteen cubits.

After describing in some detail the construction and measurement of various limbs of the images of female deities, the author proceeds to give an account (which takes up a large bulk of this chapter) of the Śāstric features and measurements of particular images representing different forms of the deity, namely, Mahā-varāha, Nṛsiṃha, Trivikrama, Mahā-vaṣṭu, Lokapāla-vaṣṭu, Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, the ten Avatāras (including the Buddha)¹ and nine Vyūhas, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, Hayagrīva, Kapila (with his four pupils, Sumantu, Jalmini, Paila and Vaidampāyana), Vālmiki, Dattatreya (rarely worshipped in Bengal), Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, the eight-handed Trailokyamohana with Lakṣmī and Śaraṇavallī, Puruṣottama, Viṭvarūpa and Jaladāyini. Of the attendant deities, the images of Lakṣmī and Garuḍa are described in detail. As the quotations are lengthy and the treatment is elaborate in its detail, it is not possible to summarise briefly; but there can be no doubt that the chapter is highly interesting to students of mediaeval Vaiṣṇava iconography.

The images may be of four kinds, in accordance with the particular material used in its construction, and they have different degrees or kinds of efficacy from the devotional point of view. They may be painted on a canvas (Citraja), moulded in plaster or earth (Lepya), cast in iron (Pīkaṣa) or carved from wood or stone (Śaṣtrothkṛta). Besides these, mention is made of images made with gold, silver, jewels, brass, copper, flower and saffron.

Detailed directions are given regarding the selection of stone-slab and the ceremonies attendant upon the process of fetching and carving them. Stones possessing special and

1 The Buddha is acknowledged by the *Bhāgavata* list of incarnations and by Jīva Gosvāmī (see above p. 315), but the teachings of the Buddha are ridiculed by the latter.

suspicious characteristics and found in particular places, are to be chosen carefully. Slabs, for instance, which contain salt or acid, or which are found in a town, cemetery, cross-road, ant-hill, waste land or disreputable places, or which are used for other purposes or for the making of the images of other gods, or which have been brought by undesirable persons, are to be avoided ; but those found in holy and desirable places and do not possess such deficiencies are acceptable. Before starting to bring the slabs, the spiritual preceptor, who wants to install the image, should worship Nrisimha, accompany the sculptor to mountains like the Trikūpa or Śrīparvata where the desirable stones are generally found. He should inspect and select an unbroken and one-coloured piece with certain rites in which, among other things, the sacrifice of an animal (Kṛtira-bali) is enjoined. Next morning, he should again perform ceremonial worship of the slab of stone, as well as of the implements of the sculptor, and have it cut out, brought to a hut nearby and given the intended shape. The actual carving comes later, but it should be preceded by proper worship of the stone-slab again. During the carving the sculptor, well versed in the art, should live a life of purity and be extremely careful in his work. Defects in the image, aesthetic or otherwise, which are described in detail, are said to be productive of evil and disaster.

The method of constructing wooden images is almost identical with that of stone-images described above.

In the case of earthen images, equal care is necessary. The preparation of plastic earth is of great importance. It should be procured from a holy and suitable place, and mixed in equal parts with the dust of iron, stone, and nodules of limestone (Karkara, found in Bengal under the name of Kaḍkara). It should then be beaten with a stick of Kaśāya (*Grislea tomentosa*), Khadira (*Acacia Catechu*) or Arjuna (*Terminalia Arjuna*) wood, and stirred up with the resin of Sarja (*Vatica Robusta*) and Śriveṅga (*Pinus Longifolia*), with exudation of Kuṭaja (*Wrightia antidysenterica*) and with

unctuous substances, saffron, milk, dadhi and ghee. This should be done for a month before the preparation is used for the construction of an image.

The *Vilāsa* concludes with a description of the mode of constructing the seat or stand (*Piṭha*) of an image.

Vilāsa XIX

This *Vilāsa* deals with the installation and consecration of images. The rites and ceremonies connected therewith are so elaborate and the various stages of the procedure are treated so lavishly with long quotations from authoritative texts¹ that only a bare summary is possible here. But the interest consists mainly in the details of ceremonial worship, which is undoubtedly interesting to students of mediaeval religious practice of the Vaiṣṇava sects in general, but of which enough has been already said above to give a rough idea.

The account begins with the glorification of the pious deed of installation and consecration of images, but no image of Viṣṇu should be set up without that of his consort Lakṣmī. The account passes on to the rules for determining proper time and place without which no pious deed can be auspiciously accomplished, and to the enumeration of classes of persons who are entitled to perform it. The months of Phālguna, Caitra, Vaiśākha and Jyaiṣṭha are preferable, as well as certain auspicious conjunction of stars and lunar days (*Tithis*) ; but the act should be avoided during the time of the deity's going to sleep from the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Āśāḍha to the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Kārtika. Regarding place of installation, any holy place, riverside, or the bank of a pond are suitable ; but the image should not face the following cardinal and intermediate points of the compass, namely, Agni-kona (south-east), Nairṛta-kona (south-west) and Vāyu-kona (north-west). Undesirable

1 The quotations are chiefly derived from the *Purāṇas* but also from such works as *Viṣṇu-dharma* and *Haradharma-paśāradīra*.

persons, such as a Śaiva, Śaura, Nāgihika (a class of Buddhist), naked mendicant, a hypocrite or an atheist, one who is ugly, impure, diseased, of mixed birth, wicked or hostile to the Śāstras, the son of a widow and of an unmarried or twice-married woman, a bastard, the husband of a Śūdra woman, one whose livelihood is acting, dancing or music, a physician, and so forth, are not privileged for the pious act.

Before the actual work of consecration, Gaṇapati and the sixteen Mātṛkā¹ are to be worshipped, and the Ācārya and the priests honoured after Nāndī- or Vṛddhī-ārādha². There should be present four each of Brahman, Hotṛ and Dvāra-jāpaka (muttering Japa at the door) priests, five Garbha-jāpakas (muttering Japa inside the Maṇḍapa), one Mūrti-dhara (who protects the image) and one Purāṇa-pāṭhaka (who reads the Purāṇas), for uttering Puṣyāha ('happy day') and Svasti (welfare). A shed or pavilion (Maṇḍapa), for which directions are given, is to be constructed, including a Maṇḍapa for bathing the deity (Snāna) and for preliminary purification (Adhivāsa). The latter should have an altar (Grāha-vedi) and four pits (Kupḍa) on its four sides. All the Maṇḍapas should be furnished with arches (Torapa) and awning (Candṛitapa) and decorated with fresh twigs, coloured rags, flowers and festoons, while the floor should be cleaned and be smeared with holy cow-dung. The Yajamāna, with his wife and family, should enter, with the priests, through the western door and place two pitchers, filled with water and a piece of gold and covered with twigs, at each of the four doors, putting it on barley-corn (Yava) strewn on the floor. The flags and other things should then be dedicated and the Dik-pālas worshipped with proper prayers and formulas.

The elaborate ceremony of consecration then commences.

1 The names are: Gaṇarī, Padmā, Śaci, Medhā, Śāvitṛī, Vijayā, Jayā, Devaumatā, Svadhā, Svāhā, Mātṛ, Loka-mātṛ, Dhṛtī, Puṣṭī, Tūṣṭī and Sva-kula-dēvatī (the tutelary deity of one's family).

2 Offering to ancestors on any auspicious occasion.

After consecrating the Maṇḍapa and himself by a series of preliminary Mantras and religious acts, the chief priest (Ācārya) should perform purification of the pitchers (Kalaśādhivāsaṇa) to be used for bathing the image, place the various articles to be offered in worship (Arghya-dravyādi-sthāpana), make the image enter the place of bathing (Snāna-maṇḍapa-praveśa) and bathe it with a prayer to become pure and free from the defects which might have been caused by the artists, as well as with appropriate rites and Mantras. The artists should also be honoured and duly rewarded. Then comes the ceremony of conferring benign (Saumya) sight to eyes of the image (Netrousmilana), of putting collyrium and unguents to the eyes (Netrābhyañjana), of offering Arghya and other requisites of worship (Arghyādyanapa), of invoking auspiciousness (Māṅgalyācaraṇa) by rewarding the priests and Brahmans with gifts, and averting evil (Amaṅgala-nivāraṇa), of specially bathing the image again (Videśataḥ Snāpanam) with Pañcagavya, various herbs, milk, honey, Dadhi, Ghee, earth of various places, and with holy water made fragrant with sandal, flowers and other ingredients, each act being accompanied by its appropriate spells and prayers. The image should then be lifted (Utiṭhāpana) and carried in a suitable conveyance borne by Brahmans to the Adhivāsa-maṇḍapa. It should then be installed (Sthāpana) on a bed of Kula grass, twigs of bamboo and flowers, and covered with fine garment. The priest then performs the purification ceremony (Adhivāsaṇa) of the image by means of Bhūta-suddhi and Nyāsa, inspires it with life (Prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā), and worships it, along with its attendant deities (Aṅga- and Parivāra-devatā), in the manner prescribed in the *Haradīrṅga-pañcarātra*, to which one should refer for particulars. In the Maṇḍapa, the chief priest (Ācārya) should appoint four Brahmans to protect the image, four Hotra, four Rtvija, four Jāpakas and one Sūkta-jāpaka (the Sūkta being the Vedic Puruṣa-sūkta), as well as four sentinels respectively at the four doors. There are special rules for the Japa and recitation

of special Sūktas, Mantras, Stotras, and chapters of sacred texts. Then comes the Homa in which the various priests take part, bathing of the image again with the water contained in the auspicious pitcher of peace (Śānti-ghaṭa) with various rites and prayers. After honouring the Brahmans with precious gifts, the ceremony for the time being is completed, and the night should be passed in vigil and in great festivity with the sounding of conch-shell, auspicious rejoicings, song and music.

Next morning, a pit is to be made in the place where the image is to be housed. The pit should be divided into four parts, respectively called Brāhma, Daiva, Mānuṣa and Pātāka; and after some special stones are laid, different objects like corn, gem, metal, iron, sandal, perfume and so forth should be thrown into the four parts of the pit, with their respective Mantras. On these, a specially constructed slab of stone, which will serve as the seat (Pīṭhikā) of the image, is to be laid. The image, bound by a piece of rope, is to be carried from the Adhivāsa-maṇḍapa with the sound of Svasti, bathed by four women whose husbands are living, and placed on the seat at an auspicious moment with music and offer of flower and perfume. It should be bathed again in Ghee and worshipped. The priest should touch six parts of its body (namely, right and left sides, back, head and two feet) with appropriate Mantras; and, with the recitation of six Vedic Sūktas (reference to which is given), he should place his hand on the head of the image and contemplate the deity, muttering special Japas. The whole procedure is completed by the celebration of Mahāpūjā or great worship, in which Āvāhana, Stūṭhana, Sarpādhāpana etc. are to be performed in the manner described in Villāsa vi, but with different Mantras. The Ācārya, along with the priests and Vaiṣṇavas present on the occasion, should then be honoured by fees (Dakṣiṇā) in the form of gifts of gold, silver, clothes, cows or pieces of land.

Those who are able may continue the festivity and act of worship for one day or several days, the procedure of which is then described by our author. The method and merit of decorating the temple with flags, the process of worship on particular days or occasions, the duties of the priest during ceremonies like *Avabhṛta-snāna*, *Vyākṛti-homa* and *Yajamānā-bhikṣa*, are then dealt with in detail.

All these rules apply to the installation and consecration of immovable images (*Sthira-mūrti*), but moveable images (*Cala-mūrti*), meant for family worship, have their own set of rules. Two methods of installing and consecrating moveable images are now described at length, respectively in accordance with the views of *Bodhāyana* and the *Harayāṣṭra-pañcārtra*. No laying of the seat (*Piṇḍikā*) is, of course, necessary in this case; but the methods are almost similar, if less elaborate, to those described above, and need not be summarised here.

In the mode of installation called *Ekādharma*, no *Kuṇḍa*, *Maṇḍapa* or *Vedī* is necessary. After performing the *Vṛddhi-śrāddha*, the *Yajamāna* is to appoint only one priest who will cook *Caru* (an oblation of rice, barley and pulse boiled with butter and milk), bathe the image with *Pañcagavya* and pure water, and put it on a seat placed in a *Sarvatobhadra-maṇḍala*. This is to be followed by the acts of *Dipa-dāna* (offer of lights), *Cakṣur-uṣṇāna* (conferring of eye-sight), *Homa* (to be performed 108 times), worship of the deity and of attendant deities, feeding of Brahmins and *Dakṣiṇā*. It is meant to be a much simpler and briefer process.

The *Villāsa* concludes with elaborate directions regarding reconsecration or re-installation of the image in case it is displaced by wicked people, desecrated by the touch of undesirable persons, destroyed by fire and flood, defiled by wine or blood, or decayed by age. This process is necessary, because the deity never resides in an image which is thus rendered unfit for its holy habitation.

Vilāsa XX

This Vilāsa is concerned with the rites and duties connected with the construction of temples, the quotations in it being derived chiefly from the Purāṇas (especially the *Matsya*) and the *Mayaśrīpa-pañcarātra*.

The sacred texts declare that it is a work of great piety to construct and dedicate a temple in accordance with the rules laid down in the Śāstras. It may be built with earth, wood, stone, iron, silver, gold or jewels, and each is successively more efficacious from the point of view of bringing religious merit to the builder. It should be commenced in an auspicious hour and constructed in a desirable place. The rainy season, Sunday and Tuesday are not auspicious, nor are the months of Caitra, Jyaiṣṭha, Bhādra, Āśvina and Paṇṇa. Auspicious asterism and lunar day should be selected, the details of which are described. The selection of a place has already been discussed in connexion with the ceremony of installation in Vilāsa xix, but it is added that the new building should not butt upon or disturb, either in height or proximity, an already existing structure. The selected piece of ground should be pleasantly situated, nicely wooded, soft to work, solitary, and auspicious in the various characteristics which are described in the Śāstras ; but it should be cleaned, sanctified by Pañcagavya and other holy substances, divested of the influence of evil spirits by the offer of Māṣa pulse (*Phaseolus Radiatus*), powdered turmeric, fried or parched rice (*Lāja*) mixed with coagulated milk (*Dadhī*) and grains of corn (*Saktu*). The place should be restricted by the planting of eight pegs (*Śakṭu*) in eight directions. An oblation (*Homa*) with Ghee is to be performed, the ground sprinkled and tilled, bones of animals removed and four pieces of brick or stone placed in four directions. Twelve Brahmins are to be fed on the occasion. The plot on which the building is to be erected (*Vāstu-maṇḍala*) undergoes a similar process of being cleaned, levelled, sanctified by Pañcagavya and herbal water, measured with a white thread, and marked out into eighty-one divisions

with a gold pin. Within and outside this enclosure forty-five deities should be duly worshipped. The elaborate ceremony of *Vāstu-pūjā* (worship of the site) now commences, with the offer of a large number of articles (of which a list is given) in different directions to various deities, demons, mythical beings and animals, and with the performance of *Homa* in a pit (*Kuṇḍa*) furnished with three girdles (*Tri-mekhāḥ*). Then the foundations are to be dug with similar rites; and four pieces of stone or brick, of which special and auspicious characteristics are given, are to be carefully laid after proper measurements.

The names and characteristics of various kinds of temple-structures are then given in a long extract quoted from the *Matsya-purāṇa*, while description of different parts of the structure and their measurements are given in a quotation from the *Hayasirga-paścādika*. The characterisations are general and do not enter into technical details; but the names of the different kinds of structures are given as *Meru*, *Mandara*, *Kaśīka*, *Kumbha*, *Sirha*, *Mṛga*, *Vimānacchandaka*, *Śrīvṛkṣa*, *Mṛgādhipa*, *Valabbhicchandaka*, *Vatūla*, *Sarva-bhadraka*, *Gaja*, *Candana*, *Nandī-varḍhana*, *Harṣa*, *Vṛṣa*, *Suparṣa*, *Padmaka*, and *Samodgaka*. Every temple should be furnished with a *Maṇḍapa*, which may be built, according to the *Matsya-purāṇa*, again, in any one of the twenty-seven forms, namely, *Puṣpaka*, *Paṣpa-bhadra*, *Suvṛtta*, *Ampṛkā-nandana*, *Kaudalya*, *Buddhi-saṃhṛta*, *Rājabhadra*, *Jayāvaha*, *Śrīvṛkṣa*, *Vijaya*, *Vāstukṛta*, *Śrutipāhara*, *Yajñabhadra*, *Vitāla*, *Saṃhṛta*, *Satromardana*, *Bhāga-pāṭha*, *Nandana*, *Mānava*, *Mānabhadra*, *Sugṛha*, *Harṣa*, *Karṣikāra*, *Padār-dhaka*, *Sirha*, *Śyāmbhadra*, and *Subhadra*; the main distinction between the different types consisting of the number of constituent pillars which may vary from fourteen to sixty-four. The features of doors and height of the surrounding walls form the next topic. Round the temple, fruit and flower trees of various kinds (including the sacred *Tulasi* shrub) are to be planted and tanks excavated.

Gopāla Bhagga concludes this *Vilāsa* with the remark that the elaborate ceremonial worship described by him in this work is not necessary for those exclusive devotees (*Ekāntin*) who have attained the highest stage of indifference to the world and loving devotion to deity (*Prema-bhakti*), and who can, therefore, dispense with mechanical acts of devotion (*Vaidhī Bhakti*); but the rites and duties are meant for those good householders who have wealth and attachment enough to undertake them to their own advantage. He informs us that some rites and duties, which have been described as *Sadācāras* in the *Śāstras*, have been omitted by him, because there is no earnest demand for them; but whatever has been omitted must be learnt from the *Śāstras* or from one's own Guru.

The rapid survey which we have given of the contents of this extensive work will give some idea of its importance; but in spite of its vast bulk and minute treatment of certain acts of worship, its incompleteness is surprising. Although it purports to be an epitome of *Vaiṣṇava Sadācāra*, it has little to say on social usages, and we have already remarked upon its omission of ordinary *Smṛti* topics.¹ Since the author appears to have great faith in *Varpātrama Dharma* in his general acceptance of the system of caste, in his exaltation of *Brahmans* and depreciation of *Śūdras*, it may be presumed that *Vaiṣṇavas*, in his opinion, are to be governed by ordinary *Smṛti* rules in their social duties and relations, unless one believes that the *Sar-kṛtya-sāra-dīpikā*, which purports to remove this deficiency, is a genuine work of his. As it is, the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* is more a guide-book to *Vaiṣṇava* piety and its modes of worship than a regular work on *Vaiṣṇava Smṛti*. Although it is often said that *Vaiṣṇavism* is entirely unritualistic, this extensive compilation itself will indicate the minute ceremonial requirements of its religious practice. The *Vaidhī Bhakti*, having its root in overt acts of

1 See above p. 449-50.

piety, may imply a comparatively mechanical process of spiritual realization, but it is acknowledged as an important stage for the ordinary devotee, who cannot yet pass beyond outward rule and form to inward meditation. The attitude of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism towards traditional piety and towards established social order is not so radical as one might imagine, and the limitation of caste or sex is still acknowledged in the sphere of ceremonial worship. This conservatism is noteworthy; it could never have proved a solvent to social exclusiveness or caste-rigidity in the history of the faith. In the higher stage of devotion, the offering of love needs no priest nor ritual; for the grace of God is in no man's keeping, nor attainable by anything else but devotional love and self-surrender. But it would not be correct to say that Caitanyaism sought to remove religion entirely from carefully guarded ritual or sacerdotal sanction, and throw its privileges to all men and women without discrimination. No doubt, Caitanya himself is reported to have admitted into devotional fellowship low-caste men, as well as Muhammadans; but his biographical records also indicate that he never altogether repudiated traditional piety and traditional social usage.¹

The work undoubtedly reveals its author's erudition in Vaiṣṇava devotional literature in general and in Purāṇic literature in particular, from which sources its endless number of quotations, large or small, is patiently and laboriously compiled. Of the Purāṇas, the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, *Padma*, *Skanda* and *Matsya* supply the largest number of quotations; next to these come, in frequency of quotations, the *Bhaviṣya* and *Bhaviṣyottara*, *Nārada* and *Bṛhannāradya*, *Garuḍa*, *Narasimha*, *Kūrma*, *Brahma*, *Brahma-vaivarta* and *Viṣṇu*. Of Vaiṣṇava and Tāntic texts, the *Hayagrīva-pañcarātra*, *Gautamiya-Tantra*, *Śāradā-tilaka*, *Krama-dīpikā*, *Viṣṇudharma*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* and *Viṣṇu-rahasya* are very largely utilised or quoted. We give an index of quotations in this huge

1 See above pp. 107-9.

compilation, which will give an idea of the sources which are liberally drawn upon¹.

*Agastya-Saṃhitā*² I. 19, 25-26, 48-51, 64-65, 136-137, 150-151, 119, 185, 459, 663-664, 666-668, 670, 671, 849, 855, 863-864, 874, 1154-1156, 1177, 1193, 1202-1703, 1207 : III. 60-64 : IV. 3-4.

Agni-Purāṇa (also called *Āgneya* and *Vahni-Purāṇa*) I. 463-465, 536-537, 546, 583-584, 586, 652-653, 697, 911-912, 1157, 1237-1238 : II. 3, 4, 21, 52-53 : III. 144-145, 209-210, 211, 219, 225, 226 : IV. 22, 51, 414-415, 486.

Āṅgiras I. 297, 890, 1194 : *Ātri* I. 295-296 : *Ātri-Saṃhitā* I. 199, 228, 293, 890, 1401, 1402 : *Ātharva-purāṇa* III. 142 : *Ātharva-Veda* I. 321.

1 For other ritualistic works of minor importance, see above p. 138, footnote. Nothing is known of the *Kṛṣṇa-janma-stūti-vidhi* and the *Kṛṣṇārṇava-dīpikā*, ascribed respectively to Rūpa and Nitya Govāmins : they are not yet recovered or published (see above pp. 154, 158). Information, however, is supplied by Haridas Das of Navadvīpa that a MS of a *Śrīkṛṣṇa-Kṛṣṇārṇava-dīpikā* by Nitya Govāmin is in his possession. It purports to establish with elaborate argumentation and citation of authoritative texts the joint worship of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. There is also a summary of the work, also called *Kṛṣṇārṇava-dīpikā*, in nine Prakāśas, by one Kṛṣṇadāsa, available to him in MS, the date of copying being Śaṃvats 1714 (=1638 A.D.). Another brief anonymous abstract, entitled *Śānti and Kṛṣṇārṇava-dīpikā* is also available in MS, the date of its composition being Śaka 1618 (=1796 A.D.). The original work has no division into Prakāśas, but the subject-matter does not differ from that of the summaries.

2 The index follows the text published in Bengali characters by Rāmanarayan Vidyaratna from the Radhakrishnan Press, Serampore. (The book is printed in four parts, the first part containing Vīṇas I-XI : the second, Vīṇas XII-XIII ; the third, Vīṇas XIV-XVI and the fourth, Vīṇas XVII-XX. These four parts are referred to in this index as I, II, III and IV). See above, p. 137, footnote 1. The verses being irregularly numbered, the references are by pages.—For the preparation of this index we are indebted to our former pupil, Dr. Rajendrachandra Hazra. There is another, and much better printed, edition of the work, also in Bengali characters and with a running Bengali translation, in one volume, by Syamascharan Kaviratna (Gurudas Chatterji) : Calcutta, B. E. 1318=1911-12).

Aṅga I. 511 ; *Aṅgama* I. 33, 39-40, 87, 163-166, 219, 274, 297, 298, 299, 305, 330, 344, 347, 349, 360, 391, 472, 473, 488, 528, 536-537, 602, 646, 666, 669, 693, 706, 714, 733, 774, 793-796, 798, 822, 847-848, 869, 890-891, 906-907, 922-923, 928-929, 1274, 1292 ; II. 30, 110 ; III. 43, 46, 55-56, 77, 392-395, 401-402 ; IV. 6-7, 16-19, 25-27, 29-33, 41-42, 44-45, 53-54, 61, 64.

Avantihāṣṭa I. 833-834.

Āgama I. 41-42, 79, 82-83, 154-155, 267, 316-319, 348, 372, 382-383, 750, 789-790, 807-809, 811-813, 1170-1171, 1178-1179 ; III. 110-114 ; IV. 2-3, 8-9, 21-22.

Āgriṣa-Purāṇa I. 1268-1269 ; *Āditya-Purāṇa* I. 329, 347 ; IV. 418 ; *Ādi-Purāṇa* I. 983-983, 1145, 1187, 1271-1272, 1279-1280 ; *Ādi-Vārha* I. 366-367, 1305-1306 ; *Āpastamba* I. 331.

Īhika-mamuccaya I. 978-982, 1306-1307 ; *Īhikaottama* I. 1233, 1242, 1283, 1285-1286, 1293.

Īk-pariśiṣṭa III. 149 ; *Īgvedyāśvalīyana-Śākhā* III. 141.

Kaṇva II. 3, 83 ; *Kapila paścārtira* I. 503-505.

Kāryāyana I. 214-219, 226 ; II. 138, 178, 183-186 ; III. 15 ; *Kāryāyana-Saṃhitā* I. 1293-1294, 1297 ; *Kāryāyana-Smṛti* II. 10, 16, 22, 25-26, 133.

Kālikā-Purāṇa I. 697, 765, 778 ; II. 14, 104-105, 185.

Kālī-Khaṇḍa I. 157-158, 167, 179-180, 204-209, 212, 217, 224-223, 227, 230-231, 254-255, 313, 318, 319, 669-670, 762, 860, 975-976, 1123-1125, 1193, 1226, 1281-1282, 1400-1401.

Kātyāya-paścārtira II. 29.

Kāṇva-Purāṇa (also called *Kaṇva*) I. 28-30, 171, 205-206, 213-216, 222-223, 227, 229-230, 243, 288, 331, 648, 714, 881-882, 885-886, 889-890, 892, 897, 908-909, 919-922, 1159, 1184-1185, 1212-1213, 1232, 1399-1400 ; II. 11, 14, 27, 59, 71-74, 76-77, 95, 102, 107, 120-121, 127-128, 181-182 ; III. 45-46, 371, 372.

Kṛṣṇadevīcārya III. 219 ; *Kṛcī* IV. 55-56, 59 ; *Kaṇva* II. 92.

Kṛmāḍipāṭhā I. 15-16, 28, 71, 78, 353, 397-398, 405-406, 519-520, 723 ; IV. 5.

Kṛcī I. 83, 85, 86, 380, 463, 470, 471, 1171 ; II. 187, 188 ; III. 239 ; IV. 5-6, 10, 11, 12, 22, 34.

Garuḍa-Purāṇa (also called *Gāruda* and *Saṃpārṇa*) I. 47, 169, 181, 186, 241, 294-295, 316-318, 319, 320, 336, 339-341, 489, 502, 546, 581, 583, 585, 588-590, 592, 612-614, 656, 657-658, 669-671,

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Anonymous quotations I. 99-104, 106, 110-111, 118, 150, 188, 225, 248, 249, 283-286, 292, 304, 312, 331, 357, 381, 401, 408, 493, 515, 533, 593, 637, 649-650, 657, 682, 746-747, 760, 761, 768, 800, 811, 823, 833-834, 880, 885, 887-888, 896, 915, 1120, 1151, 1278, 1292 ; II. 19, 117-118, 131-132 ; III. 38, 53, 79, 172-173, 283 ; IV. 9-10, 58, 63-67, 70, 202-203, 381.

2. THE SAT-KRIYĀ-SĀRA-DĪPIKĀ

It is extremely doubtful if the *Sat-kriyā-sāra-dīpikā*¹, ascribed to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, can be regarded as a genuine work of our author². It is never mentioned as such, nor quoted, in the standard works of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. Although manuscripts are available (which fact precludes the presumption of its being an entirely modern fabrication), it had been practically unknown before it was printed in modern times. The opening passages, no doubt, mention Gopāla Bhaṭṭa as the author, and pay homage to Caitanya, but there is no account of the author (such as we find in the *Hari-bhakti-viḥāsa*) ; and neither its contents nor its general trend and style would support the attribution to our Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. It is a much smaller work, written mostly in prose, with occasional verse or verse-quotations and limited in its scope

1 Published, in Bengali characters, in the Bengali Vaiṣṇava journal *Saṅkṣaṇṭopāṇī* vol. xv-xvii (Calcutta 1906) by Kadar Nath Datta, and reprinted by the Gaudīya Mādhya Māṭha, Calcutta 1935 in Bengali characters.

2 See above, p. 134 footnote.

to the Gṛhya rites. That it is a Bengal Vaiṣṇava work of the Caitanya Saṃpradāya is made probable by the opening passages, but it is by no means clear that it may not have been composed by one of the several Vaiṣṇava Gopāla Bhaṭṭas, apparently of the Bengal school, who are known to us¹. The fact that the work was forgotten shows that, if it were a work of our Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, it never acquired any reputation or popularity. At any rate, the attribution must be corroborated by independent evidence before it can be accepted. But, whatever and however late its authorship may have been, it possesses some importance as a work of the Bengal school, which was meant to supplement the much larger *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa by dealing with the domestic rites and ceremonies, the Gṛhya ritual, which is omitted therein. Although it commences with a preliminary theological discussion on the supremacy of Kṛṣṇa as the exclusive deity, on the superiority of Vaiṣṇava practices and on the inapplicability of Smārta rules to a true Vaiṣṇava, it draws very considerably, as the opening verses also acknowledge, upon previous Smārta writers, especially upon the Bengal Smṛti-Nibandhas of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadēva (whose order and arrangement of topics in the *Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati* it follows) and Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa. This fact is noteworthy as showing that Caitanyaism did not altogether break away from the orthodox Smārta tradition in its social and domestic usages. It would therefore, be interesting to note the peculiarly Vaiṣṇava features of the ceremonies as detailed in this work ; and it would not be out of place to give a brief survey of the work here.

After a salutation to Śrīkṛṣṇa, the author proposes to deal in this work, which is practically divided into two parts, with Vedic (Gṛhya) sacraments or purificatory ceremonies (Samskāras), with a view to preserving the religion of the Bhagavat (*bhagavad-dharma-rakṣārtham*) in its characteristic features.

¹ See above, pp. 144-45.

He refers to Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa, Bhīma Bhaṭṭa, Govindānanda, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, Bhavadēva and the learned Drāviḍa Paṇḍita as authors of Vedic Paddhatis for the use of the Karmīas ; and he adds that he has drawn upon these Paddhatis, as well as upon the Veda, Purāṇa, Dharma-śāstra, Āgama, Yāmala and other sources. We are told that the author has taken sufficient care to avoid the worship of ancestors (Pitṛa) and inferior deities so that no offence with regard to the service and name of the Bhagavat (Sevā- and Nāma-Aparādha) could be committed by the Ekantīn Kṛṣṇa-worshipping householders for whom the work is specially meant. He further adds, as a true Vaiṣṇava should do, that he records his name as the author of this work, not through egotism (Ahaṃkāra), but at the command of the pious men of his own order. No such apology or declaration of modesty, however, occurs in the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*.

At the outset the author offers an explanation as to why the procedure of the different sacraments, described in the body of the work is often non-Smārta, why the Viṣṇu-mantras alone are chosen, why the worship of Viṣṇu only is encouraged in the rites, and why the worship of the Pitṛa (i.e. Śrāddha, etc.) is omitted. On the strength of the testimony of such works as the *Nārāyaṇopaniṣad*, he attempts to establish the supremacy of Kṛṣṇa over Brahmā, Śiva, Mahāviṣṇu (of Vaikunṭha) and Viṣṇu's different incarnations. He takes Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu as identical and shows, by quoting the *Nārāyaṇopaniṣad*, *Mahābhārata*, *Bhāgavata* and other works, that Nārāyaṇa not only comprises the whole universe but transcends it, and that all other gods are born of him at creation, live under his protection and enter into him during Mahāpralaya. Nārāyaṇa is, therefore, the only eternal lord deserving worship even from Brahmā and others. He is identified with Brahman, but he can be realised by those who are initiated into his worship by worthy preceptors (Sad guru). Thus, the initiated Yogīas, desiring Sāyujya, attain Avyaya Viṣṇu ; those desiring Śārūpya attain Parama

Viṣṇu; those desiring Śālokya attain Pada Viṣṇu (i.e., *Vaiṣṇuṭha*); and those desiring Śāṃnidhya attain Para Viṣṇu (i.e. the state of his Attendants).

According to the author, the practice of the Bhagavad-dharma is much superior to the worship of inferior gods and ancestors and to the performance of all acts indispensable (*Nitya*), occasional (*Naimittika*) and optional (*Kāmya*), so much so that the methods followed in the Bhagavad-dharma of performing the Vedic rites is much superior to those followed by the *Karmīna*. Thus, in case of committing one or more of the sins (*Pātakas*), the exclusive devotees of Kṛṣṇa (or Viṣṇu) are bound, not by the *Smārta* rules of expiation, but by the *Sātvata* practice which requires that the sinner should be re-initiated, with five purificatory rites (*Saṃskāras*), to the Mantra of the Bhagavat by his preceptor, or the preceptor's wife, or his son, or any of his disciples who is a class-mate of the sinner; and thus purified, he should worship Viṣṇu and perform *Vaiṣṇava* festivities (*Mahottavas*).

On the strength of quotations made from various *Purāṇas* and *Vaiṣṇava* texts, the author shows that neither the *Vedas* nor the *Dharma Śāstras*, *Āgamas*, *Purāṇas*, *Smṛtis* and local customs prescribe the worship of ancestors and inferior gods for the exclusive devotees of Kṛṣṇa, because of their liability to *Sevā-* and *Nāma-Aparādhas*. Though from very birth men have their duties to gods, ancestors, sages, men and animals, the pure and selfless devotees of Kṛṣṇa are not bound by these obligations, because service to Kṛṣṇa is superior to all other acts. Moreover, even by duly and meticulously performing their duties to gods and others, men cannot escape rebirths, but attain, for a certain definite period, the respective divine regions from which return is inevitable. Hence the devotees of Kṛṣṇa should serve their fathers when living, and after the latter's death, should offer only *Mahāprasāda* and *Pāṇodaka* to the deceased ancestors, as well as food and drink, procured easily, to all men, especially to the *Vaiṣṇavas*. This explains why it is not necessary for the *Vaiṣṇava* to

observe the Smārta rites of śrāddha, although the *Haribhakti-viśāsa* does not altogether prohibit regular offerings and libations to Yama and the Pitṛs, including Nāndi-śrāddha.

By quoting the *Bṛhad-viṣṇu-purāṇa*, *Śruti*, *Devī-purāṇa*, *Rudra-yāmala* and other texts, the author shows that the Karmīna, who lay special stress on ritualistic acts, are required, for the perfection of their rites, to worship individually on all occasions all the innumerable gods and ancestors and to honour separately one's own friends and relatives. This is a task which is practically impossible; and if any one of these gods, ancestors or relatives is left out or is not duly worshipped, the whole function becomes defective and fruitless. Hence, every one, whether an exclusive devotee of Kṛṣṇa or not, must worship only Hari (i.e. Kṛṣṇa), who is lord of all and who can liberate his devotees from rebirths and thus fulfil their desires. This supreme deity alone deserves absolute devotion, which requires that one must not worship, praise or censure any other god, even mentally, through ignorance or mistake, nor partake of the food offered to such gods or seek the company of their worshippers. Not to speak of the initiated Vaiṣṇavas, even those who are outside the pale of Vaiṣṇavism are said to be guilty of great offence (*Mahāparidhā*) by worshipping gods other than Viṣṇu! The author further shows by a series of quotations that the worship of Nārāyaṇa (i.e. Kṛṣṇa) is equivalent to, and even greater than, the worship of all other gods in the universe and to the performance of all the acts prescribed by the Śāstras. By giving up all other activity prescribed by his caste, station or stage of life, a whole-hearted worshipper of Kṛṣṇa, therefore, does not incur sin thereby but attains liberation.

In connection with the requirement that the devotees of Kṛṣṇa should invariably follow the Sat, the author brings out the different meaning of this word by quoting the

Bhagavad-gītā according to which it is employed, in his opinion, to mean (i) *Sad-bhāva*, (ii) *Sādho-bhāva*, (iii) *Prakṛta Karman* and (iv) invariable practice of all acts concerning *Yajña*, *Tapas* and *Dāna*. He further explains these different meanings, and shows that they refer either to Kṛṣṇa himself, his different forms and incarnations, his abode (*Vṛndāvana*), his devotees, and the preceptors who initiate people into his Mantra or into all literature dealing with the *Bhagavad-dharma*, to all acts and services meant for him or for his devotees, and to all feasts and festivals arranged in his honour. The author, therefore, concludes that all devotees of Kṛṣṇa must worship Kṛṣṇa alone on all occasions.

In explaining a verse from the *Skanda-purāṇa*, which extols the devotees of Viṣṇu as the best of the best (*Sarvot-tamottama*) irrespective of their caste, the author enumerates eleven classes of *Sūdras* and twelve qualities of Brahmins, and maintains the comparative superiority of the consecutively higher castes! Of the different stages of life, he explains *Saṁnyāsa* as the renunciation of all acts, whether obligatory, occasional or optional (*Nitya-naimittika-kāmya-karmādi-nyāsa*).

Thus explaining the special features of the *Vaiṣṇava* rites, the author next proceeds to deal with the methods of performing the different *Saṁskāras* which are, as found in his work, fourteen in number, namely, *Vivāha*, *Garbhādhāna*, *Puṣpa-vāsa*, *Śrāntonnayana*, *Śoṇyanti-homa*, *Jātakarma*, *Nikrī-maṇa*, *Nāma-karaṇa*, *Paupūjā-karma*, *Anaḥ-prāśaṇa*, *Mūrdhābhighrāṇa*, *Cūḍā-karaṇa*, *Upanayana* and *Samāvartana*.

The performance of all the Sacraments should be preceded by an auspicious ceremony (*Māṅgalācaraṇa*), which requires the construction of a square altar of particular dimensions with a canopy on it. This is followed by salutation to the *Bhagavat* and uttering of his different names, citation of auspicious Vedic and Upaniṣadic Mantras glorifying Viṣṇu.

Svasti-vācana with the citation of verses from the *Upaniṣad*, *Tantra* etc., and *Mahāgala-vācana* by citing verses from the *Purāṇas*, *Gītā*, *Tantra* etc.

The details of the *Vivāha* or marriage ceremony, which occupy much larger space than those of other rites, consist mainly of *Adhivāsa* (preliminary ceremony of purification), *Vāsudeva-pūjā* (worship of *Vāsudeva*) and *Vivāha-karmaṇ* (actual marriage).

In the *Adhivāsa*, which should be performed either at dusk on the previous day or in the morning on the day fixed for marriage, the twenty-six requisites (e.g. earth, scent, stone, paddy, vermilion, conch-shell, thread, etc.) should first be used, with the citation of relevant Vedic Mantras, to consecrate *Viṣṇu*; and then the bridegroom and the bride are to be touched with them separately and collectively. The use of the thread has the peculiarity that a *Vaiṣṇava* Brahman, should tie a piece of it ninefold round the wrist of the bridegroom; and a *Vaiṣṇava* woman, whose husband is living, should do the same with respect to the bride. The bridegroom and the bride should be adored with the waving of four, five or seven lamps; no *Nāṇḍī-śrāddha* should be performed, if *Nāmāparādhā* is to be avoided; but for the satisfaction of the ancestors, *Mahāprasāda* should be offered to them, and the series of spiritual preceptors (*Pūrva-gurus*) should be worshipped; gifts should be made; and *Cedi rāja*, a great devotee of the *Bhagavat*, should be worshipped after drawing with Ghee five or seven lines (*Vastu-dhārā*) on the wall.

On the day of marriage, the duly initiated bridegroom—to whatever caste (*Varṇa*) he may belong—should bathe in the morning, perform his daily duties, and worship *Viṣṇu* in a *Śālagrāma* stone with relevant Vedic or Tantric Mantras. He should carefully avoid the worship of the five *Smārta* deities (*Pañcopāsana*, namely, *Gaṇeśa*, *Śiva*, *Durgā*, *Sūrya* and *Viṣṇu*), the nine planets, the *Lokapālas* and the sixteen *Mātṛkās*; but he should, in their stead, worship the five *Mahābhāgavatas* (namely *Vijayakṣena*, *Sanaka* and others).

the nine Yogīndras (namely, Kavi, Havi, Antaṭkṣa etc.), the best Bhāgavatas (namely, Brahmā, Śukadeva, Sādāśiva, Garuḍa, Nārada and others) and the Vaiṣṇavis (namely, Paurṇamīś, Lakṣmī, Antaraṅgā, Gaṅgā and others). If he is a worshipper of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa or of any of the incarnations of Viṣṇu, the attendant deities should be chosen for worship accordingly.

The actual marriage-rite consists of Jāṭi-karman, Saṃpradāna, Kuṣaṇḍikā, Pāṇi-grahaṇa, Uttara-vivāha, Bhojanādi-Dhṛti-homa, Caturthi-homa and Udāya karman.

In the Jāṭi-karman, the bride's kinwomen should bathe her first with relevant Mantras and with water containing a leaf on which the name of the groom is written. Next comes the Saṃpradāna (ceremony of giving away of the bride) in which the presence of a cow is necessary : the giver (Saṃpradāy) of the bride is to honour the bridegroom with Pādya, Arghya, etc., offered with the citation of relevant Mantras ; the groom is to place the right palm of the bride on that of his own ; a lucky woman, whose husband and sons are living, should tie their palms with a cord of Kuṣa grass ; and the giver should give away the bride and offer a fee (Dakṣiṇā) with the citation of Mantras containing the names of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. After duly accepting the bride and the fee, the bridegroom should repeat the Vaiṣṇavi Gāyatrī and think of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, or of his own deity (īśadeva), or of the different forms of Viṣṇu. The dowry should then be handed over to the bridegroom ; the ends of the garments of the bride and the bridegroom should be tied (Granthi-bandhana) ; the cow should be let loose by a barber ; the giver should cite Mantras for the perfection of the ceremony, and bow down to Viṣṇu, the Guru (preceptor) and others for their favour.

The Saṃpradāna is to be followed by the ritual of Kuṣaṇḍikā (consecration of the sacred fire), which should be performed by the bridegroom in the nuptial fire, specially named Yojaka (one who yokes or joins together). The main operations in the ceremony are the following : (1) Drawing

of five lines of five colours (yellow, red, black, golden and white) on a specially constructed altar and identifying them mentally with the *Vaiṣṇava*, namely, Earth, Cow, Kāliṇḍī, Śrī and Sarnavall; (ii) Removal of rubbish (*Utkara-nirāsana*); (iii) Sprinkling the lines with water (*Rekhābhyaṅga*); (iv) Preparation of the fire (*Agni-saṃskāra*); (v) Placing of the fire (*Agni-sthāpana*) on the black line and invoking it as the *Yojaka* fire with relevant Mantras; (vi) Seating a *Vaiṣṇava* Brahman or a Brahman made of Kula on a seat of Kula grass and worshipping him as *Brahmā* (*Brahma-sthāpana*); (vii) Muttering of the Mantra *Oṃ paramaṃśī viṣṇuḥ* etc. after placing the palms of the hand on the ground (*Bhūmi-japa*); (viii) Propitiating the fire for its favour (*Agni-saṃmukhi-karṇa*); (ix) Purification of straw etc. (*Tṛpādi-śodhana*); (x) Drawing of the *Svastika* sign on the Kula grass spread threefold (*Svastika-nivedana*); (xi) Performance of *Homa* with twenty pieces of *Khadira*, or *Palāśa* or *Udumbara* wood (*Viprat-kāṅghrikā-homa*); (xii) Purification of Ghee for *Homa* (*Ājya-saṃskāra*); (xiii) Purification of the ladle (*Sruva-saṃskāra*); (xiv) Pouring of water round the fire (*Udakaḍjali-seka*); (xv) Muttering, with the left palm of the hand placed on the right, of the Mantra *Oṃ praśāntaḥ* etc. containing a prayer to *Virūpākṣa*, a devotee of the *Bhagavat* (*Virūpākṣa-japa*).

The *Kulaṇḍikā* is to be followed by *Pīṭi-grahaṇa* (the ceremony of hand-taking) in which two of the bridegroom's friends, one with a pitcher full of water and the other with a stick (*Parcanikā*), should stand prepared for bathing the bride and the bridegroom. After performing *Mahāvyaḥṛti-homa* and *Ājya-homa*, the bridegroom should take the bride by her joined palms and make her step on a flat slab of stone furnished with another smaller piece (*Saputrā Śilā*). The bride should then offer to fire oblations of parched grain mixed with Ghee, and be taken round the fire by the bridegroom, who should then make oblations with Ghee and parched grain placed on a winnowing basket (*Śārpa*). The

bridegroom should go seven steps with the bride (Sāpta-pādīna), each time placing their steps in a circle drawn beforehand ; and, with the palms of the bride in those of his own he should cite Vedic Mantras. The bride should then take her seat on the left of the bridegroom, and the latter should perform their first Grhya Homa.

Next comes Uttara-vivāha, which is always to be performed at nightfall. It consists of the performance of Homa by the bridegroom, his pointing out the Dhruva (Pole Star) and Arundhati to the bride, the bride's salutation to the bridegroom by mentioning her father's Gotra, and so on.

In the Bhojanādi-Dhṛti-homa the bridegroom should take Mahāprasāda, give the remnants to the bride, take her home on the following day, perform Homa in the fire which is called Dhṛti, and make the bride salute the elderly relatives.

In the Caturthi homa, which is to be performed on the fourth day of marriage, the Homa is to be performed in fire, named Śikhin, and the newly married couple is to be bathed on the north of the fire by women who have sons and husbands.

The Udīcya-karma consists of the performance of a few Homas, namely, Mahāvyaśṛti-homa, Prītyācīta-homa, Vaiṣṇava-homa (the Vaiṣṇavas being Viśvakṣena and four others, the nine Yogīndras, Nārada and nine others, Svāyambhava and others, Śaṅkṛṣṇa-caitanya,¹ Paṇḍurāmā and the other beloved Gopis of Kṛṣṇa, and so forth), Darbha-juṣṭikā-homa and Pūrṇa-homa. All these Homas are to be performed in the fire named Vidhu, and they are to be followed by Śānti-dāna, offer of Dakṣiṇā, recital of Mantras for the removal of impediments and perfection of the rite, Saṅkīrtana of Kṛṣṇa's name and other ceremonies.

In Garbhādhāna (ceremony of impregnation), which comes after marriage, the husband should perform his daily duties after taking a bath in the morning, worship Viṣṇu (or

¹ In no ritual mentioned in the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, the name of Caitanya occurs.

Nārāyaṇa) and the Vaiṣṇava both in the morning and after dusk ; and in proper time he should approach his wife after putting on fine clothes and using flowers and perfumes.

The Pūṣṭavāna (ceremony for obtaining a male child) is generally performed on an auspicious day at the beginning of the third month of gestation and before the period of quickening. In it the husband and the wife are to bathe in the morning, and the former is to worship Viṣṇu and the series of preceptors (the worship of the preceptors being called Sāttvika-ṛddhi-śrāddha), perform Kūṣṭhikā in a fire named Candra, perform Mahāvyaṛti-homa, Sātyāyana-homa etc. with his wife on his right side, and offer fee (Dakṣiṇā) to the Pañcarātra priest.

Though most of the remaining sacraments have many rites in common with Pūṣṭavāna (namely, morning bath, worship of Viṣṇu, performance of Sāttvika-ṛddhi-śrāddha, Vyāṛti-homa, Sātyāyana-homa etc., ending with offer of Dakṣiṇā to the Pañcarātra priest), there are some special characteristics which deserve notice. These may be given below.

The Sīmāntonnayana (ceremony of the parting of the bride's hair) is to be performed on the fourth, sixth or eighth month of first pregnancy ; and it must be preceded by Garbhādhāna and Pūṣṭavāna ceremonies if these two have not been performed in proper time. In it the fire, named Maṅgala, is to be used, and the husband is to tie to the neck of the wife two figs having a common stalk, the footprints of Vāmadeva, barley-grains made of gold or any other metal according to the prevailing custom, and Nimba, mustard etc. for protection. He should also perform Sīmāntonnayana (parting of hair) of the wife with two blades of Kusa grass (Darbhā-piṭṭhā), an arrow (Bāṇa), a spindle (Tarku) or the quill of a porcupine (Sālāṇ). Towards the end of the rite, women, who have husbands and sons, should bathe the bridegroom and the bride, and the latter should eat a dish of spiced rice and peas (Kṛtara).

In the Śoṣyanti-homa, which is meant for easy delivery, the fire used is named Maṅgala : and in performing Homa, the coming child is to be given a name signifying that he is a servant of Viṣṇu (Viṣṇu-dāsa).

In the Jāta-karman (birth-ceremony), which does not require the performance of Sātvika-vṛddhi-dārdḍha, Kuśaṇḍikā and Homas, the father of the child is to salute and eulogise the preceptors (Śrī-gurū) before worshipping Viṣṇu. Next, he should besmear the tongue of the child, first with the powder of rice and barley prepared by a Brahmacārin, a virgin girl, a pregnant woman or a Pañcarātra Vaiṣṇava versed in the Vedas, and then with Ghee mixed with gold. He should then purify himself by a bath.

The Nīkrīmaṇa (ceremony of taking the child for the first time out of the house) should be performed on the third lunar day of the third bright fortnight after the birth of the child. It has this peculiarity that the parents should take the child to the temple of the Bhagavat and show it the image of the deity.

The Nāma-karṇa (ceremony of naming a child after birth) should be performed, according to custom (Ācāra) on the 12th or 101st day or on the first anniversary of birth, though the Gṛhya rules require otherwise. In it the fire used is named Pārthiva and the child's name is to end in the word 'dāsa' (servant).

The Paṇṭika-karman (ceremony for growth or welfare) is to be performed on the Janma-tithi or Pūrṇimā-tithi of every month during the first year of the birth of the child, and it requires a fire named Balada for the performance of Homas.

In the Anna-prāśana (ceremony of putting rice for the first time into the child's mouth), which should be performed on the sixth or eighth month in the case of a son and on the fifth or seventh month in the case of a daughter, the Homas should be performed in a fire named Śuci, and the child should be fed five times with the food dedicated to the deity (Mahā-praśādāna).

The Putra-mūrdhābhigraha (ceremony of bringing the

nose close to the son's head in caressing or as a token of affection) should be performed at a time when the child is capable of knowing the father as its father, or when the father returns after long absence from home. It may also be performed after Upanayana.

The *Cikā-karṣa* (ceremony of tonsure) is to be performed in the first, third or fifth year according to the custom of the family. The fire required in it is named *Satya*. It includes the ceremonies of fetching a barber, looking at a glass, tonsuring with a razor, placing the hair on cow-dung and throwing the whole in a forest or fastening it to the branch of a bamboo, and lastly, the ceremony of piercing the ear to receive ear-rings (*Karṣa-vedhana*).

The ceremony of Upanayana (initiation of the boy into study, as one of the twice-born classes, by investiture with the sacred thread), which is to be performed on the 8th year from the day of impregnation or birth of the child, has been described by the author at length; but it has very few noteworthy peculiarities. In it, the fire required is named *Samudbhava*, and the father or any other person appointed by him or by the boy may serve as the preceptor (*Ācārya*).

Besides *Vṛqṣa*-worship and the performance of *Sāttvika-vyddhi-śrāddha* and *Homa* in a fire named *Tejas*, the *Samāvartana* (ceremony performed on the completion of study, when the student returns home from his teacher's house) includes the following operations: (i) pouring by the student of water on the ground from the palm of his hands; (ii) sprinkling himself with water taken in his palms; (iii) looking at the image of *Nārāyaṇa*; (iv) throwing of the staff into the fire; (v) throwing away of the girdle; (vi) putting on new clothes and ornaments after shaving and bathing; (vii) wearing shoes and holding a long staff; and (viii) starting home on a cart after satisfying the teacher with fees.

It is noteworthy that some of the sacraments are called *Sāmavedīya*, and in almost all of them the *Tāntṛic*, as well as *Vedic*, Mantras have been used profusely.

3. ETHICS OF BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM

No account of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava faith would be complete without some idea of its ethical outlook on life. But there are difficulties in the way of a critical examination of the subject. There is nowhere in the authoritative works of the Bengal school a systematic exposition of its ethical position, although moral rules are inculcated and aberrations condemned. As we find it in the general history of Indian thought, ethics is not a subject of independent speculation ; and ethical principles, which underlie theory and practice, are expressed, in the main, only incidentally in connexion with religious and theological exposition. Morality is regarded as necessarily religious and religion as necessarily moral, so that the bearings of religious doctrine on moral life never receive independent or adequate treatment. Since ethics, in this theistic system, is regarded as a divinely inspired institution, the question of right or wrong does not seriously arise ; for it is solved in the terms of the postulate. The ethical and the devotional are inseparable ; right is right because it is divine, there is no further need for a search of its basis or sanction. This peculiar merging of religion and ethics is a feature which Bengal Vaiṣṇavism shares with the general trend of Indian religious thought ; but it renders difficult the disentangling of the strands of ethical and religious speculation.

The difficulty is increased by the fact that Bengal Vaiṣṇavism inherits and blends into its texture much of the recognised ethical and social ideas of larger Indian thought. Although evolved within the fold of orthodoxy, the Bengal faith is not strictly orthodox ; but it is not heterodox in the sense that it rejects the Veda or ignores the institution of caste or Karma. If it does not accept Vedic rites and deities, it is because they have long since been replaced by those of Purāṇic worship and mythology. But it still accepts the social prestige and divinely appointed duties of caste, although its rigidity is tempered, at least in devotional matters, by a growing sense of equality and fellowship and

by a belief in the levelling grace of divine mercy. The doctrine of Karma and rebirth also mitigates the sense of injustice in human relations ; for it is no longer regarded as a blind and mechanical dogma, but as an intrinsically ethical idea of a cosmic, but divinely directed, power of righteousness, devotion alone being regarded, theistically, as supremely capable of nullifying the inexorable fruits of action.

Although emotional and ecstatic devotion and worship are exalted over everything else in human endeavour, the necessity of morality in religious life is not denied, both for its preparation and continuance. There is, therefore, a great deal of positive moral precepts. The universally accepted principles of right living and the lauded virtues are admitted without question, and long-recognised errors of conduct are deprecated. We have a fairly long list of such cardinal virtues as alms-giving, hospitality, reverence for parents and elders, gratitude, faithfulness, service, humility, kindness, non-injury, liberality, beneficence shown in public works for general good, cultivation of gentle and amiable qualities, practice of self-restraint and frugality, truthfulness, tranquillity, contentment, uprightness, resolution, purity of body and mind, and so forth. On the other hand, one should avoid the six forms of passion (anger, lust, delusion, greed, arrogance and jealousy), theft, gambling, drunkenness, murder, violence, adultery, as well as negations of the virtues mentioned above. In a well known passage *Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja* briefly indicates (*Madhya xii*) the qualities of a true *Vaiṣṇava* thus¹ : "These excellences are the signs of a *Vaiṣṇava* : they are indicated only, as they cannot be exhausted : compassionate, free from

- १ एहं सर्वं सुखं ह्यहं वैष्णवसङ्गच्छ । सर्वं यद्वा नास्ति नहि विष्णुसत्तम ॥
 कृपायुः सत्त्वमोहं मलसंसारं सर्वं । निर्वोदं यद्वायं यदु सुखं यद्विजयं ॥
 सर्वोपकारं स्यात्तु कृष्णोपकारं । अस्वयं विरीहं विर विविचयं सुखं ॥
 विदुषुः यद्वयं यद्वयं यद्वयं । यद्वयं यद्वयं यद्वयं यद्वयं यद्वयं ॥

For the characteristics of a *Vaiṣṇava*, see also *Gopāla Bhāṭṭa's Hari-bhakti-viśāya*, 2, summarised above p. 480-81.

spite, being of the essence of truth, equable, faultless, generous, gentle, pure, possessing nothing, doing good to all, tranquil, wholly surrendered to Kṛpā, desireless, harmless, steadfast, victorious over the six passions, eating sparingly, never unbalanced, honouring others, not desiring honour for himself, grave, tender, friendly, poetic, skillful and silent." The inspiration of the ideal is clearly the life of Caitanya as idealised by his followers. There is also a well known Sanskrit verse¹, attributed to Caitanya himself, which briefly summarises the outstanding moral excellences of a Vaiṣṇava by stating that a true devotee should be more humble than a blade of grass, forbearing like a tree, not caring for honour himself but rendering honour where honour is due. All this, no doubt, implies an exalted moral ideal and must have helped to promote some of the traditional, but great, virtues of the human mind. It is recognised that moral training is an essential requisite for purifying oneself in order to attain the supreme being, who is presupposed to possess all moral excellences and to be absolutely pure and free from moral defects. It is believed that, however imperfect, man is essentially divine, and can, by divine grace, as well as by his own exertions, mental and moral, enter into communion with the divine being. The faith is, therefore, not inconsistent with an elaborate ritualism of worship, in so far as ritualism tends to the discipline and purification of the mind and body, and becomes a step to the attainment of a higher devotional attitude which discards outward form and ceremony.

All this is in accord with the general trend of traditional piety and morality, but the theistic system brings in peculiar modifications. Morality, in this system, is recognised only as a means, and not as an end in itself. It is, therefore, not imperative nor indispensable, at least in a stage in which one attains the spirit of true devotion, necessarily involving a

1 *ṛpaḥ api samikṣya taror iva sahispandī/
amānāśa mādāśa kīrtanīyaḥ sadā harīḥ* //

moral attitude ; what is indispensable is divine grace, which no amount of morality or immorality can supersede. It is maintained that the fully emancipated cannot but be moral ; even at a lower stage, one may dispense with morality if one is blessed with divine grace, which instantaneously brings salvation. If sin is a stain and morality is a process of cleansing, the attainment of divine grace (*Prasāda*) by self-surrender (*Prapatti*) is a much quicker process and does not necessarily presuppose moral training or purification. It should be noted in this connexion that sin being regarded as the effect of divine *Māyā*, human responsibility is reduced to the minimum ; it is merely a fetter or an obscuration which the motiveless divine grace alone can remove in order to manifest itself in its blissful omnipotence ; human sinfulness, therefore, is hardly an ethical problem. It follows that religious deeds *per se* are more important and more potent than moral acts. This point will become clear if we consider, for instance, one of the fundamental dogmas of the Bengal school, namely, the power of the blessed name¹. A profession of faith by a mere mention of the divine name is enough to efface all sins, somewhat in the manner of Christian death-bed absolution, even though the person affected is indifferent to morality. It is true that mere mechanical performance of ritual and observance of outward forms of morality, though acknowledged as necessary at a certain stage and up to a limit, are never taken to possess the highest efficacy, exclusive stress being laid on inward realisation of the deity in the individual consciousness ; but it is also clear that the idea of divine grace ousts, if it does not negate, the moral idea or the categorically imperative necessity of morality. In a religious system, which believes in an all-exclusive and essentially emotional devotion to the absolute power of a personal god, it cannot be otherwise. Moral earnestness, like intellectual conviction, can never have its proper place in a religious attitude of emotional

1 See above p. 289.

excess. The moral results of the devotional attitude are taken for granted, but morality is not the primary interest. It is believed that by his ecstatic devotion a man can rise above all activity and all moral obligation. All ethics becomes lost in religious rapture, and no act, except devotional act, counts.

It may be conceded that the Bengal Vaiṣṇava faith firmly believes that happiness, in the sense of earthly enjoyment, can never be the end of life, but that self-realisation, in the form of devotional joy, is alone the *summum bonum*. Not mere Vaidhī Bhakti, which derives its authority from Śāstric injunction and can therefore be transcended, but Premabhakti, which arises spontaneously through man's surrender and God's grace, is the exclusive object of all human activity. It may be urged that all this necessarily implies an ethical attitude, for service to divinity is as much a moral as a religious necessity. But it should not be forgotten that self-realisation, as well as happiness, is understood by Caitanyaism in a peculiar sense. It is not meant to constitute the foundation of a higher or larger ethical life, but to imply an exaltation of purely individual religious emotion as the entire goal of human existence. The highest mode of spiritual emotion undoubtedly implies purity and intensity of faith, but the Premabhakti resolves itself into a form of religious sentimentality, a continuous frenzy of divine madness (*Divyomāda*), an all-engrossing mystic state of yearning, trance, rapture and vision, which may remain morally pure but ethically insufficient. This emotional, even sensuous, realisation may be harmless and beautiful in its mystic form, but it is entirely individual and self-centred; and being extremely personal in ardour and concrete in expression, it tends naturally towards a devout orgy of ecstatic excess. It is not an escape from the bondage of the senses because it lands one in another kind of refined sensuousness.

For, in this attitude of devotional rapture, intellectual satisfaction is not considered essential. It is said to be an escape also from the bondage of Karma, and it takes no

interest in socialised human life. It is described as a kind of mystic intuition, not of the nature of Upaniṣadic Jñāna or Yoga, but derived essentially from detached emotional exaltation. Its feelings and ecstasies are all inward; they live in and for themselves. But being unrelated and isolated, they lose virility, and become liable to delirious abandon and consuming excess of passionate sentimentality. Emotion in itself is not to be deprecated; it should take its proper place in every religious system; but, to save it from morbidity, it must be related to will and intellect, to life and reality. There is enough of intellectual subtlety in Caitanyaism, but not much intellectual virility; the fundamental motive to will and fuller living seldom vitalise its capricious and subjective joys of mystic vision. We are not concerned here with the question whether emotional elation is right or wrong in itself, or whether it can become a mystic channel of communion with the divine; but it should be admitted that no full and rounded type of religion can be broad-based on emotionalism alone, inasmuch as it fails to satisfy the entire personality of man.

It is believed that the ultimate source of this devotional attitude of Bhakti is divine grace (Prasāda); but since the human self is said to have affinities with the divine, a limited freedom of will and action is not denied. But the idea of complete surrender (Prapatti) to divine will and grace, to which man is, by his very nature, taken to be predisposed, makes this freedom only nominal or illusory by divesting it of its power of fully asserting itself. Individuality is indeed acknowledged, but individuality is regarded as a limitation which should be transcended, not by intellect, or by will, in which lies the root of all evil, but by emotional susceptibility, which is inborn, but which can operate only through divine grace, incomprehensible (Acintya) in its divine sportiveness (Līlā). The divine grace, again, is not connected with any ethical purpose, or ethical conception of sin, suffering and forgiveness; it is merely an act of divine omnipotence. It is,

therefore, clear that the idea of divine sportiveness (*Lila*) and divine grace (*Prasāda*), as understood by the Bengal school, leaves little room for moral activity, if the term moral is taken in its wider application and not identified with the religious. There is, no doubt, the belief in the ultimate rationality of a well ordered universe, but what is conceivably well ordered need not be morally constituted. From the ethical point of view, such an attitude of devotion is not immoral but unmoral, being essentially negative, except in its relation to the deity. It is not outright passivism, but it fails to furnish the motive for any strenuous social or individual morality. There are indeed frequent admonitions to exert oneself, to overcome evil, to engage in good works; but it is difficult to reconcile ecstasy with activity, the emotional aspiration 'to be' with the volitional effort 'to do', the doctrine of non-resistance and surrender with the exercise of personality, which is not personal, and incentive to worldly activity, which is not worldly. The injunctions to service are indeed not futile, nor in actual practice does the spontaneous spring of human sympathy ever run dry; but the trend of a doctrine of devotional exaltation of emotion, which believes that all activity except religious activity is misery, is towards an unmoral, if not positively immoral, isolation.

But the doctrine is not unmoral in the sense that it predicates an unmoral or attributeless deity. The Bengal theistic faith conceives of its personal god as possessed of divinely human qualities, and fashions its man-like god in the light of human relationships. The *Bhakti*, in this system, is not an austere concentration of the mind on absolute reality, but the loving contemplation of a benign and blissful personal god, who is felt to be remote, but whom the worshipper desires to bring nearer to his feeling than to his understanding. It is also an experience capable of ascending scale of emotions. From this point of view, the mystic feeling resolves itself into a series of exceedingly familiar and authentic sentiments of a human being as a parent, friend, servant or lover. But the

danger of such an attitude is also clear. If the object is the attainment of some kind of intimate relationship, whatever the nature of the relationship may be, it is a matter of great importance how the god is conceived. The problem is not merely religious but also ethical. In other words, the god should be fully ethicised, and not merely placed in a sportive surrounding of merely emotional or sensuous appeal.

It cannot be said that Kṛṣṇa, as conceived by the emotional Bengal faith, is fully ethicised in this sense. The precarious Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend, on which its whole system of devotion is based, is taken not as a symbol but as a reality, not as religious myth but as religious history. A strenuous attempt is, therefore, made to explain and fit in all its details and implications; and theological justification for it is found in the dogma that the Vṛndāvana sports are those of the supreme deity, viewed as the Śaktimat, with his own energies, viewed as the Śakti. But the detailed working out of the Vṛndāvana-*līlā*, both in the theological and poetical works¹ of the sect, clearly shows that it is never taken in the sense of an allegory (which modern thought would delight to find in it) but in a vivid and literal sense. These blissful, but purposeless, sports are supposed to go on eternally; but the deity, who cannot be anything but blissful, is made entirely engrossed in them. It is a delightful devotional fancy, but it is wholly unethical. The slaying of demons in the divine *Līlā* indeed implies the upholding of a moral order, but it is only a diversion, which, we are told², is accomplished not by the deity's self but by the countless Avatāras who appear simultaneously with him. His essential erotic Mādhurya is not to be obscured by such acts of heroic Aidharya. The Kṛṣṇa of Vṛndāvana alone counts; the Kṛṣṇa of Kurukṣetra is deliberately effaced. The heroic acts, in the theory of the school, are justifiable only because they evoke softer sentiments; for instance, they excite parental affection in Nanda and Yaśodā, friendly solicitude

1 See below, ch. vii.

2 See above p. 320.

in Kṛṣṇa's companions, and, above all, erotic feelings in Rīdhā and her Sakhi's¹.

Although the devotional sentiments admit of gradation in the form of the feelings of servitude, friendship or parental affection, there can be no doubt that the erotic alone is canonised by the Bengal sect. The mystic experience of the divine sports is almost entirely governed by the erotic feeling and wholly steeped in it, the other sentiments only touching its fringe. The highest object of religious adoration and worship is conceived and moulded, after the Parīṣic legend, in a frankly erotic cast, and there is nowhere any suggestion of allegory in the circumstantial working out of its minute sensuous details. The glorification of the sex-impulse is supreme. In the gorgeous expansion of the legend, for instance, in the *Kāvya*, *Nāṭka* and *Campū* of the sect, composed by its venerable teachers, there is nothing but a series of erotic situations, described with the evident relish of sensuous enjoyment, and never symbolised into spiritual truths. It is plainly and emphatically the language of the senses, even if one may make a desperate attempt to read a supersensuous meaning into it. The spiritual foundation is too flimsy for its overwhelming excess of palpable eroticism. The cult of the infant and adolescent Kṛṣṇa need not be sweepingly characterised as vulgar² or immoral³, nor need the emotionalism of the Valṣṭava devotee be superficially deprecated as sensual delirium⁴ or serenity induced by exhausted passion⁵; but such strong language of critics

1 This is the interpretation of Vidyānātha Cakravartin in his *Rāga-rasamānandikā* (Prakaraga ii), but it is also implied by the treatment of the legend in Rūpa's dramas and Jiva's *Campū*.

2 E. Washburn Hopkins, *Eskies of India*, Yale University Press, New Haven 1924, p. 700.

3 John McKeachie, *Hindu Eskies*, Oxford University Press, 1922, pp. 177, 178.

4 Barth, *Religious of India*, p. 128.

5 Melville T. Kennedy, *Chaitanya Movement*, Oxford University Press, 1925, p. 126. The phrase is actually used by Hopkins, but Kennedy speaks of "sensuality and lust."

undoubtedly implies, not without reason, that the conception and the attitude, in spite of scriptural or metaphysical justification, possess dangerous possibilities or demoralising tendencies. It may be suggested that it does not matter about the deficiency or questionable character of the means so long as it leads ultimately to the end ; but, granted the spiritual end, can it justify the sensuous means?

It is not always true that religious rapture, however erotically inclined, leads to moral default ; it is also admitted that in a mystic attitude of emotional exaltation, even of the erotic type, the senses and the spirit can meet : but there can be little doubt that eroticism as a devotional principle is perilously liable to religious and moral excess. The erotic apotheosis of the legendary Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in a background of highly sensuous charm is given a mystic, and even an austere, significance ; and however much the mentality of such erotic emotionalists be criticised, the devout saluts of Vaiṣṇavism have been, in actual life, morally irreproachable. Caitanya himself was susceptible to such emotional rapture, but personally he held to an ascetic type of morality and expressed strict views regarding sexual relationship. All this is freely admitted ; but it should also be admitted that the danger comes not so much from erotic portrayal of the divine sport, which may be (but is not) symbolically understood, as from the excess of exclusive emotional strain involved in the imaginative experience of the erotic sentiment, and from actual practice of erotic situations as a religious rite. The Bengal school of Caitanya, no doubt condemns direct erotic practice, but it encourages vicarious erotic contemplation. It emphasises the loward realisation of the divine sports in all their erotic implications as the ultimate felicitous state, and thereby promotes the abnormal satisfaction of a highly refined erotico-religious sensibility. The dogma is implicitly accepted that Kṛṣṇa is the only male in the universe, and that the highest ideal of the devotee, like that of Rādhā, is the desire of a woman eternally seeking to satisfy her lover who, frankly,

but divinely, thirsts after womanly charms of adolescence and youth. If this were only a symbol or allegory of the soul's longing for the divine lover, it would be a legitimate use of erotic imagery and erotic impulse in the service of religious symbolism. But the works of the sect make it quite clear that the erotic contemplation is not merely symbolical or figurative but, as we have said, vivid and literal. The dogma is carried further when the devout attitude becomes identical with that of Rādhā's companions¹, the highest mystic experience being in this case the detailed imaginative participation, in a vicarious mood, in the erotic sports of the deity. All this has been severely condemned by some critics as an emaculated ritual of emotional debauchery; but without going so far, it should be admitted that the intimate subtilising of erotic details, however mystically transfigured, is bound to be characterised as a psychological and ethical aberration rather than as a healthy canonising religious mood.

It may be properly urged that even if the actual or implied ethical teaching of Caitanyaism is scanty and unsatisfactory, the spirit of Caitanya's life, which inspired saintly and selfless men to great devotion, stands above the body of its tenets. There is indeed a great deal of religious appeal in Caitanya's devotional personality, in his passionate and sincere adoration; but it must be said that the excess of mystic emotionalism and the ardent pursuit of a sublime erotic fancy, which left him almost a nervous wreck in his later years, do not bear witness to great service. Nor could they have been a great ethical force, inasmuch as his practice of the devotional faith, as it is recorded, was essentially an individual, and not a social, experience. Caitanya, in these years, lived

1 Apart from actual practice, this is made clear by the important role played by Rādhā's Sakhīs in the detailed amplification of the legend in the poetical works of Rūpa, Raghunātha, Jīva and Kṛṣṇadāsa, as well as by elaboration of the dogma in the hagiology of the sect to the effect that the great Vaiṣṇava devotees are incarnations of various Sakhīs of the Vṛndāvana-*līlā*.

entirely in and for the ecstasies, trances and visions of Bhakti; they, as well as his daily worship and adoration, consumed all his energies. There is no evidence of restraint, no fear of excess, no self-criticism, no rational test, nor ethical consideration in these mystic indulgences, occurring continuously day after day and marked more and more by nervous unsteadiness and suggestibility. All this may be the consummation of the spiritual aspiration of the faith, but from the ethical point of view, Caitanya's life of 'divine madness' at Puri is singularly empty. No larger problem of the welfare of man and the world impinges upon his ecstatic consciousness; his devotion is unworldly also in the sense that it moves in a world unconnected with all that we mean by the term ethical. Modern knowledge tells us that there is nothing mysterious or miraculous in such trances, visions and ecstasies; they are phases of nervous sensibility, rather than of spirituality, even if induced by spiritual causes; they are found, more or less, in all excessively emotional religious practice of all ages and climes. But even assuming their spirituality, one must face the fact that they do not satisfy the ethical demand. The experience of divinity, which is only possible in mystic trances and raptures, is of little value to mankind, however much it may spiritually stimulate the mystic himself; and the question may be legitimately asked whether a religious attitude should entirely consist of such erotico-mystic susceptibilities.

Except to an extremely pious imagination, the records of the sect undoubtedly give the impression that neither the movement nor its leaders possessed any social vision or idealism, any other absorbing concern than emotional worship and adoration. Caitanya himself never pretended to be a moral teacher or social reformer, but he considered himself to be only a seeker after Kṛṣṇa.¹ If

1 Even a very enthusiastic modern follower of Caitanya admits this: "Lord Gaurāṅga never posed as a teacher, but only as one among his fellows, working Kṛṣṇa. ...His followers never preached moral doc-

Caitanyaism removed the barriers of caste in matters of worship by the free and unritualistic reciting of the divine name, and effectively utilised group-emotion by its lusty and contagious method of *Saṅkīrtana*. It is by no means correct to state that Caitanyaism taught or practised universal, or even democratic, brotherhood. It is true that it tried to create a new grouping of men united by a common religious impulse; it certainly gave, at least in its earlier stages, a larger place to women and outcasts by recognising their inherent religious capacity; but it never aimed at nor attempted any dissolution or change of the established social order.¹ It did not break through conventional priestcraft, nor did it depart from orthodox social duties. In its earlier stages, it brought religious freedom and fellowship in a certain measure, but hardly social freedom and fellowship. Its social conservatism is distinctly shown in its retention of caste restriction in ritualistic worship,² as well as in social usages and relations; and even in religious matters it did not show much toleration towards non-Valṣṇavas or Valṣṇavas of other sects. Hedged in by such limitations, its doctrine of good will and humility becomes merely negative, and the vision of fellowship extremely provincial. The social insufficiency of Caitanyaism may be one of its religious assets in its 'unworldliness', but it is, precisely for that reason, one of its ethical weaknesses. The fundamental conception of a world-order, viewed as the manifestation of divine sport which is essentially erotic in character, can hardly form the foundation of any healthy and free ethical endeavour. While the erotic symbolism, presented as a fact, becomes an uncomfortable creed by its direct conflict with the sober ideas of established society, there is also a self-centredness about the conception and a lack of

interest to their fellows, knowing full well that moral life must follow a religious life" (Shahar Kumar Ghosh, *Lord Gaurāṅge*, vol. II, App. 22, note).

1 For a reference to Caitanya's social ideas, see above pp. 108 fn.

2 See above pp. 412.

moral purpose which, as we have pointed out, leave little scope for the moral struggles and aspirations of mankind. The whole literature of Caitanyanism, its elaborately composed theology, poetry and drama, is callously unmoral ignoring this aspect of humanity, with the result that the larger humanity in its turn has practically ignored it. In the literary productions there is, no doubt, a curious blend of the personal and the mystic, but we have pictures only of ordinary human emotions of the softer and more luscious kind : of sterner virtues there is not a trace, nor is there any tremendous spectacle of the spiritual struggles of the human soul and its deeper agonies. The great precepts of deliverance, redemption or salvation become meaningless from the ethical standpoint, being emptied of their ethical content and undirected towards an ethically conceived world, man or god.

CHAPTER VII

THE LITERARY WORKS OF BENGAL VAIŠNAVISM

1. *Their Extent and Importance*

One of the remarkable features of the Caitanya movement is its extraordinary literary activity, the power and vitality of its inspiration being evidenced by the vast literature which it produced both in the learned classical tongue and in the living language of the province. As, on the one hand, it enriched the field of Sanskrit scholarship by its more solid and laborious productions in theology, philosophy, ritualism and *Rasa-śāstra*, so, on the other, it poured itself out lavishly in song and story almost creating, as it did, a new literary epoch by its fruitful contributions of great diversity and charm.

The movement, thus, permanently enshrined itself in the abundant and versatile literature it produced. In its earlier stages, with which we are directly concerned here, this literature expressed itself chiefly in Sanskrit, and took various forms. The only Bengali Caitanyalite productions of this period comprise a number of Bengali songs and lyrics (*Padas*) and the biographical and narrative works, of which we have already given a brief account¹. There can be no doubt that they constitute one of the most important and influential aspects of its literary energy : for both lyric and biography are distinctly new literary *genres*, which Caitanyanism created for the first time in Middle Bengali, and through which its passionate appeal spread widely and rapidly. But even allowing that the best mediæval Bengali biographical records belong to this period, the really creative epoch of the resplendent Bengali song and lyric, inspired by Caitanyanism, comes

1 See above ch. ii.

a little later¹. At the same time, the purely literary efforts of Caitanyalism in Sanskrit are by no means negligible. While its attempts in biography and narrative are represented in Sanskrit by the works of Murāri-gupta and Paramānanda Kavikarṇapūra, the richer emotional and poetical sensibilities of this movement, which exalted emotion over reason and fancy over fact, are expressed in a series of mystically, but gorgeously, impassioned stories, poems, dramas, Campūs, lyrics, hymns, songs, and panegyrics composed by Kavikarṇapūra, Rāmkānanda-rāya, Raghunātha-dāsa, Rūpa, Jīva, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja and others, as well as by a host of minor poets, whose devotional verses are collected together in Rūpa's anthological survey of the *Padyaḍaḥ*. It would seem, therefore, that the religious revival must have supplied an emotional inflatus which produced wonderful results in Bengali poetry for more than a century, but it also led to a fervent expression of devout feelings even through the more difficult, but perhaps more rich, medium of Sanskrit.

2. Biographical Works

We have already given² a brief description of the early Sanskrit biographical works of Murāri-gupta and Paramānanda Kavikarṇapūra, which became the precursors of the voluminous and exuberant Bengali biographical narratives, and indicated their value as historical documents. Apart from the fact that they are all written from the excessively zealous devotional point of view, the credulity of which is amazing, it is well known that factual or even ideal accuracy was never a *sine qua non* of this type of composition in Sanskrit³. There never prevailed any tradition of meticulous chronicling or critical appreciation and interpretation of historical facts as such. These writings undoubtedly contain

1 We have therefore, omitted consideration of them in this chapter.

2 See above pp. 35-45.

3 See S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, ch. vi, under Poems with Historical Themes, p. 345 ff.

historical material, but the extent and value of such material are immensely variable. Meant more for literary edification than for sober knowledge, they could never divest themselves of their legendary and poetic associations ; and this is seen in their complacent confusing of fact and fiction, in their general indifference to the realities of characterisation, in their intermingling of divine and human action, in their unhesitating belief in magic and miracle and in their deep faith in incalculable human destiny. Apart from an attractive philosophy or artistic setting, ordinary history or biography is, indeed, a rather prosaic idea. As a matter of research, it aims at knowledge of facts ; as an idea, it professes to bring out larger principles governing human affairs ; as a method, its leaning is towards objective accuracy. It is, thus, entirely out of harmony with the super-individual spirit of Sanskrit literature, and could not be disciplined by its formal conception of art. The writers, therefore, never felt uneasy : because the tradition never ordained any deep or objective interest in mere fact or incident, but it even authorised unrestrained fancy or overdressed fiction. Both theory and practice established that works, which dealt with facts of experience or had a biographical and historical content, did not require any specialised form or method, but should be considered only as types of the Kāvya and be embellished with all its characteristic graces, refinements and elaborate elegancies. The fact of having an historical or biographical theme seldom makes a difference : they are Kāvya, poems or dramas in all essentials, and should be regarded as such. The authors, therefore, claim merit, not for historiography, but for poetry. As poets, they need not keep within the limits of ascertained or ascertainable verities, nor need they worry if the slender thread of actual history is buried under a mass of luxuriant poetry or poetical exaggeration. The incidents and characters are all lifted from the sphere of matter-of-fact knowledge to the region of fancy and fable : and we have here, in the normal tradition of the Kāvya, the same general scheme and

method, the same descriptive digressions and the same ornate manner and diction. Even if an historical personage is taken as the central figure, the laudatory accounts poetically magnify and surround him with all the glory and glamour of a legendary hero.

This attitude becomes naturally more prominent when the point of view is devotional and the hero is a saint or is regarded as the very incarnation of the divine being. All the resources of the poetic art and imagination strive to glorify the picture; the historical narrative becomes only the occasion, the elaborate fancy woven around it becomes alone essential. The limitations are natural and obvious, but they do not permit the poets much freedom to exercise their gift for historical narrative, which most of them undoubtedly possess, nor attain impartiality and precision with regard to incident or characterisation. The authors content themselves with the application of the traditional form and method of the *Kāvya* to an historical subject, in order to evolve an embellished poetical picture, rather than compile a faithful record of facts and incidents. The works produced under these conditions consequently become kinds of heightened fairy tale with just enough background of reality, and probably as such constitute gratifying homage or compliment.

The Sanskrit biographies of Caitanya share most of these general characteristics of Sanskrit biographical or historical literature; but since they record contemporary impressions felt, witnessed or believed with intense faith, they represent, to a greater extent, a proper step towards biographical writing. The picture is, no doubt, much exaggerated and obscured by credulous legends, and luxuriously poetical descriptions are freely inserted; but the general outline is clear and vivid. The life which they deal with is rich in inward religious passion rather than in external acts and incidents, but it affords opportunities of really impassioned and poetical treatment. With great zest, therefore, they concentrate upon the inward life of Caitanya and elaborately describe its

passionate expression in devotional ecstasies, trances, visions and frenzies.

The *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*¹ of Murāri-guṇa, the earliest known systematic biographical work, is offered as an extensive Kāvya of four Prakramas, seventy-eight cantos and, according to its own computation (iv. 26, 21), nineteen hundred and twenty-seven stanzas; but its length is hardly commensurate with its literary merit or with the slenderness of its theme. The first Prakrama of sixteen cantos ends with Viśvaṃbhara's journey to Gayā, and describes the occasion of the work, the necessity of Caitanya's descent along with his 'disciples; his birth, his parents (his father is described as belonging to the Vātsya-gotra); his elder brother Vihvarūpa who crossed the river and left home for Saṃnyāsa at the age of sixteen; his childhood, boyhood and youth; his studies; death of his father; his marriage to Lakṣmī (i. 9, 10); his journey to East Bengal; death of Lakṣmī; Śacī's lament in one whole canto (i. 12), couched in the Viyoginī metre in the approved Kāvya manner; his second marriage to Viṣṇupriyā (i. 13, 14); his journey to Gayā and meeting with Jīvara Purī (i. 15, 16). The second Prakrama of eighteen cantos continues the story up to Caitanya's Saṃnyāsa. The incidents narrated are not many, for the greater part of this section is taken up with the description of Caitanya's Bhāva or devotional passion and ecstatic acts consequent upon it after his return from Gayā. It describes his Varāha-Āveta (ii. 2) and Balabhadra-Āveta (ii. 14), his Mahāprakāśa and Mahābhīṣeka (Great Manifestation and Consecration) as the supreme deity at the house of Śrīvāsa (ii. 12), his passionate realisation of the sports of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, and his continuous rapture of dancing, singing and Kīrtana. He listens to Murāri's *Rāmāṣṭaka*, a panegyric of Rāma in eight stanzas (ii. 7, 10-18), but admonishes Murāri's leaning towards Advaita Vedānta.

1 See above, p. 358. The bibliographical references to editions of the works, surveyed in this chapter, will be found in their proper places in ch. ii and iii above.

learnt from Advaita Ācārya, and makes him a devotee of Kṛṣṇa by deprecating the worship of all other deities. In Caitanya's first meeting with Nityānanda (il. 8), who was at that time residing at the house of Nandana Ācārya at Navadvīpa, the theophanic forms of Caitanya as the six-armed, four-armed and two-armed Kṛṣṇa are successively revealed. A curious explanation is given of Caitanya's motive for Saṁnyāsa by the story of a curse pronounced by a Brahman (il. 13, 18-22), who was refused admission into Caitanya's presence by the stupid door-keepers; but we are also told later on that Caitanya was inspired by a dream to take to Saṁnyāsa (il. 18, 1-2). Ketava Bhārati, who visits Navadvīpa, eulogises Caitanya as Śuka, Prahlāda and even as the Bhagavat himself (il. 18, 12), the Saṁnyāsa occurring immediately afterwards at Kapāka-grāma (Katwa).

The third Prakrama, also of eighteen cantos, covers all incidents up to the end of Caitanya's return to Bengal on his way to Vṛndāvana. The first two cantos continue the story of Saṁnyāsa and the next two cantos his return to Advaita's house at Santipur, where after taking farewell from his mother and assembled admirers from Navadvīpa he declares his intention to proceed directly to Puri (iii, 4, 25). His mystic emotions after his return from Gayā are described (il. 1, 19-28) vividly by Murlī at some length:

*kvacit ceturvā harer nāma gītam vā vihvalaḥ kṣītau/
patati truti-mātreṇa daṇḍavat kampate kvacit//
kvacit gāyati govinda kṛṣṇa kṛṣṇeti sādaram/
janna-kaṇṭhaḥ kvacit kampa-romāñcita-tanur bhṛtam/*

Similar description of his emotions is repeated after his Saṁnyāsa (iii 3, 16):

*hasati skhalati kvāpi kampate gāyati kvacit/
roditi vrajati kvāpi patati svapīti kṣītau//*

Such emotional state becomes from this period a constant feature of his daily life of devotion at Puri, as well as during his pilgrimages; and several cantos are devoted in this and

the succeeding section to similar descriptions in a more detailed form. Caitanya's journey, through Yajpur and Bhuvanavar and arrival at Puri are then described in six cantos (iii. 5-10). At Puri he goes straight to Śārvabhauma's house; and accompanied by Śārvabhauma's younger brother, he visits the temple of Jagannātha where, his emotions overcoming him, he falls senseless and is carried back and revived. At Śārvabhauma's place the old scholar wants to teach Vedānta to the young ascetic, but Caitanya is described (iii. 12. 12-13) as expounding the true meaning of the Vedānta. No elaborate Śāstric disputation is mentioned, but Caitanya's exposition struck the great Vedāntist with so much wonder that he at once recognises Caitanya as the Bhagavat, falls at his feet, and recites two stanzas (iii. 12. 17-18), which are traditionally ascribed to Śārvabhauma¹ and which are incorporated by Muṛāri into his own text. The next four cantos (iii. 13-16) describe Caitanya's journey to the South up to Setubandha, his meeting with Rāmānanda Rāya, Trimalla Bhaṭṭa and his young boy Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, and others, and return to Puri. The remaining two cantos deal with Caitanya's return to Bengal on his intended but frustrated journey to Vṛndāvana (in which connexion we are told that his object was *lupta-nṛtharya prākṛjyam*), his meeting with Sanātana and Rūpa at Ramakeli and return to Puri. The chief features of the last Prakrama of twenty-six cantos consist of elaborate description in eleven cantos (iv. 2-12) of the various places at Vṛndāvana and Mathurā, which Caitanya visits and which recall scenes of Kṛṣṇa's sports and awaken extraordinary emotions in Caitanya, as well as of his last years of devotional acts and emotions spent at Puri. In the course of his northern pilgrimage are described his meeting with Tapana Miṭra and his son Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa at Benares (iv. 1. 15-17), with Rūpa at Prayāga and Sanātana at

1 Said to be included in Śārvabhauma's *Caitanyāṣṭaka*. See S. K. De in *Indian Culture*, I, pp. 23-24 and above p. 424, footnote.

Benares (iv. 13. 6-20),¹ with his mother (iv. 14. 4) on his way back to Bengal, with his wife Viṣṇupriyā (iv. 14. 8) who makes an image of Caitanya for worshipping,² and, lastly, the homage of Gaṇapati Pratāparudra on Caitanya's return to Puri. The last two cantos give, after the manner of Purāṇic works, a list or Anukramapikā of the topics dealt with and the total number of Prakramas, Sergas and Ślokas.

Although offered as Kāvya, there are many features which indicate that in its narration Muṛārī's work follows the method and manner of the Purāṇas. We are told at the outset that the work was undertaken at the direction of Śrīvāsa (i. 1. 9), but the general framework (which is not consistently kept up, but resumed at various points in the course of the narrative) consists of the device of a narrator (Muṛārī) and a listener (Dāmodara Paṇḍita) common enough in the Purāṇas. The Śloka metre predominates being used, for running narrative, exclusively in as many as thirty-seven cantos (i. 2, 4, 6, 9, 11, 13, 14; ii. 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 11-13, 17, 18; iii. 3, 7, 9, 13, 14, 18; iv. 3, 4, 8, 9, 11, 13, 17-19, 22-26) and partially in twenty-six cantos (i. 1, 3, 5, 7, 8; ii. 3, 4, 7; iii. 4-6, 11, 15, 17; iv. 1, 2, 5-7, 10, 12, 14-16, 20, 21). The other metres used in the remaining fifteen cantos, for the purpose of narration or description, are generally metres of eleven or twelve syllables of the Triṣṭubh-Jagati family, such as Sundarī or Viyoginī, Varpāthavilā, Indravajrā, Upendravajrā or Upajāti, and Rathoddhatā. It is only sporadically that the fourteen-syllabled Vasantatilaka is employed, while longer metres like Sragdharā are found five times (i. 1. 9, 19, 20; ii. 7. 4; iv. 21, 5). Drutavilambita occurs only twice (ii. 7. 1-6; ii. 18. 33), and Sikkharī (i. 1. 25), Pṛthvī (iv. 10, 21-22) and Mandākrānta (iv. 10, 23, but the first Pāda is Śārdūlavikrīḍita!) are used only once each. No opportunity is missed for introducing the usual descriptive Kāvya-topics in the approved embell-

1 But no instruction in the Śāstras is mentioned in this connection.

2 This is perhaps the first image made of Caitanya for worship. See above p. 439, footnote.

ished manner, diction and metre (e. g. Lakṣmī's marriage in *Vaṁśasthaviḷa* and *Upajāti*, i. 10 ; Sacī's lament on Lakṣmī's death in *Viyogini*, i. 12 ; men and women thronging to have a sight of the young ascetic at Kaṭṭakapuri (Katwa) in *Upajāti*, iii. 1, etc.) ; but the work is ostensibly modelled on the *Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa*, and its poetic pretensions are hardly of a high order. Nevertheless, Muraṛī possesses considerable narrative skill and metrical facility, and his simple descriptions are often vivid and picturesque. His manner is very often direct and forcible, and wisely avoids the rhetorical elaboration of the later *Kāvya*.

Although professing to draw its inspiration and material from Muraṛī's work¹, the *Caitanya-caritāṃṣa*² of Paramānanda-sena Kavikarṇapūra is an elaborate and ambitious work, which conforms more deliberately to the full-fledged mode and diction of the *Kāvya*. It consists of twenty cantos, and (according to the computation of its editor) of nineteen hundred and eleven stanzas, being thus of nearly the same extent as Muraṛī's work. After a preliminary homage to Caitanya and description of the sorrow of his disciples at his passing away in the first canto, the poem proceeds in the second canto to describe Navadvīpa and incidentally Advaita and Śrīvāsa. The rest of the canto is occupied with Caitanya's parents, loss of their eight daughters, Viḍvarūpa and birth of Viḍvaṁbhara, Viḍvaṁbhara's infancy and manifestation of divinity which filled his parents with wonder, Viḍvarūpa's Sarpoyāsa and death of Jagannātha Miśra. The third canto is taken up with Viḍvaṁbhara's going to school to Viṣṇu Paṇḍita, Sudartana³ and the grammarian Gaṇḍāḍāsa, his

1 *a-lāḍharup prakṛa-caritra-vilāsa-vijñāṭh
kālāra muraṛī ila māṅgala-nāmadhayaṭh
yad yad vilāsa-lalitaṁ samalekhi tat-pāṭha
rad rad vilāsa vilāṭhka ilāṭh na eṣaṭh* (xx. 42).

2 See above, p. 43.

3 But the text says : *viṣṇu-nāmadhṛa sudartanaṛ* (iii. 2), although they are different persons.

marriage to Lakṣmī (iii. 6-81), journey to East Bengal and teaching pupils there, Lakṣmī's death, and his second marriage to Viṣṇupriyā (iii. 127-144). In the fourth canto, we have the story of Viṣṇubhāra's visit to Gayā, his Mantra-dīkṣā by Īvara Puri, his return, his manifestation of divine Āveśa, and Kīrtana from the beginning of the month of Māgha. The four cantos from the fifth to the eighth continue the description of Viṣṇubhāra's ecstatic devotional acts and fits of singing and dancing for eight months from Jyaiṣṭha to Pauṣa : his Varāha-Āveśa at the house of Murāri (v. 16-21) and his own Abhiṣeka suggested by himself (vi. 40-52) : his meeting with Nityānanda (vi. 108-123), who is described as an Avadhūta and declared to be an incarnation of Balarāma (vii. 24), and to whom Caitanya reveals the theophanic Śaḍ-bhūja, Dvi-bhūja (vi. 122) and also Catur-bhūja (vii. 18) forms¹ : his Nṛsiṃha-Āveśa (vii. 80-85) and parading the street as such : and lastly, his Balarāma-Āveśa (viii. 19-28). His Kṛpā-bhāva now begins : it is strengthened by Śrīvāsa's elaborate description of Kṛpā's Vṛndāvana-līlā in the next two cantos (ix-x), which gives the author an opportunity of indulging in a highly emotional poetical excursion. In canto xi, the thread of the story is resumed by the description of Caitanya's Saṁnyāsa at Katwa, his return to Advaita's house at Santipur, his resolve to leave for Puri (there is no allusion to his mother's request to that effect), his journey and the breaking of his staff on the way by Nityānanda. In canto xii, Caitanya reaches Śrīvabhāuma's house and explains Vedānta by refuting Advaita-vāda and establishing his own views about Bhakti (xii. 22-27)², in the course of which exposition

1 Caitanya is made to declare : *sat draṣṭavyam param līlā pralīlasya evam* (vi. 38), while in Kāvīkarnapūra's drama, Caitanya declares : *nirbhūtam bhagavatā caturbhūjavam, avābhūrikam hi draṣṭavyam eva*, and quotes the verse : *nandāṅgī param brahma* (Act I). The Nāma-mūhūrtya is said to be not mere Arjavāda (vi. 50). The Rāmāyāna of Mūrti is referred to in vi. 100.

2 *advaita-vādam vistraya bhakti-*
anurūpānām vītyarmanam jagāda //.

he quotes and explains two verses from the *Bhāgavata*, each in nine different ways (xii. 81), and ultimately reveals his theophanic Caturbhuja form to Śārvabhauma. Śārvabhauma's two eulogistic verses on Caitanya¹ are quoted (xii. 86, 87), but Caitanya is said have torn to pieces the paper on which they were written (so also in Kṛṣṇapūra's drama, vl. 43-44). His Southern pilgrimage now begins. He is requested by Śārvabhauma to see Rāmānanda Rāya on his way, but on his outward journey Caitanya avoids meeting Rāmānanda. The *Vilāpa-māla* of a Brahman, named Kūrma at whose house at Kūrmakṣetra Caitanya stayed for a few days on his way, is mentioned and quoted (xii. 113, 114). In canto xiii, the narrative of South Indian pilgrimage is continued. At Srirangam Caitanya stays and performs Cāturmāsya at the house of Trimalla Bhagya (xiii. 4, 5), but there is no mention of Gopāla Bhagya. Caitanya's only companion Kṛṣṇadāsa is lured away by unbelievers (xiii. 23), but Caitanya later on repudiates him (xiii. 54). On his way back Caitanya meets Rāmānanda (xiii. 34f) and stays with him for four months (xiii. 60). During Rāmānanda's exposition of Bhakti, Caitanya exclaims: *bāhyātibāhyam bata bāhyam etat*, until Rāmānanda comes to the essence of Bhakti. Rāmānanda's Sanskrit verse *nānopadāra-krta-pūjanam* (cited in the *Padyāvalī* no. 13) and his Brajabuli song *paḥluhi rāga* (cited in *Pada-kalpataru* no. 576) are quoted in full². After Caitanya's return to Puri, his favour to Gaṇapati Pratāparudra and meeting with various

- 1 *vairāgya-vidyā-niṣe-bhakti-yoga-līkṣārtham etah paraṣaḥ*
parāgaḥ/
tri-linga-caitanya-larvadhāt kṛpāmbudhīr yaśaśaśaṁ
prapadye//.
līlān naṣṭam bhakti-yogam nijaṁ yaśaśaśaśaṁ prāśaṅgikam kṛpā-
caitanya-nāma/
divyabhāṣaṁ tanya pādāravindā gāḍham gāḍham līlāṁ citta-
bhāgaḥ//.

These verses are said to belong to Śārvabhauma's *Caitanyāṅkita* : see above pp. 562, and 86-87 footnote.

2 See above, pp. 92, 93 footnote.

Bhaktas, including Paramānanda Puri (a disciple of Mādhavendra Puri, who is mentioned as *vijaya-bhakti-rasa eva śarīrī*, xiii. 111) are described in the same way as in Karpapūra's own drama.

The remaining seven cantos, which deal with Caitanya's devotional life and ecstasies at Puri (xiv to xviii) and his visit to Vṛndāvana and return (xix-xx), possess little narrative interest, but are rich in impassioned poetical descriptions. We have vivid pictures of Śaīna, Dola and Ratha festivals of Jagannātha, in which Caitanya and his followers took prominent part by their frenzied singing and dancing, as well as of Caitanya's cleaning and sweeping of the Guṇḍicā house and other devotional acts. We are told that Caitanya met the three brothers, Sanātana, Rūpa and Anupama (who are described as *rasa-sāra-sindhava iva*) at Puri (xvii. 7-24). For twenty years, on the annual visit of his followers, Caitanya is said to have danced, with Kīrtana, in front of the Car of Balarāma (xviii. 61):

*iti vimśati-kāyaṇaṭṭh prabhuḥ/ baladevasya rathāgrato muhuḥ/
naṇḍanī vidhāya kīrtanaṭṭh/ idam etad vyakīrṇaḥ jagat-tale/*.

It is curious that the description of Caitanya's visit to Vṛndāvana in canto xix is utilised as an opportunity of displaying the author's skill in various kinds of verbal tricks of the so-called Citra-kāvya, which is a characteristic of Sanskrit poems since Bhāravi's time. He employs, for instance, Ekākṣara (employment of one letter, *n* in xix. 37), Dyakṣara (i.e. employment of two letters *v* and *bh* in xix. 17, *l* and *n* in xix. 41), Aśaṇḍhyakṣara (employing no diphthongs, in xix. 89), Nirauṣṭhya (no labials, in xix. 55), as well as Gomutrīkā-bandha (xix. 21), Muraḥa-bandha (xix. 29), Pratilomāśuloma (xix. 45, 53), Ślokaṇṭi (repetition of the same verse twice with different meanings, xix. 49-50), Padāṇṭi (two halves of the stanza having the same succession of letters, xix. 33), various kinds of Yamaka (Antya-yamaka also in xv. 109), Anuprāsa and other verbal figures.

It will be seen at once from this brief summary of the contents of the poem that while ten cantos are devoted to the depiction of Caitanya's life before Saṁnyāsa, the remainder of his life takes up an equal number of cantos. The treatment of the two parts of the theme, therefore, is not disproportionate. Apart from the paucity of incidents which is inevitable in a life of pure religious rapture, the narrative interest is not entirely sacrificed to luxurious poetic descriptions; but Karpapūra, in accordance with the established convention of the Kāvya, cannot resist the temptation of introducing long descriptive cantos; as, for instance, Śrīvāsa's description of Vṛndāvana-līlā in two cantos and the topic of Guṇḍicā-mārjana or of Caitanya's ecstasies, dancing and Kīrtana at various festivals at Puri in several cantos. These would seem to take up disproportionate space, but they are essential in any account of Caitanya's life of religious Bhāva, and they are not badly or prosaically depicted. For a boy in his teens, who calls himself a Śiṣu, the work is indeed a notable literary achievement; but its immaturity is obvious, and cannot assign to it high poetic merit. Kavikarpapūra possesses indeed a sufficient command of conventional poetic vocabulary, enough rhetorical and verbal skill and considerable metrical facility, and one must admit that his practice, comparatively speaking, is not altogether devoid of moderation; but of higher flights or rarer touches of poetry there is not much in his elaborate production. On the other hand, he succumbs very often, in his youthful enthusiasm, to the temptation of rhetorical display in general and of committing the verbal atrocities of Citra-bandha in particular, while his conscious employment of varied metres¹ is an aspect of the prevailing tendency of

1 With the exception of cantos xiii, xvi, xvii, which are deliberately meant to illustrate the poet's skill in a large variety of metres, each of the remaining cantos employ only one metre, although at the close of the canto the poet follows the usual convention of a break and change into other metres. The metres in each canto are analysed

his time towards laboured artificiality. Nevertheless, the poem, in spite of its length and not inexcusable enthusiasm, is simple enough to be readable; the diction is conventional, but not heavily ornamented; and there is not much intrusion of theological or doctrinal matter to hamper its fairly smooth and pleasant progress.

below (with the serial numbering of verses in figures), and the metre of the concluding verses are given in enclosing brackets (with number in figures): Canto I Mandākrāntā 1-24 (Śikhariṇī 3). II Vamśasthaviṇī 1-119 (Viyoginī or Sundarī 3). III Indravajrā, Upendravajrā and Upajñī 1-142 (Praharṇī 2). IV Druṭavilāmbikā 1-73 (Śikhariṇī 1, Vamśasthaviṇī 1). V Paharṇī 1-123 (Śikhariṇī 1, Śārdūlavikrīḍitā 1, Druṭavilāmbikā 2). VI Vamśasthaviṇī 1-121 (Śikhariṇī 2). VII Pramāṇāgarā 1-97 (Śārdūlavikrīḍitā 1, Upajñī 1, Praharṇī 1, Vamśasthaviṇī 1, Upajñī 1, Śālinī 4 and Śrāgdhārā 1). VIII Śloka 1-60 (Śikhariṇī 1, Vamśasthaviṇī 2). IX Svāgatā 1-73 (Praharṇī 1, Mandākrāntā 1). X Svāgatā 1-73 (Mālinī 7). XI Śikhariṇī 1-46 (Mandākrāntā 3). XII Upajñī 1-132 (Mālinī 2). XIII Variety of metres: Upajñī no. 1-41, Vamśasthaviṇī no. 42, Upajñī nos. 43-63, Svāgatā nos. 64-77, Rādhodhārī nos. 78-81, Svāgatā and Rādhodhārī nos. 82-114, Viyoginī or Sundarī nos. 115-123, Upajñī nos. 126-127, Viyoginī nos. 123-134, Upajñī no. 135-137, Viyoginī no. 138-144, Śārdūlavikrīḍitā no. 145, Vamśasthaviṇī no. 146, Upajñī no. 147 and Śārdūlavikrīḍitā no. 148. XIV Śloka 1-129 (Śārdūlavikrīḍitā 3, Upajñī 1 and Śārdūlavikrīḍitā 2). XV Pūṣpāgarā 1-104 (Śrāgdhārā 1, Śārdūlavikrīḍitā 2, Pṛthvī 1 Hariṇī 1, Mālinī 1). XVI Variety of metres: Mālinī nos. 1-3, Mandākrāntā no. 4, Mālinī no. 5, Vamśasthaviṇī nos. 6-8, Śārdūlavikrīḍitā nos. 9-11, Śrāgdhārā nos. 12-16, Pṛthvī nos. 17-18, Hariṇī nos. 19-21, Śārdūlavikrīḍitā nos. 22-23, Śrāgdhārā no. 24, Praharṇī no. 25, Śārdūlavikrīḍitā nos. 26-27, Śrāgdhārā nos. 28-30, Pṛthvī no. 31, Śārdūlavikrīḍitā no. 32, Vamśasthaviṇī nos. 33-36, Bhujāgarā nos. 37-47, Mandākrāntā no. 48, Śārdūlavikrīḍitā no. 49. XVII Variety of metres: Maṇjubbhāṣī nos. 1-14, Śloka no. 15, Maṇjubbhāṣī nos. 16-24, Mandākrāntā or Prabhā nos. 25-29, Candravartma nos. 30-42, Mattamayūra nos. 43-44, Kalaharṇā no. 45, Bhramaravilāsa no. 46, Dadhaka no. 47, Śālinī nos. 48-49, Upajñī no. 50, Rādhodhārī no. 51-52, Vamśasthaviṇī no. 53, Śālikā no. 54, Unidentified metre no. 55, Lāṭhikā no. 56, Loka no. 57-62, Śārdūlavikrīḍitā nos. 63-66. XVIII Viyoginī or Sundarī 1-62 (Śārdūlavikrīḍitā 1). XIX Śloka 1-99 (Mandākrāntā 1). XX Śālinī 1-36 (Śārdūlavikrīḍitā 1, Mandākrāntā 2, Śikhariṇī 1, Śālinī 1, Vamśasthaviṇī 4, Mālinī 1, Śārdūlavikrīḍitā 1, Mandākrāntā 1, Vamśasthaviṇī 1).

With regard to Kavikarṇapūra's much better known and much better composed drama in ten acts, entitled *Caitanya-candrodaya*,¹ one need not be wholly apologetic. It is a regular dramatised account of the chief incidents of Caitanya's life which are set forth more elaborately in his poem, the first five acts (like the first eleven cantos of the poem) bringing the story down to Caitanya's Saṁnyāsa and departure for Puri, and the last five acts dealing with the latter part of Caitanya's life spent chiefly there. In the Prologue the Sūtradhāra informs us that the *Caitanya-candrodaya* was composed by Paramānanda-dāsa, son of Śivānanda-sena and pupil of Śrīnātha² and staged at the command of Gaṇapati Pratāparudra of Orissa at the Car festival (*gopācā-yātrāyām*) of Jagannātha at Puri. In the first Act, Kali and Adharma appear and gloat over the triumph of unrighteousness in the world ; but Kali speaks of the advent and activity of Caitanya which imperil their power. From their conversation we learn of his birth, his elder brother Viśvarūpa, his marriages to Lakṣmī and Viṣṇupriyā, his Dīkṣā by Išvara Purī at Gayā, his chief associates at Navadvīpa and the festival of his grand consecration (*Mahābbiṣeka-mahotsava*), which is being celebrated. Viśvaṁbhara enters with Advaita, Śrīvāsa, Śaṭ and others, and a theological discourse ensues on Bhakti-rasa and the superiority of the humanised Dvi-bhūja form of Kṛṣṇa³. All those who are present, including Śaṭ, recognise the divinity of Caitanya, which he himself graciously relishes and acknowledges ; and, addressing Advaita, he speaks of his descent from Goloka by the force of Advaita's prayer and appeal (*golokād avatārita'smī bhavatī*). The Act is appropriately entitled *Svānandāveta*. In the second Act,

1 See above, p. 44-45.

2 The name of the poet's Guru occurs also in his *Ananda-vyādhāraṇa* Campā, as well as in the *Gaura-gopāddīja* ascribed to him.

3 There is an incidental reference to Murtī's belief in Advaita-vāda and Yoga-vācīśha, which Caitanya is made to deprecate. Cf. Murtī ii. 4, 22 f.

which is called *Sarvavatāra-darśana*, we have a long conversation between Virāga and Bhakti, in which Virāga laments over the desperate condition of the country infested by Bauddhas, Tāntrikas, Māyāvādins, Jainas, Kāpālikas and Pāsupatas, as well as by the followers of Kaṇḍa, Kapila, Patañjali and Jaimini; but personified Bhakti, who has recently descended at Navadvīpa, enters and brings the good tidings of the advent of Caitanya as the Bhaktāvatāra (*bhāvadā avatāro kido bhakta-veseṇa*¹). This is followed by a description by Bhakti of Caitanya's ecstatic emotions, his Saṅkaraṇapa-Āveśa at Murārī's courtyard, Dvī-bhoja, Śaḍ-bhoja and Catur-bhoja appearance to Nityānanda, and other acts of devotion and miracle. Caitanya himself, who now enters with Advaita and other followers, gracefully deprecates all this, and modestly describes his own condition as Unmāda-dāśī, but Śrīvāsa replies that madness of other people is a disease, while Caitanya's madness, for the listener and spectator, eradicates all disease (*anyonmādas tu vyādhir eva, ayaṁ tu tavonmādo draṣṭṭ-troṣṭpām api vyādhi-nirmūlakah*)²!

The third Act, entitled *Dāsa-vinoda* from the theme of the inset play, is characterised by the interesting device of a play within a play (*Garbhāṅka*). Maitrī and Prema-bhakti enter and indicate that a short play³ is going to be enacted, at the suggestion of Nārada, on the *Dāsa-līlā* (iii. 23) of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, in which Haridāsa will act as Sūtradhāra, Mukunda as Pāriparivāka, Śrīvāsa as Nārada, Nityānanda in feminine rôle as Yogamāyā, and so forth. With some variation the theme is the same as that of the *Dāsa-keli-kāumudī*⁴ and *Dāsa-keli-cintāmaṇi* of Rūpa and Raghurāṣiṭha-dāsa respec-

1 In Act iii. Prema-bhakti says: *ayaṁ āgata evāvatīrṇaḥ*.

2 It is described as a Bhāṣa or Vyākyaṇa, but technically it is not so. Possibly Rūpa's work on a similar theme, which is a Bhāṣikā, suggested the description that it was a Bhāṣa!

3 The expression *Dāsa-kāumudī* is used in iii. 20 (prose); probably Kavikarṇapūra knew this work of Rūpa.

tively. Rādhā, with her companions and an old woman, comes to pluck flowers to worship Gopīvara Śiva, but Kṛṣṇa and his companions demand a price for the flowers plucked from their forest. A playful dispute, with erotic repartee, ensues; but as Kṛṣṇa boldly goes up to exact his dues forcibly from Rādhā, the play abruptly ends¹ by the old woman, who is none other than Yogamāyā, concealing Rādhā and revealing herself, to the surprise of all, bodily as Nityānanda himself! In Kavikarṇapūra's Kāvya, we have a long description, extending over nearly two cantos, of the Vṛndāvana-līlā of Kṛṣṇa, given by Śrīvāsā; the present brief episode in the drama is apparently meant to be a counterpart suggested also by Śrīvāsā, who takes up the rôle of Nārada. The fourth Act is named Saṁnyāsa-parigraha. We learn from the sorrowing devotees that Viśvaṁbhara has gone to Kṛṣṇa Bhāratī at Katwa (*kāṭoyā-nāmānam grāmam āśāḍya kṛṣṇa-bhāratīm upateśivān*) for being initiated into Saṁnyāsa, an account of which is given by Candrasekhara Ācāryaratna, who returns from the journey and invites them all to Advaita's house at Santipur, where Caitanya has gone with Nityānanda. The next Act, called Advaitapura-villāsa, describes how Caitanya wanted to go straight to Vṛndāvana but was directed by Nityānanda to Advaita's house at Santipur, where Caitanya meets his followers, stays for three days and takes a pathetic farewell from his mother.

The sixth Act (*Sārvabhaumānugraha*) begins with a narration, by Ratnākara (the ocean) and his spouse, the river Gaṅgā, of Caitanya's journey to Puri,² and proceeds with

1 The contrivance of a play within a play is not new, having been already employed by Bhavabhūti, Harṣa and Rājasekhara. The sudden interruption, as in *Hamlet*, is a part of the device, and is represented as being brought on by its vivid realism.

2 We are told that the journey, on account of war between king Gaṅgeśvar of Orissa and the Muslim ruler of Gauḍa was not safe (*śāntāyā gaṇaśāhīparat yatare-bhāṇḍāya gaṅgeśvareśvare vārode gaṇaśāhī-gaṇaśāhī-eva na varat*).

the theme of Caitanya's meeting with the Vedāntist Śārva-bhāṣa, who recognises his divinity and accepts his views about Bhakti and worship of Kṛṣṇa. In the seventh Act (called Tīrthāṇa), Caitanya is represented as having already set out on his South Indian pilgrimage. He meets Rāmānanda, and the entire Bhakti-catechism, of which Rāmānanda gives an exposition in the course of their conversation, is given thus in two dialogue verses (vil. 8, 10):

*kā vidyā hari-bhaktir eva, na punar vedādi-niṣṭatā,
 kīrtiḥ kā bhagavat-paro'yaṁ iti yā, khyātir na dānādiḥ/*
kā īris tat-priyatā, na vā dhana-jana-grāmādi-bhūyiḥ/
*kiṁ duḥkhaṁ bhagavat-priyasya viraho, na hṛd-vraṇādi-
 vyathā/*
*kiṁ geyaṁ vraja keli-karma, kiṁ iha īreyaḥ satāṁ
 saṁgatih/*
*kiṁ amṛtavyam aḥārī-nāma, kiṁ anudhyeṁ murāreḥ
 padam/*
*iva stheyam vraja eva, kiṁ īraṇayor ānandī vṇādvana-
 līlāḥ, kiṁ upāyam atra mahatī trī-kṛṣṇa-
 rādhābhīḍhe//¹*

Caitanya on his return, in the eighth Act, recounts in a few words his impression of devotion in Southern India by saying that the few Vaiṣṇavas that he found were devotees of Nārāyaṇa; the rest were Tattva-vādin, whose views were not above reproach; but there were also Śaivas and a large number of very powerful Pāṣaṇḍas (atheists); the only views he liked were those of Rāmānanda.² Caitanya meets at Purī

1 These verses are quoted in Kargapūra's own rhetorical work, *Alaṅkāra-kaurābha*.

2 Elsewhere (vil. ad 2, p. 123) we learn from Śārva-bhāṣa that Rāmānanda was a Sahaja Vaiṣṇava. If a reference is meant to the Sahaja or Sahajiyā cult, it is unfortunate that we possess little information regarding its prevalence before or during Caitanya's time. But it is probable that other, but similar, erotic-religious tendencies must have existed before the Śrīmad-bhāgavata emotionalism was firmly established by Caitanya; and poets like Jayadeva and Vidyāpati, with

his friends and followers and some devotees ; but the main theme of this Act (which is entitled *Pratāparudrānugraha*) is his grace towards *Pratāparudra*, who falls at his feet during the *Ratha-yātrā* festival. In the ninth Act (*Mathurā-gaṇana*), we hear of Caitanya's visit to Mathurā, first from a Kimpurā couple and then from Gajapati and Śārvabhauma, to whom a messenger brings news. The poet takes care to inform us that Caitanya visited the house of the poet's own father Śivānanda on his way. At Prayāga Caitanya met Rūpa¹ and Anupama, while at Benares Sanātana came to him, but no instruction in the Śāstras is mentioned. At Benares, we are told that some of the great Saṁnyāsins did not, out of jealousy, see Caitanya or come to him.² The tenth and last Act, called *Mahāmahotsava*, describes Caitanya's devotional acts and ecstasies, in company with his followers, during his remaining years at Puri at the Śnāna, Dola, Ratha and Guṇḍicā-mārjana ceremonies, which are depicted in greater detail in Kavikarṇapūra's *Kāvya*. There is one interesting passage in which Śivānanda is represented as bringing his own son, apparently the poet himself, before Caitanya (x. 7) and exclaiming in adoration in a *Maṇḍākrāntī* stanza :

paṭya paṭya, ayam ayam

vidyud-dāma-dyutir utīṣayotkanṭha-kanṭhī-ravendra-

krūḍā-gāṁī kanaka-parigṭha-drāghimoddāma-bāhuḥ/

siṁha-grīva nava-dinakara-dyuta-vidyoti-vāsāḥ

īrī-gaurāṅgaḥ sphurati purato vandyatām vandyatām

bhagḥ/ /

whose works Rāmānanda was undoubtedly familiar, derive their inspiration from such traditions (see above pp. 9-12). It is noteworthy that the Post-Caitanya Sabajīyī sect of Bengal regards Jayadeva as its Ādi-guru and one of its nine Kaulkas.

1. Of Rūpa we are told in high terms :

prīya-svarūpe dnyūta-svarūpe/prema-svarūpe uhaḥābhīrūpe/

nīḍakurūpe prabhuḥ śukrūpe/tatāna rūpe ira-vīḍīka-rūpe/ /.

2. *mataramb karipavair yati-mukhyair/ eva tarva na gaurāṁ na sa dīṅṅaḥ*, ix. 32.

It is said that a child as he was at that time, the poet himself was inspired to utter this verse, but there is no indication here of the legend of infant precociousness.¹

Although it calls itself a drama, it will be seen that the *Caitanya-candrodaya* merely presents the chief incidents and episodes of Caitanya's religious life and experience in the dramatic form without an attempt to convert the whole into a real drama. There is incredibly little action, and not much convincing characterisation, in a work which presents itself as a drama; and most of the incidents are reported instead of being represented. The treatment does not indeed lack vividness and coherence, inasmuch as much of what is described was actually felt and was still within living memory; but its dramatic inadequacy is obvious. The work, no doubt, constitutes a departure in not selecting the time-worn legendary themes, but the theme it selects, being devoid of action, presents few dramatic possibilities. There were perhaps more possibilities on the poetic side, but it cannot be said that Kavikarṇapūra was more than a mediocre poet. In fairness it must be said that in everything he writes he is facile and never ungraceful; he possesses considerable literary skill and a decided ability to handle sonorous metres; but here the praise should end. Kavikarṇapūra writes for purely literary effect with a consciously affected, but conventional, diction, and is often indifferent to the realities of life or drama; while his religious ardour is not passionate enough nor his poetic fancy enchanting enough to invest his drama with a higher poetic naturalness. The religious sentiment is real, but the usual paraphernalia of theology makes its presentation often too stately. Obviously composed in the interest of a sect, the dogmas and doctrines often intrude, and we have long theological discourses, for instance, between Caitanya and his followers in Act I and II, between Prema-bhakti and Maitri in Act III and Śārvabhauma's elaborate

1 See above, p. 42.

exposition of dualistic Vedānta, fortified by the citation of sectarian texts, in Act vi. While these do not adequately bring out the deeper spiritual significance of Caitanya's life, they are not a gale from the literary or dramatic point of view; they certainly interrupt and impede the smooth progress of the narrative. The device of a play within a play is an interesting feature, but the inset play is not presented as an integral part of the action, while its sudden interruption is not conceived as dramatically as it is, in a different situation, in Harṣa's *Priyadarśikā* or Rājasekhara's *Bālarāmadhyana*. Even if Kavikarṇapūra introduces allegorical and mythical characters, and names his drama after Kṛṣṇamīdra's *Prabodha-candrodaya*, it would not be correct to regard it as an allegorical play: for the action does not hinge upon the allegorical element. The allegorical figures are rather doctrinal formulas than living entities, rather abstract ideas with neat labels than actual beings of flesh and blood. They do not affect the character of the drama, but they merely furnish the concrete historical figures with a surrounding of abstract personifications. The dramatic or poetical merit of Kavikarṇapūra's work, therefore, need not be unduly magnified; and even if it is more mature and better composed than his *Kāvya*, it is not a real drama, but a narrative in the dramatic form, giving us merely a string of insufficiently motivated incidents and episodes, which do not grow out of one another nor create any dramatic situation. Nevertheless, Kavikarṇapūra can write elegant verse and clear prose, and his presentation of the life of Caitanya is vivid and eminently readable. Notwithstanding its deficiencies, the *Caitanya-candrodaya* is by no means an insignificant work, but it is difficult to agree with the appreciation of Sylvain Lévi that it is an "original and powerful drama."¹

¹ Foreword to Dinanātha Chandra Sen's *Caitanya and his Age* (Calcutta University, 1922), p. xli.

1. DRAMATIC WRITINGS

The *Caitanya-candrodaya* of Kavikarṇapūra makes our transition easy to the dramatic writings of Rāmānanda Rāya and Rūpa, which, however, deal exclusively with Kṛṣṇa-līlā, and not with Caitanya-līlā, with legends and not with historical themes. With the exception of Rāmānanda's small operatic sketch, the other works are elaborate compositions, meant deliberately to convey religious edification or to glorify sectarian theology. They do not fall entirely on the literary side but as specimens of dramatic writing they reveal little sense of what a drama really is.

The *Jagannātha-vallabha*¹ of Rāmānanda begins with Namaṣkriyā to Kṛṣṇa but contains no reference to Caitanya or to the peculiar tenets of Caitanyaism. It is not known whether it was composed before or after Rāmānanda met Caitanya, and it is difficult to say if it really belongs to the body of works composed for the Caitanya sect. The play is not quoted in the *Padyāraṇ*, but two quotations are given in the *Ujjvala-nīlamant* of Rūpa, and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja distinctly refers to it as the Nāṭaka-gīti of Rāmānanda Rāya, which Caitanya relished greatly, as he relished also the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* and the *Gīta-govinda*, as a means of his ecstatic devotional emotions. The Prologue to the work calls it *Jagannātha-vallabha*, and describes it as a Saṃgīta-nāṭaka of Rāmānanda-rāya, son of Pṛthvīdāra Bhavānanda-rāya, composed and staged at the direction of Gajapati Pratāparudra, who is eulogised in one stanza (l. 10) as the conqueror of Sekandhara, of the Kalavarga chiefs and of the kings of Gurjara and Gauda.

The *Jagannātha-vallabha* deals, in five Acts, with an episode of Kṛṣṇa-līlā, in which are described the first love and union of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in the groves of Vṛndāvana. The theme is simple, and the Acts are short. The first Act (*Pūrvāṅga*) depicts the first meeting of Kṛṣṇa, accompanied by his

1 See above, p. 93-93.

jeaster friend Ratikandala¹, and Rādhā entering with her companion Madanikā. They fall in love at first sight, and in Act II (Bhāva-parīkṣā) Rādhā's companion Śasimukhi approaches Kṛṣṇa with a billet-doux (Anāṅga-lekha) from Rādhā, containing only one Prakrit verse on her love-love condition:

*suiram vījjhaṣi hlaam lambhaṣi maṅga kkhū dujjasam
hallaṃ!*

disasi saṇḍa-disāsu tumam disaṣi maṅga ṇa kuttāvi ||

But Kṛṣṇa, to test her love, playfully pretends to be shocked and indifferent to the solicitation, and rudely advises Śasimukhi to dissuade Rādhā from such improper sentiment. In Act III we find Rādhā in Viraha, filled with love and longing; and when Śasimukhi delivers her message Rādhā, distracted by feelings of love, shame, self-pity and despair, resolves to die. But another companion Mādhavi enters with a tablet for painting (Citra-phalaka), on which is inscribed a Sanskrit verse containing Kṛṣṇa's apology and declaration of love. The Act IV (Rādhābhīṣāra), in its turn, describes Kṛṣṇa in Viraha love-sick and penitent in the Bakula-bower, where Madanikā comes and, on his confession of love, goes to fetch Rādhā; and they unite in the bower during the night. Next morning, in Act V (Rādhā-saṅgama), Madanikā and Śasimukhi approach the bower and talk among themselves of what they have seen of the sports of the young couple at night. Kṛṣṇa enters with the shame-faced Rādhā, but the advent of the bull-demon Ariṣṇa breaks up the party. Kṛṣṇa rushes forward, kills the demon with much bravado behind the scene and comes back in triumph. The Act ends with the reunion of the lovers.

In the Prologue, the author claims that his play is entirely novel (*abhinava-kṛti*) and original (*anya-ecchāyayā na nibaddham*), but it is clear that neither the theme nor its treatment displays much variety or originality. It is a pretty

1 And not Madhumāṅgala of Rūpa's dramas and Jira's Campū.

little amourette, modelled obviously on the Nāṭikā type of Sanskrit plays. But perhaps in these idyllic and romantic little plays, which aim at nothing more than picturing the pretty sentiment in a pretty environment, elegance was more expected than originality, and poverty of invention need hardly be regarded as a defect. The work employs the familiar motifs and devices common to such erotic playlet (the romantic commonplaces, for instance, of love at first sight, pangs and sentimental longings of separated lovers, love-letter, dream-vision, painting-tablet, minute portraiture of the personal beauty of the lovers, and their ultimate union effected by the effort of their companions), and makes use of conventional words and imageries to depict them. Here is, for instance, pure rhetoric in Kṛṣṇa's description of Rādhā's lovely face :

*yad api na kumulaṃ nīdāro vā
bhavati mukha-pratīmo mṛgekaṇḍāyah/
racayati na tarhāpi-jātu rābhyaṃ
upamitr anyā-pade padam yad asyū / /.*

Similarly conventional but elegant is the description of Rādhā's Viraha :

*yadā nānu doṣam gaṇayati kurūṇaṃ ku-racane
na vā doṣam dhaite sarasa-racane narma-sukhādā/
viśābham bṛikhaṇḍam kalayati vidhūṃ pāvaka-samam
tad asyā tad-vṛttam tvayi gūḍitum atṛāham agomam / /.*

Kṛṣṇa's Viraha and his lamentations are also in the same approved manner and style of the conventional hero of the sentimental type. But, at the same time, it cannot be said that the little play is not fluent and graceful. The situations are trite and stale, but they are not over-embellished ; and in the emotional or descriptive comments, their poetical stanzas are neither tediously profuse nor inappropriate. Perhaps the play was meant as a musical and spectacular entertainment, its characteristic feature being the introduction of Padāvallī or songs, set to different tunes, after the manner

of Jayadeva's *Gita-govinda*. It invests the play with a delightful operatic atmosphere, and justifies the description that it is essentially a small *Saṃgīta-nāṭaka*. The number of such songs is twenty-one, there being four in each Act, excepting five in Act IV; and each song contains the author's *bhaṇitā* and the name of his patron Gajapati Pratāparudra. We give here one of the songs, which describes the youthful Kṛṣṇa, as a specimen (Act I):

(*Īśāra-rāgīṇa*)

*mṛdutarā-māruta-velṭita-pallava-valṭi-valita-tikhaṇḍam/
tilaka-viḍambita-marakata-maṇi-tala-bimbira-tatadhara-
khaṇḍam//*

*yuvati-manohara-vejam/
kalaya kulā-nidhim iva dharaṇīm anu pariṇata-rūpa-
vīḷam//*
(*Dhruva*)

*kheḷā-dolāyita-maṇi-kunḍala-ruci-rucirānana-lobham/
heḷā-tarālaka-madhura-vilocana-janita-vadhūjana-lobham//
gajapatirudra-narādhipa-cetasi janayatu mudam anuvāram/
rāmānanda-rāya-kavi-bhaṇitam madhurīpu-rūpam udāram//.*

One should recognise that this is not a mean imitation of Jayadeva's music and manner.

The dramatic works of Rūpa Gosvāmīn are more serious compositions of an entirely different character, although all of them deal with certain aspects of Kṛṣṇa-līlā and its mystic-erotic possibilities. The old Kṛṣṇa-legend is daringly modified in details, in the light of the peculiar dogmas of Bengal school; and the works are deliberately composed in conformity with its *Rasa-dīpa*, in order that they may illustrate the hundred niceties of its elaborate scheme of devotional sentiments. It is natural, therefore, that profuse quotations are given from these works in the two *Rasa-treatises* of Rūpa himself by way of illustration. The works are rightly held in high esteem by the devotees of the faith, and are marked by considerable and careful literary effort; but there is no

high merit in them as dramatic pieces, nor are they remarkably brilliant on the poetic side. Nominally dramas, they are a peculiar type of composition in which the *Vidagdha* and the *Vidvat* combine with the *Rasika* and the *Bhakta*.

Of the three dramatic works of the Rūpa Goṣvāmin, the *Dāna-keli-kauṃudī*,¹ which calls itself a *Bhāṣikā*,² of the *Uparūpaka* class, is the shortest, being in one Act. The theme is slight, but the working out is elaborate. Varudeva is performing a sacrifice. Rādhā, with the Gopīs, is carrying fresh Ghee in pitchers to the sacrificial ground near the Govinda-kupḍa : but Kṛṣṇa with his companions is up to his usual youthful pranks, obstructs the way and playfully demands his toll (*śulka*), as he is the lord of the forest through which they pass. There is a dispute regarding the right of demand, amount and method of payment and offer of ransom, until the elderly go-between Paurṇamīśī intervenes and settles the lively dispute by the equally lively offer of Rādhā herself as the most handsome and appropriate *śulka* to Kṛṣṇa. The advocates on Rādhā's side are her companions Lalitā and Viśākhā (to whom also Kṛṣṇa's audacities extend !).

1 See above, p. 153.

2 Rūpa Goṣvāmin wrote his dramaturgic work, *Nāṭaka-candrikā*, chiefly to explain and illustrate the various features and elements of his own dramatic works, from which a large number of illustrative quotations are given ; but he does not define *Bhāṣikā*. Viśvanātha explains its characteristics as an *Uparūpaka* in his *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, vi. 308-12, to which, however, Rūpa's play does not strictly conform. On the other hand, it agrees more with the definition of Śaṅkaranarāyaṇa 'in his *Bhāṇa-prakāśana* (ed. Gachwad's Orient. Series, Baroda 1930) p. 362, in having Hari-carita as its subject-matter, the erotic as the chief sentiment in a small theme, song and dance as its elements, and creating excitement by clever turns of speech (see D. R. Mahtab, *Types of Sanskrit Drama*, Karachi 1936, pp. 107-8).—The *Nāṭaka-candrikā*, however, is a work notable for the enthusiasm with which its author grafts on a compilation of commonplace definitions a long series of fervent erotic verses on Kṛṣṇa-illā, as he also does in his *Bhakti-rasamṛta-sindhu* and *Ujjvala-nīlamani*.

while Kṛṣṇa's case is put by his friend Subala and the jester Madhumāṅgala. There is no action, no dramatic situation, nor any diversion of song and dance, but there is only a series—rather a tiresomely lengthy series—of erotic dialogues in prose and verse, with clever, but audacious, innuendoes and punning repartees. Some of the verses are fine, but most of them are laboured and employ conventional expressions, imagery and conceits. The opening Maṅgala-verse in *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* metre :

*anīḥ-śmeratayo'jvalā jalā-kaṇṭh-vyākīrṇa-pakṣmāḥkurā
kīrcit-pājalitāḥcalā rasikatotsiktā puraḥ kuñcalā/
ruddhāyāḥ paṭhi mādhaveṇa madhura-vyābhugna-tārottarā
rādhāyāḥ kilakīñcita-stavakīṇā dṛṣṭiḥ triyaṇ vaḥ kṛtyāḥ//*

is, in spite of its laboured ingenuity, a typical instance of Rūpa's gracefully refined composition. It describes the loving glance of Rādhā, when Kṛṣṇa bars her way, by an implied comparison to a full-blown flower (*stavakīṇā*), with its lovely bunch of seven conflicting emotional expressions (as a result of feminine pride, desire, jealousy, fear and anger, accompanied by smile and tears), which complex combination of erotic gestures is defined in rhetorical works as *Kilakīñcita*.¹

The *Videgḍha-mādhava*² is a more extensive work. It is a regular Nāṭaka in seven Acts, which is meant to present in a dramatic form the entire Vṛndāvana-līlā of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, beginning with *Pūrva-rāga* and ending with *Saṁkṣipta*

1 This is in accordance with Rūpa's own definition (*Ujjvalā**, p. 235) *garvābhīlāsa-rudhira-smitāśyāḥ-bhaya-krodhām/ saṁkārāḥkaraṇaṁ khaṇḍa-śryate kilakīñcitam*, where the present verse of his own is quoted as an illustration. But it is defined thus in the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (III. 101): *smira-lagharadira-hasta-trāsa - krodha - trāsaślingam/ sāmānyam kilakīñcitam abhīṣṭatama-saṁkṣiptāśāḍ khaṇḍe*, and the *Dāsa-rūpa* states briefly: *krodhāśre-khaṇḍa-bhīryāśre saṁkārāḥ kilakīñcitam* (II. 37a), which is paraphrased as: *śoka-roḍhira-khaṇḍāśre saṁkārāḥ kilakīñcitam* in *Rasagovinda-saḍbhāṣa*.

2 See above, p. 151.

Śaṁkīrṇa Śaṁbhoga,¹ from first love to first union, as defined and described in Rūpa's *Ujjvala-nīlamṇi*. In a sense, the theme is the same as that of Rāmānanda's little play, but it is more elaborately worked out. It pays homage to Caitanya as Śaṅkha-nādana (1. 2) in a famous verse;² and we are told that Rūpa was inspired in a dream by Śaṁkara-deva (the Gopīvara Śiva of the temple at Brahmaṇḍa, as the commentator Viśvanātha Cakravartin explains) to compose the drama. It is noteworthy that the Pāripātrīyaka, in the Prologue, ascribes the work to the Sūtradhāra, with the obvious implication that Rūpa himself must have taken the rôle of the stage-director in the enacting of the play at Vṛndāvana.

In Act I we learn that Rādhā, with Lalitā and Viśākhā, is going to worship the sun-god Sūrya, while Candrāvallī, with Padmā and Śaivyā, is preparing to go to Gaṇḍī-dūrtha to worship Caṇḍīkā there; but the elderly, resourceful and kind-hearted Paurṇamāsī, who intends to promote their love-affairs, is scheming to effect the secret union of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. From her Kṛṣṇa hears of Rādhā, united already by a semblance of marriage to Abhimanyu; while the sweet and enchanting music of his flute, from which the Act itself is called *Veṇu-nāda-vilāsa*, as well as a picture of Kṛṣṇa shown by Viśākhā, fills Rādhā with the longings of *Pūrva-rāga*. In Act II, we have the walls of love and separation of Rādhā, as well as of Kṛṣṇa in the approved *Kāvya* manner. Paurṇamāsī suggests to Rādhā the composition of a love-letter to Kṛṣṇa (from which central incident the Act is entitled *Anaḅga-lekha*) with the petals of *Karṇikāra* flowers. The letter, as well as a garland of black-and-red berries of *Guljā* (*Abrus precatorious*), is delivered by Lalitā; but Kṛṣṇa pretends to

1 *janra samkīrṇamāṇāḥ syar vyatikā-maṇaphāḍikāḥ /
upacīdrah sa samkīrṇaḥ kīpīrit tapīkṣya-prīṭīśāḥ* //.
(*Ujjvala**, p. 468).

2 Quoted above p. 431, footnote 1.

spurn them and displays mock-righteousness, although in the end he gives in return a garland of Rādhā's flowers to Lalitā. Kṛṣṇa's show of indifference makes Rādhā desperate, and she wants to throw herself into the Yamunā. Kṛṣṇa overhears all this, and makes his appearance on the scene, but the chance of a pleasant meeting is spoiled by the old duenna Jajñā (Rādhā's mother-in-law), who suddenly arrives and breaks up the party. The third Act, called Rādhā-saṅgama, describes the union of the lovers through the contrivance of Paurṇamāsī, aided by Lalitā and Viśākhā. The fourth Act introduces the motif of jealousy by describing the Pūrva-rāga of Rādhā's rival Candrāvalī; and we have a series of picture of Rādhā's moods and situations as Abhisārikā, Vāsakasañjā, Utkapñibhā, Vipralabdā and Khaṇḍitā heroine, depicted in accordance with the prescriptions of Rasa-tātra. But the main theme of the Act, which is called Yogu-haraṇa, is the playful stealing of Kṛṣṇa's mischievous flute by Rādhā, a feat which, we are told, no other Gopī could perform. This completes the morning sports after union overnight. The fifth Act proceeds to describe the midday sports and to depict Rādhā as a Kalabhātaritā heroine, separated by a love-quarrel, her Māna and propitiation by Kṛṣṇa, and the erotic sports in the forest involving the Prema-vaicitṛya Bhāva (loving apprehension of separation) of Rādhā¹. The sixth Act, as its title indicates, is concerned with the Śrāda-vihāra, not as the commentary explains, with the entire autumnal Rāsa-Mā described in the *Bhāgavata*, but only with a part of the sports at night, chiefly with Rādhā. The seventh and last Act, entitled Gauri-uttha-vihāra, deals with the secret meeting with Candrāvalī who had gone, with her companions Padmā and Saivya, to Gauri-uttha ostensibly to worship Caṇḍikā; but the meeting is frustrated by Paurṇamāsī who sends Rādhā there with Lalitā. Candrāvalī is forced to retreat by the

1. *prīyaya saṅgikarṇe'pi prematkarṇe-svabhāviḥ/*

yā rāseya-dhīyānta tat prema-vaicitṛyam ucyate//

(*Ujjvala'*, p. 449). See above, p. 212.

intervention of the old duenna Karṇikā. Candrāvalī's grandmother, while Kṛṣṇa disguises himself as the goddess Gaurī, deceives Rādhā's chaperon, the old Jaṣṭā, and ultimately unites with his beloved Rādhā.

The *Lalitā-mādhava*,¹ a more extensive drama in ten Acts, is more complicated in theme and plot, although it is, like the other works, more narrative than dramatic in conception and execution, there being a great deal of talk but little incident. This work was also inspired in a dream by Gopīvara Śiva, and was enacted to entertain an assembly of Vaiṣṇava devotees, gathered at the temple of Mādhavi-mādhava on the Rādhā-kuṇḍa at Vṛndāvana, on the occasion of the worship of the Govardhana hill during the Dipāvalī festival. There are Namaskriyās to Caitanya as Śaci-suta, and to Sanātana as the incarnation of the mythical sage of the same name.

The commentary, which is anonymous, explains that the object of the drama is to illustrate the main features and characteristics of Saṃuddhīmat Saṃbhoga defined by Rūpa in his *Ujjvala-nīlamanī*;² but the Vipralambha aspect of the erotic Rasa is as prominent in it as the Saṃbhoga is in the *Vidagdha-mādhava*. It describes not merely the episode of Kṛṣṇa's erotic sports at Vṛndāvana (Acts I-III), but also comprehends Kṛṣṇa's erotic career at Mathurā (Acts IV) and Dvārakā (Acts VI-X). But since the theology of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava school regards the moments of the Vṛndāvana-līlā and Kṛṣṇa's sports with the Gopīs to be of supreme importance, a complicated scheme is ingeniously evolved, by a daring modification of the old legends and by the employment of the familiar Kathā-device of rebirth and change of personality, to prove that Candrāvalī, Rādhā and other Gopīs of Vṛndāvana were no other than Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā and

1 See above, p. 153.

2 *darśabhāṇolāyār yānōḥ pārasatryāḥ vṛyūṭayōḥ /
upabhōgānirōko yōḥ āhṛyāt sa saṃuddhīmatā* // (p. 472).

The *Lalitā-mādhava* is cited in illustration. See above, p. 219.

other princesses, whom Kṛṣṇa abducted and made his queens at Dvārakā.

In Act I, we have a preliminary scene in which Pauruṣmāsī, mother of the sage Saṃpārṇi and disciple of Nārada, reveals the mythical origin of Candrāvallī and Rādhā who, as two daughters of the Vindhya mountain, are related as sisters, a fact of which they were themselves unaware. The infant Candrāvallī having been stolen by the demoeess Pūtānā, an emissary of Kāma, fell from her hands into a stream and became the daughter of Bhlāmaka, king of Vidarbha, being recovered as Rukmīṇī ! Rādhā's story is related later on. Of the sixteen thousand and one hundred Gopīs, who worshipped the goddess Kātyāyanī and Kāmākhyā of Kāmarūpa and received the boon of obtaining Kṛṣṇa as their husband, we are told (iv. 7) that the five chief Gopīs, Padmā or Nāgañijī (daughter of king Nagañjī), Bhadrā or Lakṣmā (daughter of the king of Kekaya), Śaivyā (daughter of the king Śaivya), Śyāmālā or Mādri (daughter of the king of Madra), as well as Lalitā, were all originally princesses, while Viśākhā was the incarnated river Yamunā, daughter of the sun-god ! We are also told that there was regular marriage of Candrāvallī and Rādhā with Kṛṣṇa ; their being the wives respectively of the Gopas, Govardhana and Abhimanyu, is described as the effect of Māyā (Māyā-vivarta). This is also true in the case of the other Gopīs, whom their so-called husbands, the Gopas, could never look upon as their wives¹ ! The object of the Act, however, which is entitled Śāyam-utsava (evening festival), is to describe Pūrva-rāga, chiefly with reference to Candrāvallī and Rādhā. It depicts the return home of Kṛṣṇa in the evening after tending cows all day, and his meetings, separately, with Candrāvallī and Rādhā ; but both the meetings are interrupted by the vigilance of their respective mothers-in-law, Bhāruṇḍī and Jaṣṭhā. The next morning opens, in Act II,

1 *parimanyōrūpāḥ ballarīkūḍāḥ mamaśī-mādrāvalīśāḥ kamārīṇa dāratāḥ
jagad-īdṛṣāḥ prajāśāṣṇāḥ aptā rādhāśī mī-durgāḥṣṇam.*

with a reference to Kṛṣṇa's nocturnal sports with the Gopis, and gives the poet an opportunity of presenting Padmā and Śyāmalā, the two companions of Candrāvallī, as Vipralabdā and Svādhīna-bhartṛkā heroines respectively. In the meantime, the demon Śaṅkhaçūḍa is sent by Kāma to carry away Rādhā, who is reported to have been married to Kṛṣṇa, and who is enthroned as the chief of the Gopis. She goes to worship the sun-god; Kṛṣṇa, in disguise, appears as a Brahman priest to officiate at the ceremony; but the little comedy is upset by the reported arrival of Śaṅkhaçūḍa whom Kṛṣṇa duly kills behind the scene. This is the only demon-killing in the play, and the Act is called Śaṅkhaçūḍa-vadha from this incident. In Act III, Akrūra comes to fetch Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma to Mathurā, and the sorrows of the various Gopis at their departure are described; but the main theme of the Act, which is called Ummatta-rādhikā, consists of Rādhā's wailing and mad search after Kṛṣṇa, somewhat after the manner of Purūrovas's demented search after Urvashī, Rādhā's condition being described in the Valṣṭava Raga-śāstra as *Divyoamādamayī Uḍghūrṇā Dehā*¹. She jumps into the river Yamunā and becomes lost with Viśākhā, but a voice in the air reveals that she has gone to the other world by passing through the orb of the sun. Lalitā, her other companion, also jumps from the top of a hill to kill herself.

The fourth Act changes the scene from the joyless Vṛndāvana to Mathurā, and reveals the corresponding sorrow of Kṛṣṇa at being separated from Candrāvallī, Rādhā and his beloved Gopis. In the meantime Candrāvallī, who is really Rukmiṇī, has been carried away by her brother Rukmiṇa, who is ashamed of her being brought up at Vṛndāvana, in order that she, a princess, should be suitably married to Śiśupāla, king of the Cedis. The sixteen thousand one hundred Gopis were also forcibly abducted by the demon Narakā, so that one must imagine that Vṛndāvana was by this time desolated.

1 See above p. 216.

In order to entertain the sorrowing Kṛṣṇa, Paurṇamīśī arranges the enacting of a play which Kṛṣṇa witnesses, the theme of the inset play (*Garbhāṅka*) justifying the naming of the Act as *Rādhābhāṣā*; but the device of a play within a play is not very effective here. It describes an episode of Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* at *Vṛndāvana*, in which Kṛṣṇa manages to deceive Jaiṣṭhī by assuming the disguise of Abhimanyu, her son and Rādhā's husband, and obtains her permission to sport with Rādhā. The Act V (*Candṛavallī-līlā*) gives a new version of the abduction of Rukmiṇī (=Candṛavallī) at *Kupḍina-nagara*, contrived by the scheming Paurṇamīśī. Kṛṣṇa, accompanied by Garuḍa, enters the palace in the disguise of an actor, and abducts Rukmiṇī with the connivance of her father but against the opposition of her brother.

The sixth Act is entitled *Lalitopalaśodhi* (the winning of Lalitā, who is reborn as Jāmbavatī, daughter of Jāmbavat), but it is concerned chiefly with a new version of the winning of Satyabhāmā, daughter of Satrājīt, and recovery of the *Syamaṇṭaka* jewel. Satyabhāmā, we are told, is transformed Rādhā, who, along with the *Syamaṇṭaka* jewel, was given by the sun-god as a reward of devotion to Satrājīt. *Vidvakarman*, father of the sun-god's wife *Sarpīṣā*, builds a *Nava-vṛndāvana* at *Dvārakā*, where Rukmiṇī-Candṛavallī is installed as the queen, and Satyabhāmā-Rādhā is left in her protection in the manner of *Vāsavadattā* left to the care of *Padmāvatī*. The idea of a token or *Abhijāna* is also introduced, for Satyabhāmā would not be recognised as Rādhā until Kṛṣṇa presents her with the *Syamaṇṭaka* jewel recovered from Jāmbavatī, along with his daughter Jāmbavatī (=Lalitā). The seventh Act (*Nava-vṛndāvana-saṅgama*) describes, after the familiar plot-device of the *Nāṭikā*, the secret meeting of Satyabhāmā-Rādhā with Kṛṣṇa, who shows her a speaking image of Rādhā constructed by *Vidvakarman*, but Rukmiṇī-Candṛavallī, of course, comes upon the scene and interrupts the meeting. The eighth (*Nava-vṛndāvana-vibhāra*) and the ninth (*Citra-darśana*) Acts continue the love-affairs at *Dvārakā* in a new atmosphere. The

eight Act arranges a little comedy of errors, based upon Rukmiṇī Candrāvalī's jealousy of Satyabhāmā-Rādhā, by the exchange of two caskets of ornaments made by Viśvakarman for the two ladies. Incidentally is related the rescue of Viśākhā, reborn as a woman ascetic, by Kṛṣṇa who brings her to Dvārakā. The ninth Act reports similar rescue of Padmā, Bhadrā and Śyāmalā, as well as of the sixteen thousand one hundred Gopīs ; but its principal theme is the depiction of reminiscent love (after the manner of Bhavabhūti's *Cirā-darśana* scene) by Kṛṣṇa's showing to Satyabhāmā-Rādhā a series of cave-frescoes, made by Viśvakarman, bearing on the *Vṛndāvana-līlā*. The tenth and last Act (*Pūṛva-manorāṭha*) describes the dénouement with an all-round happy ending. The *Syamantaka* jewel at last arrives, sent by Satrajit. Kṛṣṇa enters in the disguise of one of the maids sent by the king with the jewel, but the trick is discovered. This brings about Candrāvalī's recognition of Rādhā and graceful acceptance of the situation, in the approved style of similar situations of the *Nāṭikā*. The play ends with reunions effected with Nanda, Yasodā and others who come to Dvārakā, which is now converted into a really new *Vṛndāvana*.

In spite of an elaborate effort to bring about variety by bold and ingenious modification of the simplicity of the original legend, it will be seen that the construction of the drama, complicated as it is, reveals little originality or invention ; for most of the motifs and devices, though cleverly applied, are literary commonplaces clearly borrowed from the *Nāṭikā* and the *Kathā*. Rūpa Gosvāmī certainly possesses considerable literary skill, and is always elegant, often picturesque, and sometimes touching ; but the general artificiality of his style and treatment cannot be mistaken. The central idea of the superiority of the *Vṛndāvana-līlā*, no doubt, supplies a dramatic motive ; but, in spite of the unity of action which it imparts, the works are really a series of narrative episodes loosely strung together by a semblance of dramatic form. Here, as elsewhere, most of the important incidents are report-

ed instead of being represented. In a narrative we are told what occurs, in a drama we see the actual occurrence; in Rūpa's so-called dramas, comparatively little happens, though much is said. The poverty of action and weakness of characterisation are characteristics common enough in the later decadent Sanskrit drama, but Rūpa Goṣvāmīn, out of respect for texts and traditions, writes more for literary and theological, than really dramatic, effect. Even if he is a poor dramatist, he adheres laboriously and conscientiously to the prescriptions of Nāṭya-dāstra and Rasa-dāstra; but Śāstra is, of course, neither drama nor poetry.

There can be no doubt, however, that if he is not a real dramatist, Rūpa Goṣvāmīn is certainly a poet, and not a mere pedant; a devotee, and not a mere dogmatist. But deliberate pedantry and dogma very often get the upper hand and impair the value of his poetry. Witness, for instance, Kṛṣṇa's flattering witicism to Rādhā (*Vidagdha-mādhava*, iii, p. 234):

*mukrāṇām upalabhyam eva kuçayoḥ ślokyam ślokyo te
hivā saṅgam aham samasta-sukṛdām kaivalyam āśedivān/
vaṅmayam tīlam apyanāśritavatoḥ sāndrāmṛta-syandibhir
mām pārṇam kuru tanvi tārṇam anayoḥ sānujya-dānatsavaiḥ* //

which, in its Śleṣa on the words *mukrāṇām*, *ślokyam*, *kaivalyam* and *sānujyam*, is witty indeed, but the wit consists of a theological conceit! Or, take, for instance, Kṛṣṇa's clever compliment, where the conceit of the ten incarnations is ingeniously employed (iv, p. 299):

rādhā, tavadbhīno nāham eva kevala'smi

tu me datāvatārāś ca, tathā hi :

*caṭcan-mīna-vilocanāśi, kamaḥkoṭikṛṣṇa-stani, saṁgamā
kroḍena sphurati, tavyam adharāḥ prahlāda-saṁvardhanaḥ/
madhyu'sau balli-bandhanaḥ, mukha-rucā rāmāś tvayā nirjitā . .
lebhe śrī-ghanasūrya mūnini manasyaṅgikṛtā kalkitā* //

to which Rādhā makes an equally clever retort by a variation of the same idea in a verse which is perhaps more recondite:

*vanyānśaḥ guru-cāpalaṃ kaṣhīnaś ca-saṃgatīḥ pāṇi-
kṛauryaṃ dambha-ruci su-caṇḍīma-dhurdlaṅketa-
vidhvaṅśanam/
airāntanmada-lauḷyam lṛṣṭa-kadam nīstrīṇḍa-nīlomaśir
mīnedrādyavarāṭṛaś sphuṭam amī bhṛṣṭanti bhāga
tvayī//*

To Śiṭupāl's suit, again, in his metrical epistle (*Lalitā-mādhava*, v, pp. 256-257):

*praṇayo damaghoṣa-nandane śiṭupāle tava yauvanāñcite/
naredeva-vare drutaśrava-hṛdayānandī-guṇe viśṛmbhatām//*

Similar ingenuity is shown by Rukmīṣ's reply, which consists of the change of a few syllables in the verse:

*praṇayo mama ghoṣa-nandane śiṭupāle nava-yauvanāñcite/
para-deva-vare druta śrava-hṛdayānandī-guṇe viśṛmbhatām//*

but such facetious witticism hardly befits a lady in distress!

Even when Rūpa Gośvāmī rises above his literary and theological prepossessions, he is seldom natural, but produces verses of the usual artificial kind. Here is a purely rhetorical description of Rādhā's lovely face by means of a well-worn¹ conceit (*Lalitā-mādhava*, i, p. 68):

*samīkṣya tava rādhikā vadana-bimbam udbhāsuram
trapā-bhara-pariṣa-dhīḥ trayitum asya tulya-kriyam/
śaśi kila kṛtibhavan suradhunī-taraṅgokpitaś
tapasyati kapardīnaḥ sphuṭa-jalājavīm ākṛita//*

The same remark applies to Rādhā's wailing as an Utkarṣīṇī

¹ Cf. *Kaṇadira-racana-samuccaya*, ed. F. W. Thomas, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1912, no. 208.

betelae by means of *Aṅgāpadeśa* (*Vidagdha-mādhava*, iii, p. 176):

*nāṭkinīṃ nīti ghaṇṭakalikām alaṅkaraṃ
kṣiptvāṇīr asaru-varyagajāḥ kṣuṇṭhi/
atṛānūrāgīṇī cīrād udite'pi bhānau
hā hanta kiṃ sakhi sukhaṃ bhaviṣṭa varākyāḥ//.*

It is not very often that Rūpa Gosvāmī divests himself of conscious rhetoric and rant and writes simply and finely as follows (*Vidagdha-mādhava*, iv, p. 313):

*mudrāṃ dhairyamayīṃ kṣaṇaṃ vitanute tārūṇya-lakṣmīṃ
kṣaṇaṃ
sopekṣāḥ kṣaṇaṃ ānanti bhāṇīr utsukya-bhāḥ
kṣaṇaṃ/
juddhāṃ dr̥ṣṭim itaḥ kṣaṇaṃ prapāyati preṅkhat-
kaṣṭkṣaṇaṃ kṣaṇaṃ
roṣṇa prapāyena cākulita-dhī rādha dvidhā bhidyate//.*

It is needless to multiply examples, for the poet has verses enough for anything. The verses have often the fascination of sonorous sound and sentimental sense, but their frequency and extravagance become undramatic and tiresome. Sometimes they have resonance but no melody; and being industriously multiplied with set phrases and conceits, they have, when they are not deliberately recondite, little originality in idea and expression. The prose and the dialogue contain much smart repartees and witty erotic suggestions, but they have hardly any dramatic quality, for the simple reason that everything of importance, according to the established dramaturgic tradition, is expressed in verse. In the leisurely progress of the elaborate verse and diligently witty prose, the action and the plot, for which the themes do not afford much scope, are left to take care of themselves; dramatic motive or unity is of little concern; a panorama of painstaking pictures or a loosely connected series of narrative incidents is supposed to be sufficient. The

devotees of the faith think highly of these productions of Rūpa Gosvāmin ; that is perhaps not for their dramatic or poetic excellence, but chiefly because they are deliberate scholarly attempts to illustrate the doctrinal nuances of the emotional Bhakti in terms of the freshly and ingeniously interpreted Kṛṣṇa-legend. The works undoubtedly constitute a departure, and are inspired by a strange combination of acute scholastic learning, literary dexterity and great devotional fervour of a refined erotico-religious character ; but their real interest is other than literary, and they have little pretension either to the dramatic or the poetic in the proper sense.

4. KĀVYAS AND CAMPOŚ

If the dramatic writings of Caitanyaism deserve such measured praise, its elaborate poetical productions, in spite of their stylistic elegances and sentimental subtleties, cannot be rated at a much higher value. All of them select Kṛṣṇa-Mā, especially the Vṛndāvana-Mā, as their theme, and present different aspects of it in a background of highly sensuous charm ; but whatever may be their devotional value, they are laborious products of artificial and erudite fancy, rather than poetic creations of spontaneous inspiration. In their highly impassioned treatment of an erotic-mystic theme, these devotional poems pass through the whole gamut of erotic motif, imagery and expression, and no one can deny the exquisite verbal melody and pictorial fancy which they often attain ; but, apart from the fact that they are composed with a deliberate doctrinarian purpose, they do not escape the talot of artificiality which, with the general subsidence of the creative impulse, characterises the entire Sanskrit poetry of decadence. The vivid exuberance of the erotic-mystic fancy and the emotional inflatus which the legendary and romantic theme supplies, no doubt, afford great poetic possibilities and make these works stand apart ; but it is unfortunate that they seek and receive applause more by a meretricious display of rhetorical and emotional contrivances in the conventional form

and diction, than by genuinely emotional and poetic quality of an independent and original character.

We have already noted that these devotional poems, dramas and Campūs of Caitanyaism give expression to a phase of the mediaeval Bhakti movement which was essentially emotional, and base the religious sentiment, mystically, upon the exceedingly familiar and authentic intensity of transfigured sex-passion. There can be no doubt that such an attitude brings about a new development in Sanskrit religious poetry, which had hitherto confined itself to a more staid and sober kind of speculative emotion, and relate it very closely to erotic poetry. This is done to such an extent that poems like Jayadeva's *Gita-govinda* would appear, from different aspects, both as a religious and an erotic work. The new standpoint vivified religion, as well as its poetry, with a human element by lifting one of the most powerful impulses of the human mind into a means of glorious exaltation. It involved an assertion of the emotional and aesthetic in human nature against the hard intellectuality of dry dogmas and doctrines. But we have also seen that the new movement, in its turn, created its own dogmas and doctrines; and if its ecstatic emotional inclination precluded intellectual virility, it was certainly marked by great intellectual subtlety, which was characteristic of the scholastic age. Along with its philosophy and theology, the sectarian devotionism elaborated its appropriate system of emotional analysis, its refinements of psychology and poetics, its subtleties of phraseology, imagery and conceits. As the sentiment of Bhakti or religious devotion is approximated to the sentiment of literary relish,¹ called *Rasa*, the whole apparatus of *Alaṅkāra*, as well as of *Kāma-lātra*, and their technicalities are ingeniously utilised and exalted. The new application becomes novel, intimate and inspiring; and the erotic sensibility in its devotional ecstasy often rises above the formalism of its rhetorical

1 See above p. 186 f.

and psychological banalities, of its metaphysical and theological niceties. But this is more true of the detached poems and *Stotras*, of which we shall speak presently and which perhaps afford greater scope for personal feeling, than of the artificially sustained *Kāvya* works, with which we are at present concerned, and which conform deliberately not only to their own mass of newly created conventionalities, but also to the entire literary resources of the older traditional *Kāvya*-technique in their method, manner, form and diction.

The spirit and outlook were changed, but the new movement, even with the accession of romantic, emotional and legendary material, failed to break away from the extreme and affected classicality of the decadent Sanskrit *Kāvya* and evolve its own independent and appropriate form of expression. The attempt was obviously discouraged by the older recognised *Kāvya* tradition, which had its established modes and models, laws and means; and it was certainly not assisted by the creation of a fresh series of rhetorical and psychological formulas and dogmatic theological shibboleths. There was, therefore, no freedom of conception and treatment, but a methodical practice of conventional art and artifice, as well as conformity to an elaborate system of sectarian common-places and conceits. Suckled in a poetic creed outworn, as well as in a theological creed newborn, the writers seldom create new poetic forms, which would admit of beautiful expression of memorable poetic thought and feeling. With inherited affluence and considerable talent for elaborate composition, they are assiduous, erudite and conscientious; but the greatest of them is scarcely a poet; he is a consummate versifier who runs up all the tradition of poetic art that can be learnt by a clever and industrious artisan. They suggest craftsmanship rather than creation, facility rather than freedom, immense and varied learning rather than vigour and versatility of spontaneous inspiration.

It would seem, therefore, that, apart from a certain dubious gain in emotional content, the *Vaiṣṇava* devotional

Kāvya, from the point of view of literary form and expression does not mark any striking departure from the time-honoured tradition of the literary Kāvya. Its treatment, therefore, of the new theme and shaping of the new emotion are narrowly conditioned by inherited ideas of pseudo-classicism, for the deadly weaknesses of which the romantic subject and sentiment could hardly prove a solvent. The passion in these poems is genuine, but is too often artistic, rather than personal; the pictures possess delicacy of feeling and gracefulness of touch, but the reality and richness of the emotion is too often obscured by a deliberate load of bad pedantry and worse rhetoric, and the elegance is too often the product of mechanical adroitness. There are, no doubt, abundance and variety of talent and effort, but there is also a strange combination of elaborate pains and insufficient accomplishment, of interminable ingenuity and endless dreariness. With ready-made words and ideas, forms and themes, it is not difficult to acquire impressive facility and respectable workmanship; but, being fashioned after a standardised pattern, the productions are too much alike, the subjects have too little variety, the treatment is glaringly similar, and the style and diction employ the same system of decorative devices, the same commonplaces of words, ideas, epithets and conceits. It cannot be denied, however, that in the extraordinary command of a rich and secondite vocabulary, in the grace and fluency of phrasing, in the elaborate adjustment of sound and sense, in ingenious and incessant rhetorical ornamentation, in the skilled use of difficult and diverse metres, in the elegant wielding of a weighty, embellished and complex diction, the *Vaiṣṇava Kāvya*, like the average Sanskrit Kāvya, reveals a degree of massively and mechanically finished efficiency, which is indeed astonishing. But its method and manner are too favourable to literary pedantry not to be perilous to limpid poetry.

That the Kāvya of this period, devotional or otherwise, is the product of high cultivation, meant for a highly

cultivated audience, is, as we have already said, a natural corollary of the fact that it flourished in an age in which the scholastic cultivation of learning was almost universal. The really creative age in every sphere of knowledge or of art was over : it was now a stage of critical elaboration, of fertile but fruitless erudition, of prolix but uncreative subtleties, and of endless but wearisome acumen for trivial niceties. All these learned and laborious tendencies reflected themselves in the literary works of the period. At no stage of its history, indeed, the Sanskrit Kāvya was a spontaneous product of poetic inspiration ; much culture and practice, and not inborn gift alone, went into its making ; it was wholly dominated by a self-conscious idea of art and method and was not meant for undisciplined enjoyment ; its supernormal or super-individual character is recognised both by theory and practice, which rule out personal interest and emphasise purely artistic emotion. But the assiduous cultivation of the cult of style, which believes that nothing great can be achieved in the ordinary way, becomes naturally concomitant of a scholastic age, in which industry was reckoned higher than inspiration, and in which a normative doctrine of technique replaced free exercise of the poetic imagination, a respect for literary convention ousted individuality of poetic treatment. The result, on the one hand, was a severe restriction of poetic imagination and expression by a ponderous establishment of its unalterable norm and mechanism ; on the other hand, there was a correspondingly high proficiency in the attainment of mechanical excellence. There is, therefore, much excellent writing in this period, but not much excellent poetry. The works will perhaps never lack their fit readers, though few, but they will never possess a wider appeal nor attain more than a limited currency.

In spite of its romantic charm and lyric effluence, the general theme of the devotional poetry of Caitanyaism lacks variety and strikingness of inventive thought. The general poetic spirit of a newborn religious enthusiasm may be

admitted, but the exaggerated consciousness of art and the monotonous sameness of characteristics inevitably suggest a sense of artificiality. There are indeed some variations in the detailed working out of the *Vṛndāvana-līlā* of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, but the form and expression are not sufficiently varied. We meet over and over again with the same set of situations and descriptions, the same subtleties and refinements, the same tricks of expression, the same strings of nouns and adjectives, the same group of conceits and the same system of emotional analysis. Two aspects of the *Vṛndāvana-līlā*, however, are generally distinguished, namely the perpetual or *Nitya* and the occasional or *Naimittika* sports; and the two aspects of the erotic sentiment, namely, the *Sambhoga* or love in union and the *Vipralambha* or love in separation, find expression in the *Nitya* sports, the *Sambhoga* alone being prominent in the *Naimittika*. The theme of the *Nitya* sports is generally concerned with what is called the *Aṣṭa-kālīkā-līlā*, or sports and pastimes during the different parts of the day, beginning from the morning to the end of the night. The eight parts of the day, according to the Vaiṣṇava theology, are: *Prātaḥ* (morning), *Pūrvāhṇa* (forepart of the day), *Madhyāhṇa* (midday), *Aparāhṇa* (afternoon), *Sāyāhṇa* (evening), *Pradoga* (first part of the night), *Madhya-rātra* (midnight) and *Nidānta* (end of the night). The *Naimittika* sports, on the other hand, comprises such occasional or detached erotic episodes as *Dāsa-līlā* or *Puṣpa-haraṇa*.

The *Nitya-līlā* of the *Aṣṭa-kālīka* type forms the subject-matter of the *Kṛṣṇāhnikā-kaumudī* of Kavitarapūra and the *Govinda-nīlāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, as also of the much later *Kṛṣṇa-bhāvanāmṛta* of Viśvanātha Cakravartin. We have seen¹ that the uninterrupted recollection (*Smaraṇa*) and contemplation (*Bhāvanā*) of Kṛṣṇa's erotic sports with his beloved Gopīs form the essence of the *Rāgānuṣṭhāna Bhakti*; the

1 See above, pp. 176-177.

present works intend to supply the basis of such recollection and contemplation by a minute portraiture of the sports occurring interruptedly for the whole day and night. A brief outline of the *Āṣṭakālika*- or *Naiṭyaka*-LĪĀ is given in the *Pīṭāla-khaṇḍa* of the *Padma-purāṇa*¹. But it was the *Smaraṇa-maṅgala* of Rūpa Gosvāmin which, in eleven verses,² formed the rubric developed by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in his extensive *Kāvya* in twenty-three cantos. It is, however, not known if Kavīkarpurā, who for the first time appears to have composed a regular *Kāvya* on the subject, was aware of this hint supplied by Rūpa Gosvāmin.

The *Kṛṣṇāhṛīka-kāumudī*³ of Kavīkarpurā is a comparatively short *Kāvya* in six *Prakāśas* and 705 rhymed stanzas. The first *Prakāśa*, in depicting the *Nidānta*-lĪĀ, describes the awakening of Rādhā (st. 1-16) and Kṛṣṇa (17-29) by talking parrots (sent by Vṛndā), who for that purpose recite twenty-one luscious verses; Rādhā's *dēśhabiliti* appearance after the nocturnal sports, her indolent erotic gestures (*Rasāśāsa*) and leaving of the bed (30-37), which bears evidence of their sports (38-39); their leaving of the grove in which they lie and return to their respective houses (40-45). The entire canto, which is, however, the shortest in the poem, is composed in the *Mālinī* metre, and each stanza attempts *Paśa-madhyāntānuprāsa*, in which the middle and end of each foot rhyme together, thus:

*rajanī cārama-yāme stoka-tārābhīrāme
kim api kim api vṛndādetā-jarābhīnandā/
vīratīr akṛīa rādhā-kṛṣṇayoh svāpa bādha-
matī-mṛdu-vacanānām śarikāṇām śukānām/*

1. Ed. Anandāśrama, Poona 1894, Pl. ii. *Pīṭāla-khaṇḍa* ch. 43, pp. 624-626.

2. See above, p. 155. If it really contained eleven verses, as the *Bhakti-rasāśrta* states, then it cannot be identified with Haraprasad Sastri's MS which is said to contain thirty-five verses, but the Vaidya Śhriya Paripad MS (*Catalogue*, p. 235, no. 103/1116) contains exactly eleven verses. For the text of this unpublished work, edited from the latter MS, see below, under Additions and Corrections.

3. See above, p. 46, footnote.

The second *Prakāśa* is written in *Vasantatilaka* metre (with a concluding *Puṣpāṅgrā* verse) composed with end-rhyme¹. It is devoted to the *Prātar-Mā*, in which *Yasodā* awakens the boy *Kṛṣṇa*, who has slyly crept from the grove into his own bed at home (1-6); maid-servants attend upon him during his washing of face and other morning ceremonies (7-19); then we have *Kṛṣṇa*'s milking of cows (*Go-dhana*) and mock-fight (*Malla-yuddha*) with his boy-friends, bath, dress and breakfast (20-46). Similar descriptions follow regarding *Rādhā*'s morning activities, which are assisted by her companions, involving a somewhat heightened, but interesting, account of the lady's dress, ornament and decoration (47-79). *Rādhā*, summoned by *Yasodā*, goes to *Nanda*'s house; she assists (80-85) *Rohiṇī*, like a dutiful daughter-in-law, to cook the morning meal consisting of a large number of delicious dishes, which are described in detail with great relish (86-118). It is curious that in the long list of the various vegetables, we find the familiar modern dialectical names of *ālu*, *koṣu*, *paṭola*, *moṣā*, *dipṇīṣa* (देवस्य), *karkarola* (ककरोल) and *varavaṣṭi* (वर्वाटी), as well as the words *sarkāri* (vegetable), *kharcura* (खेचुर) and *dadhi-ghola-vaṣṭā*. The third *Prakāśa*, composed in the long and sonorous, but end-rhyming, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, completes the *Pūrvāhṇa-Mā*, and just commences the *Madhyāhṇa-Mā*. The *Pūrvāhṇa-Mā* comprises the topic of serving of the morning meal to *Kṛṣṇa* and his companions, after which *Rādhā* and others eat (1-1), and *Kṛṣṇa*'s going out with his friends to tend the cows, followed by a description of their dress and various sports (13-36). The *Madhyāhṇa-Mā* begins with a description of the bewitching

1. As for instance (ii. 70):

manīṣa bahandha karamā sumagī-pravāṣam

śaṅkṣāṅgī-kāṣaṇa-parbhakā-kāṣi-śaṅkṣam

dhammīlām ālāṣiṣa-śaṅkṣa-paṭṭa-dāṣmā

lambā-prāṣaṇa-yugalāna māṣiṣa-dhāṣmā //.

Rūpa Corvina uses middle-rhyme in his *Mukunda-makīṣā*! See below.

sweetness of Kṛṣṇa's flute and of the beauty of the forest (including a pedantic list of the names of trees in five verses!) in the six seasons (37-56) and ends with the topic of sylvan sports (57-73).

The fourth *Prakāśa*, in which the *Svāgātā* metre is employed with end-rhyme, continues the topic of the *Madhyāhna-līlā* in 298 stanzas. It is the longest canto in the poem, which depicts in detail and with great zest Kṛṣṇa's midday erotic sports with Rādhā and the Gopīs. It describes Kṛṣṇa's youthful beauty of limbs (4-34), the *Abhīśāra* of Rādhā accompanied by the Gopīs and their witty erotic ratiery (35-70), Kṛṣṇa's playing on his flute which brings on sentimental helplessness (*Bhāva-vaikalya*) in the Gopīs (71-82), Kṛṣṇa's pleasantries and sportive dispute regarding the ownership of the forest, ending with dalliance on land and in water (83-200), dressing after bath (201-212), picnic with a detailed description, again, of the food taken (213-238), and dice-play with erotic jests and wagers (239-298). The fifth *Prakāśa*, in which we have *Puṣpitaṅgā* metre with end-rhyme, describes the *Aparāhna* and *Sāyāhna-līlā*. It depicts Kṛṣṇa's return home in the afternoon with his herd of cows (1-14) and the consequent sorrow, poetically exaggerated, of all animate and inanimate things of the forest at parting from him (15-23), as well as Kṛṣṇa's appearance as he returns (24-43), and his milking of cows (44-47). In the *Sāyāhna-līlā*, we have Kṛṣṇa's change of dress, massage of limbs, bath and rest, assisted by attendants (48-62), taking of the evening meal (63-73), going to the cow-shed (74-87) and retiring to his bed-room (88-97). The six and last canto, in *Mandākrāntā* metre (also with end-rhyme), begins with the *Pradoṣa-līlā*, in which Kṛṣṇa in bed is tended by his mother Yaśodā, as well as by attendants (1-11), and which is followed by the *Abhīśāra* of the Gopīs (12-20) and union with Rādhā (21-31). In the *Naiśa-līlā* the love-sports in the grove (32-37) begin with the drinking of light and sweet wine made from the honey of flowers (*Madhu-pāna*, 38-65), playful stealing of Kṛṣṇa's *Syamaṇṭaka* jewel

(66-69), with just a brief concluding reference to amorous dalliance (70-71), which in the reticent opinion of the poet¹, is incapable of proper description, and which, therefore, makes him hush and bless himself with silence²!

Such is the luxuriously sentimental picture of Vṛodāvana, a veritable paradise of unalloyed sports, pastimes and plesanteries—and of gorgeous feeding! In depicting it, Kavikarṇapūra displays considerable literary skill, but his mediocre poetic powers do not improve by the selection of a fanciful and romantic theme, nor by the strenuous application of all the resources of traditional technique. He is not entirely graceless in bringing out the succulent possibilities of his highly erotic subject, but they are obscured by a prodigious amount of pedantry and rhetorical refinement. A pleasing variation is introduced by the employment of middle and end-rhyme³ in the verses, obviously through the influence of vernacular poetry: the stanzas undoubtedly possess swing, smoothness and melody; but the interminable and wearisome use of such rhyming device becomes singsong. Kavikarṇapūra possesses a considerable vocabulary of fine words; he is a clever artisan in the employment of conventional imagery, expressions, ideas, and conceits; he is a talented master of verbal and metrical contrivance; but in verse after verse his constant straining after purely rhetorical

1 It is not that the poet is always reticent; witness, for instance, the fulsome description of erotic acts, gestures and post in canto i, iv, and vi! Or, as a particular instance, Rādhā's joke in iv, 47, for which even the editor feels that some apology is necessary!

2 There are three concluding verses, two in śloka and one in śārdūlavikrīḍita, in which the author gives a brief account of himself. The last verse states:

*śrī-gaurāṅga-kṛpāmaya'vanti-tair-śrīmaṇ-chirāmandakāḥ
ura'māṇṭha-kalodhāvaḥ saṅgibhiḥ śārdūlāṃ sadā gauradhī /
sa-purāḥ kavikarṇapūra-raṅgāśrī-dṛyāgrasī nṛīṇaḥ
śrī-kṛṣṇānukā-kamurālī vidīraṃ kṛpāṃ sa-kṛpāṃ vyadhāt ||*

3 The end-rhyme, as well as middle-rhyme, is extensively used by Rūpa Goswāmī in many of his well-known *Stotras* e.g. *Mahānanda-mukhārāṇī*, *Śrīyaṇa-upaśānta-āṇa*, *Kuṅjara-kṛī-ṣṭava*, etc.

effect' gives us a prodigality of literary ingenuity instead of a profusion of poetic beauty.²

1 We must not forget that Kavikarṇapūra was also the author of an elaborate rhetorical work, entitled *Alampāra-lakṣaṇā*, which deals, not with Bhakti-rasa, but with Kāvya-rasa. It is curious, however, that in his illustrations he does not quote his own Kāvya, although two verses of his drama, *Caitanya-candrodaya* (cited by us above) are quoted anonymously (ed. Radhakrishnan Press, Berhampur-Murshidabad, 1938, pp. 630-631).

2 It is doubtful if the *Camariṭra-candrikā*, which is sometimes ascribed to Kavikarṇapūra (see above, p. 46, footnote), really belongs to him. There is no proof of authorship to be found in the body of the work; and the name of the author is missing in the colophon of the printed text as well as of the India Office (Eggeling, vii, no. 3882/1177e), Tübingen (Roth, p. 9), Bengal Asiatic Society (H. P. Sastri, vii, no. 5200), Vāṅgīya Śāhitya Pariṣad (C. H. Chakravarti, p. 186) MSS, although it appears as Kavikarṇapūra in that of the single MS of R. L. Mitra (vi, no. 2150). The testimony of the five Dacca University MSS, which we consulted, is conflicting: three of them (nos. 2412, 2463, 2770) contain no name of the author; the colophon of one (no. 2387), which is a modern MS (dated Śaka 1740=1818 A.D.) ascribes the work to Kavikarṇapūra-govindin; while that of another (no. 2657) definitely names Viṣṇuśiṭha as the author. The printed text, according to tradition, ascribes it to Viṣṇuśiṭha Cakravartin; and this is more likely. It is, however, a small and simple Kāvya of little importance on some curious love-intrigues of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, divided into four Kuṭūhala (of 37, 33, 101 and 55 verses respectively—226 verses in total), the verses being composed in each canto (except canto iii, which is entirely in Upajāti) in a variety of metres. In the first Kuṭūhala, Kṛṣṇa stealthily gets into a box of clothes and ornaments, which Yaśodā wants to send to Rādhā, and which Rādhā's husband, Abhimanyu, not knowing, carries on Yaśodā's request to Rādhā's bedroom to the great amusement of Rādhā and her companions; the second Kuṭūhala describes how Kṛṣṇa, in the disguise of Abhimanyu, succeeds in deceiving Jayā, Rādhā's mother-in-law, and obtains her permission to sport with Rādhā in her own house; in the third Kuṭūhala, Rādhā pretends snake-bite, Kṛṣṇa arrives in the disguise of Vidyāvraṭ, daughter of the sage Garga, who is supposed to be a snake-doctor, and manages to spend the night with Rādhā in the art of curing her; in the fourth Kuṭūhala, Kṛṣṇa, failing in the disguise of a girl to propitiate Rādhā, deceives Jayā into the belief that he is a girl-cousin, and at her direction Rādhā is obliged

The *Govinda-Nāṭya*¹ of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja contains a more extensive treatment of the same theme. It is a long and laborious production of a subtle pedant, rather than of a sound or even sophisticated poet. Whatever may be its value to the devotee of the faith, the stupendous work is not a poem but a poetical curiosity of Śāstric knowledge, legendary lore, salacious fancy, technical facility and uninspired ingenuity. It is the longest Bengali Vaiṣṇava Kāvya in verse the number of cantos being 23 and of verses 2488.² It falls, according to the accepted scheme of day-and-night sports and pastimes of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs, into the following divisions:³ Prātar-III 1-iv ; Pūrvāhna III v-viii ; Madhyāhna-III ix-xviii ; Aparāhna-, Sāyam-, and Pūrva-nidā-III xix-xxi, including Rāsa-III xxii ; and Rājant-III xxiii. We have already noted that the work was composed, as the author himself tells us (xxiii. 94), on a hint supplied by Rūpa Gosvāmin in a work, entitled *Smarana-maṅgala*;⁴ but it is not clear if Kṛṣṇadāsa also knew Kavikarṇapūra's *Kṛṣṇādhika-kauṃudī*. Probably he knew it ; for he certainly utilised Kavikarṇapūra's biographical poem and drama in his Bengali biography of Caitanya. The present work was avowedly intended as a *vade mecum* for those

to accept his companionship for the night. It is a work of little poetic merit or theological pretension, and the somewhat trite stories are not very amusingly told.

1 See above, p. 54, footnote 1

2 The figure does not include 23 colophon-verses, repeated with some variations at the end of each canto. These would make the total 2511. In the India Office MS of the work, the number slightly varies in each canto as well as in the total.

3 The actual title of each canto, with the respective number of verses, is as follows: I *Kuṅja-nīlota-keli-racana* 116 ; II-III *Kalyāṇānanda-varṇana* 105 and 113 ; IV *Prātar-bhojana*-III 77 ; V-VIII *Pūrvāhna*-III 80, 86, 132 and 113 ; IX-X *Madhyāhna*-III 106 and 149 ; XI *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-varṇana* 146 ; XII-XVIII *Madhyāhna*-III (continued) 103, 114, 112, 146, 110, 68 and 98 ; XIX *Aparāhna-keli* 109 ; XX *Sāyam-keli* 77 ; XXI *Pūrva-nidā-vilāsa* 127 ; XXII *Rāsa*-III 101 ; XXIII *Rājant-vilāsa* 96.

4 For this work see below, under Additions and Corrections.

who want to practise Rāgaugā Bhakti (rāgādhva-sādhaka) : the descriptions are, therefore, made deliberately detailed and circumstantial, in conformity with the dictates of Vaiṣṇava Rasa-tātra.¹ But the work was also meant for the conscious display of the author's extraordinary learning and skill in grammar, rhetoric, prosody, erotics, music, poetics and theology !

It is not necessary to summarise the details of the openly erotic sports, which are elaborately and lusciously depicted, Kṛṣṇadāsa being not at all squeamish or observing the greater reticence of Rūpa, Jiva and Karmapūra : but some interesting features may be briefly indicated. The Nidānta- and Prātar-līlās, in the first two cantos, include description of the awakening of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā from sleep by speaking parrots sent by Vṛndā, the railery of Rādhā's companions, Kṛṣṇa's pretended sleep after Rādhā leaves and formal awakening by Yaśodā, his going out with his companions and milking of cows, and Rādhā's morning ablution, dress and decoration. The third and fourth cantos on Pūrvāhṇa-līlā continue the last topic but they also describe the cooking of food by Rādhā and her companions at Yaśodā's direction.²

1 A reverential mention is made of the Vṛndāvaśa Gaurāṅgīya, namely, Rūpa, Jiva, Raghunātha-dāsa and Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, whose works the author follows. As Saṅkṛāṇa is not directly mentioned, it is probable that he was dead at the time of the composition of the work (see above, p. 53, footnote 2).

2 The ingredients of the food, as well as the delicious dishes prepared, are elaborately mentioned in līl. 4-5, 39-54, 58-59 and 87-108. We know from C-C that Kṛṣṇadāsa never misses an opportunity of giving, with great relish, long lists of gorgeous delicacies : see, for instance, Caitanya's taking meals at Advaita's house after Saṅkṛāṇa, Madhya līl. 43-55 ; Jagannātha's Prāsāda sent by Pratiśarodra, Madhya xiv, 23-34 ; Caitanya's meals at Śārvabhauma's house at Puri, Madhya xv, 197-218 etc. It is interesting to note that on the last occasion, Śārvabhauma's son-in-law, Amoghā, is said to have commented upon the amount of food taken by the ascetic Caitanya : एह भगवे तुम इमं कृतं वारं वारं । एकेना संव्यासी करे एतेक मोक्षणं ॥ The scoffer, we are told, was cotiao-

Kṛṣṇa's bath, dress and partaking of the food and going out again with his boy-friends, after which Rādhā and others take their meals. The fifth and sixth cantos describe Kṛṣṇa's Goṣṭha-līlā or tending of cows and incidental erotic adventures. At Jaṣilā's direction Rādhā prepares to go to worship the sun (Sūrya-pūjā), but she is full of love and longing for Kṛṣṇa, makes garlands and betels for him and sends her companion, Tulasi, with them. After partaking of food again, brought by Dhanīṣṭhā, Kṛṣṇa finds Tulasi and sends a message to Rādhā to meet at the Rādhā-kuṇḍa. In the meantime Śaivya brings a message from Candrāvali, whom also Kṛṣṇa arranges to meet at Gauri-tīrtha (this theme, however, the author does not develop later on!). The seventh canto concludes the Pūrvāṅga-līlā by describing Kṛṣṇa's visit to the Rādhā-kuṇḍa, where he waits expectantly for Rādhā; and the poet takes the opportunity to describe the Rādhā-kuṇḍa, as well as the Śyāma-kuṇḍa nearby, and the adjoining grove, which contains an arbour with a swing in it.

The Madhyāṅga-līlā, which describes the lovers' meeting and their various sports, naturally takes larger space for elaborate erotic descriptions. The eighth, ninth and tenth cantos depict Rādhā's visit, on the pretext of Sūrya-pūjā, accompanied by Yradā and her companions, her meeting with Kṛṣṇa, her erotic feelings and gestures, and the witty but always erotic jests, innuendos, fun and merriment with Kundaḥatā and other Sakhibi, including the playful stealing of Kṛṣṇa's flute; which last incident gives Kṛṣṇa an opportunity, on the pretext of a search for his lost flute, to touch and embrace the Sakhibi individually and ultimately come to Rādhā in the arbour for a brief sexual enjoyment. A part of the sixth canto appears to be intended for a minute and systematic illustration, by a series of verses bearing on Rādhā, of

quently affected with cholera! These, as well as the exceedingly salacious erotic passages from the ascetic Govindāsa, will perhaps afford an interesting study of inhibitions to the modern psychologist!

feats of verbal and metrical jugglery. In the twelfth canto we have renewed dispute about the theft of the flute and description of the grove by Vṛndā; in the thirteenth, we find Kṛṣṇa's description of the six seasons, the play of the talking parrots, and Kṛṣṇa's erotic repartee with Rādhā; in the fourteenth, the topics are Rādhā's Prema-vaicitṭya, the sport of throwing fragrant and coloured water, the game of the swing (Hindolārohaṇa), drinking of sweet wine (Madhu-pāna)¹ and lying down in the grove; while the fifteenth proceeds to the natural climax of Saṃbhoga, or unalloyed sexual enjoyment, in the course of which Kṛṣṇa, at Rādhā's request, assumes multiple forms and enjoys all her companions simultaneously! This is followed by sports in water, picnic of fruits and herbs, and midday sleep. The sixteenth and seventeenth cantos describes the awakening of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā from sleep, in which the motif of parrots singing their praise is repeated. The wise parrots, like the learned author, appear to be well versed in *Alaṅkāra-dāstra*, and illustrate in each verse of two extensive cantos the different poetic figures! They are also adepts in the art of composing devotional Stotras and recite a Kṛṣṇāṣṭaka and a Rādhāṣṭaka! The eighteenth canto illustrates what is known as Bhāṣā-sama (in which a verse would read the same in Sanskrit and Prakrit) and all kinds of verbal trick (Dyaḡara, Samaka, etc.) and Prabelikā (Kriyā-gupta, Saṃbandha-gupta, etc.); but it concludes the Madhya-

pakṣiḥ/ kṛṣṇa-mude sū prāha vidhāḥ) and six *śekhaṇa* *prapancāṇi* *śekhaṇa* *lajjāṇi*/ *śa-vāṇyā* *karūḥ* *radat* *śaḡavāḥ* *śyāḥ*) syllables, which are not commonly used, and ending with every variety of metre, common or uncommon, defined by metrists! Not only is this canto; but a general feature of the work is that the same metre is not employed throughout any canto. There is another series of short-syllable metres exemplified in xlii, 73-103.

1 Rādhā's intoxicated muttering is imitated in xv. 5 in *Druta-vilambita* metre: *ma ma mā pi pi pi śyā māḥ hare*, *ki ki kīp vidhāṇi* *ihēcchāḥ*/ *la laṭṭam da da dāḥ mama kṛṣṇam*, *ka kaṭāḥ* *yaḥ* *śrī* *ghu ghāḥ* *yaḥ* // . But this is, again, not original; cf. *Kṛṣṇāṅkura-kāṇḍa* vi. 62 and *Kaṭindra-varaṇa-samuccaya*, no. 39.

śaśa-llā by describing dice-play with its attendant pleasantries and erotic wagers. The inevitable spoil-sport Jaṭilā appears on the scene : Rādhā pretends to be engaged in sun-worship ; Kṛṣṇa deceives Jaṭilā by entering in the disguise of a priest, and later on of a sooth-sayer versed in palmistry ; and the whole comedy ends by Kṛṣṇa's boy-friends plundering the offerings to the sun-god !

The Aparāṅga-llā takes up the nineteenth and twentieth cantos, in which Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā return to their respective homes and engage in their usual duties. Rādhā again prepares various kinds of delicacies, of which a minute list is given (xix. 50-58), and sends them to Kṛṣṇa for feeding. But the author cannot divest himself of his scholastic pedantry. We are told, for instance, that Kṛṣṇa, in his boyish conversation, becomes engaged with boy-friends in Ālāpa, Anulāpa, Pralāpa, Vipralāpa, Saṁlāpa, Supralāpa, Vilāpa, and Apalāpa¹, as well as in the employment of words which are Grasta, Avāpaṣṭa, Nirasta, Avajāḥ, Vitatha, Saṁgata, Sopālamḥa, Sotprāsa, Vyāja-stuti-garḥa and Narmāñcita-gūḍha, or characterized by Citra-kāvya and Samanyā-dānapūraṅga—an elaborate summary of conversational attributes ! The twenty-first canto is devoted to Pradopa-llā. There is an evening assembly of dancing and singing in Nanda's place, which Kṛṣṇa attends, and soon pretends to retire to sleep ; but he really slips away and unites with Rādhā, who has gone in the approved style of an Abhisārikā to a grove on the banks of the Yamuna. This, of course, gives an opportunity to the author to describe the river and its surrounding scenery in the conventional manner, and furnish lists of trees and shrubs (xxi. 30-36, 50-53), birds (xxi. 66-67, 89 water-birds) and animals (xxi. 90) ! One would expect that the twenty-second and twenty-third cantos, which are concerned with Rāsa-llā at night, would make the author shed his pedantry and give evidence of poetry ; but much of the two

1 Cf. *Amara-kośa* i. 6. 15-16 and *Ujjvala-nīlamanjari* pp. 264-267.

cantos is taken up with a dry display of the author's knowledge of Saṃgīta- and Nāṭya-śāstra, in the course of which he mentions 22 Śrutis, 59 Tālas, 21 Mūrchanās, and 15 Gamakas (xxii. 79-81) ! A discourse on music follows, in which we have a list of Rāgas or melodies (xxii. 85-87), of musical instruments (xxii. 88-90), gestures and Mudrās (xxii. 91-92) and Tālas (xxii. 97-101 ; xxiii. 7-14), as well as of Mārṇa and Deśī class of songs. Here is a specimen of the dancing Tāla versified :

dhām dhām drk drk caḥa caḥa nīhām naṃ nīhām naṃ
nīhām naṃ
tuk tuk tuṃ tuṃ guḍu guḍu guḍu drām drām guḍu drām
guḍu drām
dhek dhek dho dho kirīṭi kirīṭi dho drām drīmi drām
drīmi drām
ḍgatyālvam muhur iha mudā śrīmad-līlā nanarta | |.

After the dancing and singing, feeding follows with a list again of various delicacies, the whole being rounded off with Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā retiring to bed : which last theme, Kṛṣṇa-dāsa, like Kavīkarpūra, does not, demurely enough, work up any further. The end of a perfect day and night !

The extremely artificial and learned character of this astonishing literary atrocity is obvious. When a scholastic mind writes verse, we can expect nothing better : and further comment is needless. The effort is stupendous, but puerile. The frank object is not narrative, nor poetry, but direct illustration of technical niceties, highly erotic refinements, and rhetorical and metrical ingenuities. The imposing magnitude, sheer erudition and profusion of elaborate skill are admitted, but the work also illustrates a curious combination of the laboured volubility of a bad poet with the clever prolixity of a subtle pedant. While it is highly artistic in the extremely narrow sense, and perhaps esoteric and devotional, the work is remarkably sensuous in spirit and treatment, and suggests nothing but erotic interest. We are

assured that despite apparent sensuousness, the theme is spiritual. But the glorification of the sex-impulse, which occurs from page to page, is frank, supreme and all-absorbing. This remark applies not merely to the present work, which perhaps deserves it more than any other, but to almost all the literary productions of Caitanyaism. The glowing description of erotic acts, feelings, gestures and repartees, and evident relish in them, make it difficult to interpret them as mere symbol or allegory. Apart from the usual portraiture of lovers' dalliance, which is an established convention in the Kāvya, the unveiled succulence of the ubiquitous and interminable series of erotic passages cannot be taken as mere practical illustration of the knowledge of Kāma-śāstra and Rasa-śāstra. Notwithstanding the grace of a complex diction, the passages are too often graceless. One may make a desperate attempt to read a supersensuous meaning, but what we have here is plainly and emphatically the language of the senses. To justify it in any other way would be futile; for the whole Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend in these work is treated more as a literal fact than as an elevating allegory. There is no suggestion in the works themselves that they are allegories; they are manifestly presented as religious history. If one says that all this is, therefore, more than literature, criticism ends there; but if there is any spiritual foundation, one must say it is too insecure for the excessive load of sexual passion. If this extreme sensuousness be not an acquisition to religion, it may be urged that it is a gain to literature; but even from the literary standpoint, the frank naturalism of physical passion cannot be the only interest or inspiration in literary works, nor can it possess more than a limited appeal.

The *Samkalpa-kalpadruma*¹ of Jīva deals with the Nitya-līlā (Prakṛta and Aprakṛta) at Vṇodāvana, but it is not so much a poem as a versified theological summary of the author's conception of the Nitya-līlā, expressed in his much

1 See above, p. 157.

more extensive *Gopāla-campū*, both parts of which were composed some time before the present work (l. 264).¹ *Kṛṣṇa* is the *Kalpadruma* or the heavenly tree fabled to fulfil all desires; the roots are his *Uṇās* like birth etc. (*Janmādi-ūṇā*); the stem or trunk is his eternal sports (*Nitya-ūṇā*); the branches are the verses which describe the sports at different seasons (*Tat-tad-yu-śloka*); and the fruit is the attainment of divine love.² The work is accordingly divided into four parts: *Janmādi-ūṇā*, *Nitya-ūṇā*, *Sarvata-ūṇā* and *Phala-niṣpatti*.

The first part, consisting of 275 verses (of which 264 are in *Śloka*), makes a devout enumeration of the incidents of birth and allied topics in the form of praise (*Stuti*), the account being rounded off with eleven stanzas in *Puṣpīlāgrī* metre. The account is practically a theological résumé of the entire career of *Kṛṣṇa*, but it emphasises the *Yṛodāvana-ūṇā*, to which *Kṛṣṇa* is said to return after his *Dvārakā-ūṇā* in accordance with his promise made to the *Gopīs*. The second part, in which the *Puṣpīlāgrī* metre continues, is concerned with the eternal sports with the people of *Vraja* (*Nitya-ūṇā*), which are said to occur in a non-manifest (*Aprakāṣa*) form in the manifest (*Prakāṣa*) *Yṛodāvana*. The *Yṛodāvana* described is a divinely sublimated replica of the actual or ideal *Vraja* with its cow, cowherd and cowherdess (*Go-gopa-gopī*), as well as with the friends, relatives and associates of *Kṛṣṇa*. Here *Rādhā* is the foremost beloved (*prathamaramā khalu tāsu saiva saiva*, il. 33), with whom *Kṛṣṇa* sported alone for a long time during the *Rāsa-ūṇā*. We are told at the beginning of the work that *Kṛṣṇa* is indeed the husband of the *Gopīs* from time eternal (*anādi-*

1 *Jīva Gosvāmīn* must have been well advanced in years when this work was written, for he says (l. 4):

*ṛṇādrāṇye jarat śraṇṇ kalcit prāṇa manah prati/
malyate'sāṇprasaṇ māṇṇa gūḇhām rāṇa sadhām pibā//*

2 *māṇṇa janmādi-ūṇāya śāṇḍhaḇ syāṇa nitya-ūṇāy/
śāṇḍha tat-tad-yu-ślokaḇ phalaṇa premamayā śhītib//*

janma-siddhāntaṁ gopīndraṁ patir eva sah, l. 2). The erotic acts and feelings of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are described, as well as parental affection (*Vātsalya*) of Nanda and Yaśodā and friendship (*Sakhya*) of the Gopas. The various sports with the Gopis, tending and milking of cows, bath, meals¹, evening entertainments and union with Rādhā and the Gopis are also briefly described. The total number of verses in this largest section is 315. The third part of the work, also in Puṣpīlāgrī metre (131 stanzas), relates a conversation between Rādhā Kṛṣṇa on the effects of the various seasons and describes their entertainments with the Gopis. The fourth and last section on *Phala-sūpatti*, consists of ten verses in Śṛṅgharā and two in Śārdūlavikrīḍita, which constitute a *Stuti* or panegyric of the united form (*Yugala-mūrti*) of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa : for Jīva has already inculcated (ll. 206) this united, and not separate, worship :

*īṣṇa hṛdaya dīdāmi rādhā-kāyaṁ/
harim abhisāraya satra tām kadāpi/
dvayam idam anu pūjanam tad eva/
dvayam anu yat puruṣa-ropa-poṣa-kārti* //.

The section is concluded with seven more verses which pay homage of the author to his two uncles (*pitṛya-yugalam*). The work is written in a much more simple style and diction than what is usual with its learned author, and its devotional

1 The question of the number of meals taken by Kṛṣṇa appears to have worried the dogmatists, inasmuch as somewhat divergent accounts are found in different works! Jīva Gosvāmī lays down (ll. 172 f) that Kṛṣṇa took four meals in all ; morning meal served by his mother, the second meal in the forenoon with his companions, the third meal at midday with his beloved Gopis, and the fourth meal after dusk with his elderly relatives! Even such minute details appear to be of importance ! Jīva gives a list of the food brought by the ladies (ll. 190, 193), but it lacks the variety and richness of Kṛṣṇadāsa's description. — Regarding differences in the description of details in the day-and-night sports, see the remarks of the editor of the *Kṛṣṇadāsa-kāvaṁdī*, pp. iv-v, where he points out several discrepancies in the various accounts of Kavi-karṣṇa, Kṛṣṇadāsa and Vidyādhara Cakravartin.

attitude is unmistakable ; but it would be proper to regard it as a metrical doctrinarian treatise rather than as a poem in the real sense.

The general topic of Kṛṣṇa's sports with Rādhā in the Vṛndāvana-līlā also forms the theme of the *Samgita-mādhava*¹ of Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī. The inspiration, however, does not come directly from the theology of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmīns, but proceeds from the poetry of Jayadeva, upon whose *Gita-govinda* Prabodhānanda deliberately models his lyrical poem. It is, therefore, a relief to turn from the literary lucubrations of Jīva and Kṛṣṇadāsa to this more lively composition. The work certainly belongs to the Caitanya sect, for the author pays a concluding homage to Caitanya in a graceful stanza.² As against Jayadeva's twelve cantos, Prabodhānanda has fifteen ; the theme however, as in Jayadeva's work, is, slight. But, while Jayadeva develops his meagre theme through poetical situations and motifs of separation, sorrow, longing, jealousy, penitence and joy of reunion, and invests it with unparalleled pictorial richness, verbal harmony and lyrical splendour of finely interwoven narrative, dialogue, song and description, Prabodhānanda is only an ingenious imitator and a poor poet. Even the framework of his poem is flimsy and unconvincing. Some Sakhi (presumably the author himself in his Sakhi-bhāva !), singing, in the first canto, the praises of Vṛndāvana and of the sports of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa which occurred therein, is filled with longing, and addresses, in the second canto, some more experienced companion to relate them to her in detail. This starts the poem ; but the episodes, described in song and verse, are really detached, and include such topics as Rādhā-dāya or

1 See above, p. 131. The *Rādhā-rasa-saṁhānidhi* is wrongly ascribed to Prabodhānanda, see above, p. 132, footnote 3.

2 *saurahair malaranda-bindu-nirahareṇ nityandibhīḥ sandarop
netrendivareṇ dīadhar te-pulakorkampeṇ ca bibhrat vapuḥ/
vārat cāpi sagolpadā hari-harītyānandīnīr udgiran
pramāṇāṇa-raṇasāraṇī dītan vo devaḥ śarī-nandanabj /*.

Kṛṣṇa's becoming a humble servant of Rādhā (iii) : Mitho-darsana or first sight of each other (iv) : Sakhyasunaya or entreaty of the Sakhibā (v) : Rādhā's clever repartee (vi) : the various amatory-conditions of Kṛṣṇa, love-sick (*Mugdha*, vii), impetuous (*Rasoddhata*, viii), pleased (*Mudita*, ix), excited (*Uttarala*, x) and afflicted (*Vihvala*, xi) ; as well as the joy of perfect union and Rāsa-vilāsa (xii-xiv), with a concluding expression of the author's own ecstasy over the beatific sports. The number of songs (in musical modes) introduced,¹ in the manner of Jayadeva's *Padāvalī*, is twenty-eight, which to a certain extent relieve the monotony of the stereotyped erotic scheme ; but they are closely imitative, even if melodious, and some of them are exuberantly lengthy. The work is readable, and perhaps enjoyable, in spite of its somewhat cloying and languorous eroticism ; but it is the besetting weakness of an unoriginal epoch to produce literary counterfeits which seldom become current coins of poetry.

Of the *Neimittika* or occasional *Līlās* of Kṛṣṇa, the theme which appears to be highly favoured is the *Dāna-līlā* or pastime of gift, which forms the subject-matter of the inset-play in Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanya-candrodaya*,² of Rūpa's short play *Dāna-keli-kaumudī*,³ Raghunātha-dāsa's short poem *Dāna-keli-cirāmapī*⁴ and, in a scene, of his *Campū*, *Mukṣā-caritra*, of which we shall speak presently. The incident is slight and the theme slender in such compositions.

1 Their length forbids extensive quotation here, but the few opening lines from a song, openly imitative of one of the famous songs of Jayadeva (x. 1-4), will suffice as specimen :

tara lalitā-kunḍalāṃ vidhata-vidha-maṇḍalāṃ cāru-mukham
 amṛta-vidhi-sāram/
 unīratī mama mānasaṃ kim api ruti-lālasāṃ tyandī-mṛda-kusita-
 madhu-dhāram/
 priye kvāsi rādhe, dehi mayi kim api subha-dr̥ṣṭim/
 tara nīlaga - kautuke līratī mayi dāruṇa viṣama-viṣa-lara-
 ṇṣīm/ (*Dhruva*), etc.

2 See above, pp. 570 f.

3 See above, p. 581.

4 See above p. 124.

but the most interesting feature—in fact, the only feature—is the lively picture of *Keli-kalaha* or pretended love-quarrel between Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs, involving good-humoured pleasantry, light repartee, and youthful teasing and banter. The ready wit and smartness of the chaffing dialogues and speeches are often enjoyable, but invariably the jests are flagrantly charged with erotic words, ideas, imageries and suggestions, sometimes too vivacious to be strictly decent. There is, no doubt, delicacy of feeling and expression, but there is hardly any sense of squeamishness in the fulsome acts, gestures, words and innuendos.¹

As borne out also by tradition, there can be doubt that Raghunātha-dāsa's *Dāna-keli-cintāmaṇi* was directly inspired by Rūpa's *Dāna-keli-kāsmudī*. It keeps to the same general scheme and incident, the only notable variation being the slight introductory framework of making Kundalatā, wife of Nanda's nephew and Upananda's son Subhadra, the curious enquirer and her Sakhi, Sumukhi, the narrator of the erotic episode. Bhāṅguri is performing a sacrifice on behalf of Vāsudeva; Rādhā, with the Gopīs, is carrying fresh ghee in pitchers to the sacrificial ground; and Kṛṣṇa, with his array of Gopas, form an octroi (*Ghaṭṭipajja*) on the top of Govardhana hill for the levy of toll for passage.² The usual

1 With due deference to Vaiṣṇava sentiment, one must say that some of the dubious acts and jests, which are frank expressions of physical passion, appear out of place in what is supposed to be the witty repartee of a polished and cultured society. However esoteric the sense may be, they are presented as literal facts, of which sex, and sex alone, supplies the incentive; but there is no point in going beyond the limits of natural modesty. It is extraordinary that such things should come from the highly pious Govālmīns. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, who must have known Raghunātha-dāsa quite intimately at Vṛndāvana, speaks of the severely ascetic days and nights the Govālmīns spent in study and meditation, his dressing himself in rags, avoiding rich food, and spending not even three or four hours in sleep or rest.

2 We are told (verse 162) that the Kuṇḍa near the Govardhana hill where this *Dāna-tilā* took place is still called *Dāna-tilā-nirvartana*.

dispute follows regarding the right of demand, nature, amount and mode of payment, and the usual erotic raileries in which Kṛpā describes the physical charms of the youthful limbs, not only of Rādhā, but also of her Sakhis, and expects payment in terms of lively enjoyment. The Gopis reply with equal zest, pretend helpless anger and sit down at the foot of the hill. The elderly Nāndimukhi appears on the scene; and through her arbitration, the dispute is settled satisfactorily by the arrangement of a meeting next day for gratifying payment in a grove near the Mānasagadgā. Raghunātha-dāsa can write facile and elegant verses of the erotic kind, and his metrical skill is considerable;¹ the dialogues and speeches are lively and witty with erotic suggestions; the small poem is not too much loaded with literary² or theological pedantry:

Kuṇḍa! Cf. the poet's *Dāsa-tilā-nirvartana-kupḍāyaka* Sūtra in his *Śaṅkara*, pp. 45-59.

1 There are altogether 175 *śāstras* in the poem in which a variety of metres is employed. A metrical analysis, with the serial number of the *śāstras*, is as follows: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* 1, 19, 21, 24, 27, 33, 37, 45, 57, 63, 78, 79, 103, 121, 144; *Yasantiślaka* 2, 16, 2*, 31, 33, 34, 49-56, 58-60, 62-65, 67-69, 72, 73, 80-90, 92-97, 99, 101, 102, 104, 105, 107-17, 119, 120, 128-131, 150-157, 164, 167, 171, 173; *Mādhārīkoti* 3-15, 29, 36, 74, 75, 106, 122, 123, 125, 126, 136-139, 141; *Upajit* (mixed *Indravajrā* and *Upendravajrā*) 38, 91, 100, 162-163, 165, 166, 168, 170; *Śloka* 18, 21, 30, 127, 132-135, 140, 169, 174, 175; *Indravajrā* 161; *Mālika* 20, 61, 70, 76, 77, 145, 172; *Prithvī* 98, 124, 146-149, 158-160; *Sikharī* 28, 32, 66; *Rathodhara* 48, 71, 143; *Sundarī* or *Vijayī* 118. The *Yasantiślaka* forms the staple of the poem, much of the running narrative being carried on in this, as well as in the *Śloka* metre.

2 And yet he is not above the use of such conceits as in verse 115:

*cāraṇa hrasyakalipaṇa bhagavan nṛsiṃha
candradāh-kata-kuraṇa nakharair vidhṛya/
prakāśam ulāsatam dāu kura tvam ityā
kanyayā valga talitā-kṛpitaṇa jhāṇa//*

Or, the employment of *conundrums* in the description of Rādhā's beauty as in verse 144:

*yayā bhṛṅgayarī padmīnī phala-yayā ratitāṇa caṇṇapakāṣṭha
bandhūka bhramarān vidhāpī ra dadhau śārdha-trayovimṣṭam/
tyāmadah para-pūmā dvāśalantī phullibhavarī tā tadā
sviya-srāmī-raver vilāṇa-bhārā mīlāṇa sphuṇṇa śāmyarī//*

but, even admitting all this, one must say that the ideas are often commonplace, the diction conventional, the narrative inadequate and unoriginal, and there is little of the enthusiasm and imaginativeness of fine poetry to make amends for these deficiencies.

The *Mādhava-mahotsava*¹ of Jiva Gosvāmin deals with an entirely different episode, namely, the Abhiṣeka or consecration of Rādhā by Kṛṣṇa as the queen of Vṛndāvana (Vṛndā-vanodvari). The theme is not new, having been referred to by Raghunātha-dāsa in his *Vraja-vilāsa-stava* (verse 61) and *Vilāpa-kusumāñjali* (verse 87), and described by him in his *Mukta-caritra* (pp. 134-138); but no one before Jiva made it the theme of an extensive Kāvya of nine cantos and 1164 verses. The work is undoubtedly a laboured and artificial composition, but it has more poetical pretension and less theological prepossession than any other literary work of Jiva.

The names of the different cantos, which are framed after those of Jayadeva's *Gita-govinda*, are meant as rubrics for indicating their subject-matter, although they do not give an idea of the gorgeous wealth of detail which the erudite fancy of Jiva supplies with its marvellous verbal proficiency. The first canto (Usuka-rādhika) describes Rādhā's longing at receiving the hint of an assignation to meet Kṛṣṇa; the second canto (Unmanyu-rādhika) depicts her resentment (Māna) on hearing that her rival Candrīvālī is destined for dominion over Vṛndāvana; in the third canto (Utpullā-rādhika) we find that, through the efforts of Vṛndā, aided by those of Viśākhā and Paurnamāsī, Rādhā becomes joyful when Kṛṣṇa's real love for her is revealed; in the fourth canto (Uddyota-rādhika), proof of Kṛṣṇa's love is found in the preliminary preparation (Adhivāsa) of the regal consecration which is on foot; the fifth canto (Udita-rādhika) describes completion of the arrangements and Rādhā's appearance in the newly erected pavilion (Maṇḍapa); the sixth canto (Unnata-rādhika)

1 See above, p. 157.

is devoted to a detailed description of the beauty of the groves of Vṛndāvana, the appearance of the various gods to witness the ceremony and the beauty of Rādhā's eyes; with the seventh canto (Utalakṣa-rādhika) we have the beginning of the Abhiṣeka (with eight kinds of successive consecration), songs of Gandharva maidens, sprinkling of sacred water from consecrated pitchers and lavish description of the beauty of the youthful limbs of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa; the eighth canto (Ujjvala-rādhika) is concerned with the details of Rādhā's toilet for the occasion; and in the last and ninth canto (Unmāda-rādhika), Rādhā ascends the throne and sits with Kṛṣṇa, in the midst of great festivity, elaborate ceremonial worship and singing of praise.

Jīva Gosvāmin is undoubtedly an adept in the adroit manufacturing of standardised poetry; and marvellous erudition goes hand in hand with marvellous adorning of trivialities. Like most of his learned and laborious compeers, he reveals himself in this poem as a talented master of diction and metre,¹ and his workmanship is massively impressive in

1 Like Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, but not to the same extent, Jīva wants to make a display of metrical variety in this work. In the following analysis, the respective metres with the number of verses, in each canto are given, along with the metre of the concluding verse in enclosing brackets (also with number in figures). Canto I Rathoddhātā 1-139 (Mālinī 3). II Indravajrā (but also occasionally Upendravajrā and Upajitā) 1-109 (Mālinī 3). III Vasantatilaka 1-116 (Mālinī 3). IV Prabhāṣi 1-108 (Mālinī 3). V Indravajrā 1-94 (Mālinī 3). VI Drutavilambita 1-144 (Mālinī 3). VII Mālinī 1-162 (Śārdūla-vikrāṇita 2, Śṛṅgharā 1, (Mālinī 3). VIII Śloka 1-160 (Śikharipi 9, Mālinī 3). IX Variety of metres (the figures refer to serial number of verses): Mālinī 1; Pramāṇikā 2; Mṛgendramukha 3; Dōḍhaka (1st half) and Śṛṅgāṇā (2nd half) 4; Śṛṅgāṇā 5; Rathoddhātā 6; Sundarī or Vīyoginī 7; Drutavilambita 8; Prabhāṣinī 9; Udgātā 10; Puṣpitaṅgā 11; Priyasravadā 12; Kalahāṣṭra 13; Suddha-Vīryā 14; Lalitā 15; Unidentified 16; Sundarī 17; Aṣṭa-chaṇḍasikā 18; Āryā 19; Pañjhaṭikā (with rhyme) 20; Cāruhaṇṇī 21; Gāthā 22; Śloka 23; Rathoddhātā 24; Vamśasthāvitā 25; Vasantatilaka 26; Prabhāṣinī 27; Mālinī 28; Vasantatilaka 29; Śṛṅgharā 30; Vāṭormī 31; Harīṇī 32; Śloka 33; Saralā 34; Indra-

its employment of the varied and subtle resources of traditional technique ; but all the richness and ingenuity of his art and erudition can hardly compensate the lack of true poetic inspiration, as well as of originality and independence of treatment. The incessant exertion after literary effect spoils freshness and spontaneity of feeling ; there is grace, but it is almost synonymous with strained and strange refinements. Over and over again these authors traverse the same ground, almost in the same manner, with the result that monotony becomes inevitable. In spite of considerable literary ability and emotional inflatus, much of this literature is doomed to mediocrity, because of the restriction imposed upon the poetic talent by the very nature of its theme, which is confined to the Kṛṣṇa-legend in general and limited to certain episodes and aspects of the legend in particular, as well as by the imposition of a rigid literary and emotional convention. The subject, scheme, motifs, sentiments, ideas, imageries and expression are all prescribed ; the language, the very metaphors, similes and other figures of speech, are all stereotyped ; even the nuances of the erotic feeling, which is the almost exclusive topic of description, are minutely fixed and classified, with

vapaḥ 35 ; Mattamayūṛi 36 ; Āryā 37 ; Mālinī 38 ; Padmaśrī 39 ; Vāṭṭadevi 40 ; Śūkharī 41 ; Māṇḍikī 42 ; Vapṭasthaviḥ and Indravapaḥ, in two halves 43 ; Aparavaktra 44 ; Mālinī 45 ; Āryā 46 ; Śloka 47 ; Āryā-gī 48 ; Candralekhā 49 ; Vāsanatīlaka 50 ; Udgatā 51 ; Nārāṇa 52 ; Tūpaka 53 ; Loka 54 ; Nāṇḍimukhī 55 ; Loka 56 ; Vapṭasthaviḥ 57 ; Śṛṅgharī 58 ; Śloka 59 ; Vāsanatīlaka 60 ; Bhujāṅga-prayāsa 61 ; Śloka 62 ; Śārdūlavikṛīḍā 63 ; Śūkharī 64 ; Śārdūlavikṛīḍā 65 ; Maṇḍamāṅga-mā-kara (27 syllables) 66 ; Śārdūlavikṛīḍā 67 ; Mālinī 68 ; Rāṇḍodhātā 69 ; Dṛṣṭavilāmbitā 70 ; Nandana 71 ; Indravapaḥ and Vapṭasthaviḥ, in two halves 72 ; Nandataḥ 73 ; Phulladīpana 74 ; Śṛṅgharī 75 ; Indravapaḥ 76 ; Bhārīkrīḍā 77 ; Indravapaḥ 78 ; Unidentified 79 ; Cīrī 80 ; Caṇḍī 81 ; Pyṭhī 82 ; Māṇḍikī 83 ; Citralekhā 84 ; Māṇḍikī 85 ; Chāyā 86 ; Śṛṅgharī 87 ; Śārdūlavikṛīḍā 88 ; Māṇḍikī 89 ; Śṛṅgharī 90 ; Māṇḍikī 91 ; Unidentified 92 ; Māṇḍikī 93 ; Śṛṅgharī 94-97 ; Bāhā 98 ; and Mālinī 99-102. It will be seen that five uses several rare metres.

infinite scholastic relish, into nearly three hundred and sixty varieties in its *Rasa-dāstra*. The poets, finding no escape, naturally fall back upon assiduous, but wearisome, elaboration and embellishment of minutiae; and there is always a tendency towards unnecessary profusion, display and expenditure of energy. There is, therefore, no temperance in the depths of passion, nor perspicuity and inevitableness in its expression. All poetry is strangled by the inexorable tentacles of the *śāstra*, whether it be devotional or literary.

The three *Campū*s of Caitanyaism reveal, more or less, the same theme, treatment and characteristics, having been composed by the same set of authors with the same literary and theological prepossessions; but perhaps the uncertain literary form of the *Campū* leads to a fresh accession of mannerisms peculiar to itself. As a type of literature, the *Campū* is a species of the *Kāvya* in mixed prose and verse, and, as such, exhibits no characteristics of matter and manner which are not already familiar to us, in their best and worst forms, from the regularly composed prose and metrical *Kāvya*. But the mosaic is bizarre and hardly of an attractive pattern. The *Campū* is essentially a prose composition, but since the relative proportion of prose and verse is undetermined, the desire to diversify prose freely by verse as an additional ornament naturally leads to a formlessness or disregard of strict form in its indiscriminate and mutually disproportionate use of prose and verse. The form, no doubt affords scope for versatility; but the *Campū* writer, as a rule, merely seeks to copy, on the one hand, the traditional pomp and brocaded stateliness of Sanskrit literary prose, and reproduce, on the other, the conventional ornateness and artificiality of the metrical *Kāvya*. In the hands of later practitioners of the type, there was a praiseworthy attempt to divert the *Campū* from its narrow groove of stock poetic subjects, but traditional rhetoric proved too much for the assertion of a natural vein. The literary form came also to

be applied to purposes other than purely literary¹: occasional description, philosophical exposition and religious propaganda naturally became some of its non-literary objectives. Like the Jaina writers of the West who made it a means of their religious end, the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas readily availed themselves of the convenient literary form of the Campū for the expression of their creed and faith in the Kṛṣṇa-legend, not only by precatating erotic-religious pictures of great sensuous charm, but also by making it the vehicle of their elaborate theology.

The *Mukṣā-caritra*² Campū of Raghunātha-dāsa is a comparatively small work, which deals with one of the occasional or Naimittika Līlās of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā by telling a fanciful tale of a particular erotic episode. It is essentially a variation of the familiar story of the Dāna-līlā, but the motif is somewhat different. The theme³ is simple, although it is worked out with the usual paraphernalia of erotic words, ideas and imageries. Satyabhāmā requires, with a somewhat naive curiosity, if pearls grow on trees, and Kṛṣṇa gives an account of his strange experience of having once grown pearl-creepers, which bore pearl-fruits, at Vṛndāvana, and relates in unblushing details his youthful erotic exploit, connected therewith, in relation to Rādhā and the Gopīs. During the Dīpālīkā festival on the Govardhana hill, Kṛṣṇa jestingly requests Rādhā and the Gopīs to give him some pearls from their ornaments so that he may decorate his two cows. As they refuse to do so and laugh at him, he gets some pearls from his mother and sows them in the field carefully enclosed and guarded. The pearl-creepers grow and bear fruit to the wonder of all and to the jealousy of the Gopīs. The Gopīs make a similar attempt but fail, not because the rich and heavenly soil of Vṛndāvana would not grow them, but because

1 See S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, ch. vi, under Campū, p. 438 L.

2 See above, p. 123.

3 For a brief résumé of the theme, see above, *loc. cit.*

Kṛṣṇa and his boy-friends secretly remove the pearl-plants which the Gopīs grow, and replace them with a crop of thorny creepers. In desperate straits for having spoiled their own ornaments, in the foolish attempt, by divesting them of pearls, they offer to buy Kṛṣṇa's pearls with gold, but Kṛṣṇa wants payment in kind from each of them. A long and laughing dispute ensues, with the usual dialogues, witty repartees, erotic jests, acts, and gestures, till Māndīmukhī intervenes and settles the love-quarrel by standing security for satisfactory payment. Thus, the entire motif of Keli-kalaha of the Dāsa-līlā theme is reproduced in lavish detail. But the work is not merely a *réchauffé* of the usual theme : it is also a recital of reminiscent love, meant to show the superiority of the first and free adolescent love for Rādhā at Vṛndāvana, for which Kṛṣṇa secretly longs and languishes, even though he is happy in wedded love with Satyabhāmā at Dvārakā¹.

In spite of inevitable monotony in working out a well worn theme in accordance with a fixed scheme and stereotyped motifs, ideas and expressions, the story, comparatively speaking, is simply and amusingly told. Even though the work is an artificially sustained effort, Raghunātha's manner is not impossibly weighted and ornamented, nor wholly devoid of interest in the matter. The work is written almost entirely in prose, but the author wisely avoids the complexities of superfluously embellished and enormously prolonged sentences, although occasionally (as, for instance, in the gorgeous description of Rādhābhīṣeka, pp. 134-138), he succumbs to the temptation of a florid attempt at the extended scale of luxuriant description. But the rhetorical effect which Raghunātha often attains is not always tedious, nor his use of words

1 Perhaps, in accordance with Rūpa's exposition in the *Lalitā-mādhava*, Kṛṣṇa, overcome with emotion at the end of the recital, declares to Satyabhāmā that she is Rādhā herself (*ram eṣa śṛṅga-rūpā rādhā*); but immediately afterwards we are told that Satyabhāmā, greatly impressed by the story, wants to set out for Vṛndāvana with her husband to meet Rādhā and fetch her !

glaringly atrocious. There are recondite puns in the smart repartees and innuendos, but there are no endless strings of complex puns ; nor is there any inordinate love for disproportioned compounds, nor strained search after interminable conceits, epithets and similes, nor weakness for constant jingling of meaningless sounds. Making allowance for the usual artificiality and error of taste, the highly flavoured dialogues and speeches are often witty and animated, and the expression is reasonably subdued and elegantly articulated. There are only two lengthy stretches of verse, one of which, consisting of thirteen melodious Śikharipiṭ stanzas, describes (after his own *Kṛṣṇajvala-kusuma-keli Stotra*)¹ Rādhā as the very personification of the Vṛndāvana forest, and the other is a bodily insertion of the thirteen Śloka stanza in praise of Rādhā from his own *Premaṁbhoja-makaranda Stotra*.²

In his *Ananda-vṛndāvana-campū*,³ on the other hand, Kavikarṇapūra adopts a different manner and method : for he appears to believe in the construction of spacious sentences, in the wearisome display of verbal complexities, in the clothing of his prose in a gorgeous, but heavy, garment of embroidered heap of phrases. As the name of the work implies, it is concerned with the Nitya-līlā or the entire life of Kṛṣṇa at blissful Vṛndāvana. It is a very extensive Campū in twenty-two Stavakas, written mostly in prose, the interspersed verses being limited in number ; and unlike Kavikarṇapūra's other works, it affects a stilted and impossibly mannered diction, modelled after those of Bāṇa and Subandha. It must have been composed leisurely in the poet's advanced old age, for in one of the opening verses he laments not only the passing

1 *Saṅgavalī*, pp. 12-30.

2 *op. cit.*, pp. 268-273.

3 As we have noted above, the *Mukhā-caritra* is quoted in Rūpa's *Ujjvala-nīlamanī* (p. 261), but it is curious that Rādhā's Sakhi Campakalī, in the *Mukhā-caritra* quotes by name Rūpa's work, to which she gives the designation of a Saphīdā. Which work then was written earlier ?

away of Caitanya but also of his great associates and followers, who might have appreciated the learned skill (Vaidagdhya) and mode of erotic sentiment (Prapaya-rasa-riti) which his elaborate poem is meant to depict¹.

It is not necessary to summarise here the mass of descriptive details with which this Campū portrays the familiar Vṛndāvana career of Kṛpā. The first Stavaka, entitled Bhagavat-sūhṛda-tattva-vallī-vistāra, describes, with lavish fancy and laboured diction, Vṛndāvana, its surroundings, its charms and its inmates. Here is a short specimen of the difficult punning style in which it proceeds:

nīraṇarāla-virājamāna-jyotiś-cakram api avikarṇanam
anilepam abhauṇam vibudhaṃ aśvam akavi-gamyam
umandaṃ viketu vitamo nistārakam, sva-tejasā tu su-
bhārvat su-pīyūṣa-kīṇaṃ su-maṅgalam su-budhaṃ su-
śivam su-kavi-gamyam su-bhānavam su-keṭu su-tamaḥ su-
tārakam, bhūvilepam api na bhū-vilepam, sadā sakṣa-
ṇam api kṛpā-rahitam, vṛṣpakam api navyūpakam kiṇcana
nikhila-guṇa-vṛndāvanaṃ vṛndāvanaṃ nāma vanam.

And the Gopa-maidens :

rāḥ kanyāḥ su-kavirā iva sukumāra-pādāḥ, manovṛttaya
iva nīrupama-jāṅghālārāḥ, vanavāsu-pravṛtta-rāma-rājya-
trīya iva sva-varejānugata-sakalā-saubhāgyāḥ, utsava-
bhūmayā iva ghanoru-rambhū-stambhāropāḥ, durūha-
granthā-vṛttaya iva prakāśitaḥkūḥ, bandhu-jana-cirakālā-
saṃgataya iva bandhurodarāḥ, bhagavan-nāma-kīrtaya iva
sadāvarṇanābhikūḥ, bhagavat-kṛpā iva dīnāvalagnāḥ, varpa-
trīya iva nava-payodharāḥ, hemanu-trīya iva su-vallīdāya-
dopāḥ, abhīṣeka-vasana-līlāḥ trīya iva kambu-kandharāḥ,
nārūyāṇa-karajākhā iva mārjīta-kamalānanāḥ, vasana-
trīya iva tila-kusuma-gandhavāhāḥ,

1. *gauri-irā-vābhīṣajam padam akṣaḥ caitanya-bhagavat-
parīṭhāre pakād gauravāḥ ca yasmān nija-padam /
vīṭapāḥ vaidagdhyaḥ prapaya-rasa-ritir vīgalitā
nīrāṇamāḥ / śiṣāḥ su-kavi-kavirādyāḥ parimalāḥ //*

and so forth, progression *ad libitum* of volleys of pun, simile, antithesis, alliteration and other verbal tricks, with interminable heaping of phrases, epithets and conceits in enormously long sentences.—all of which the extraordinary resources of Sanskrit permit, but which in their phantasmagoric far-fetchedness go to the verge of ludicrous fancy and involve unusual torturing of the language. These methods of verbal dexterity are well known to students of Sanskrit Prose Kathā, but the unwearied assiduity of the author in weaving them in almost every line of an extensive production is amazing. He is constantly on the watch for unexpected analogies and ingenious turns of expression; he cultivates astoundingly clever manipulation of words and produces marvellous sound-effects by alliterative jingle and chiming of syllables; there are multifarious ways of splitting up a word or a compound for diversity of meaning; the most recondite conceits are discovered; and the most obscure recesses of learned allusions are ransacked. All this is rhetorical cunning, but not poetical brilliance; like the conjurer's trick, it is astonishing but puerile. A verbal edifice of magnificence is conscientiously and laboriously built up but scholarly ingenuity masquerades in it under the name of polished poetry and reduces it to magnificence of futility.

For, these hyperbolic mannerisms pervade the entire work, in which the manner gets the upper hand of matter. The Stavakas ii-vii, entitled Bālyā-līlā-lakṣa-vistāra, deal with the childhood of Kṛṣṇa and embrace the incidents of his birth (i), killing of Pūtana, lament of Yalodā and Nanda's return from Mathurā (ii), breaking of the Cart (Śakaja-bhañjana) and allaying of Trṣṭāvarta (iv), Kṛṣṇa's childish pranks, his Nāma-karaka and theophanic appearance to Yalodā (v), various exploits of Dāma-bandhana, Yamalarjuna-mocana (vi), the killing of Vatsa-demon, picnic and the humbling of Brahmā's pride (vii). The remaining Stavakas viii-xxii, entitled Kāṣṭhā-līlā-lakṣa-vistāra, are devoted to a detailed account of the adolescence and early youth of Kṛṣṇa. We have description

of the Pūrva-rāga of the Gopīs, their Kauduka-kṛīḍā and the slaying of the Dhenuka-demon (viii) ; Kṛṣṇa's dancing on the hood of the Kāliya serpent (ix) ; Rādhā's invitation to meet her, and her cooking and serving of food (x) ; the beauty of the summer season, the slaying of Pralamba, charm of autumn, playing on the flute and Kṛṣṇa's sport with Rādhā (xi) ; the stealing of the garments (Vāstra-harapa) of the Gopīs (xii) ; Kṛṣṇa's favour to the wives of the Brahman sacrificers (xiii) ; vernal festivities (xiv) ; lifting of the Govardhana hill (xv) ; witnessing of the Brahma-loka (xvi) ; the Rūpa-sports (xvii-xx) ; the stealing of Kṛṣṇa's flute (xxi) ; and the Dola-festival (xxii).

It will be seen that Kavikarṇapūra includes in his work almost all the important details of Kṛṣṇa's early days at Vṛndāvana, and does not confine himself merely to the erotic episodes or the daily sports. But it is a pity that he chooses a style of expression which lacks ease and naturalness, and thinks of nothing else but reproducing the hard and enamelled brilliance of rhetorical display. In his scattered verses which, however, are not too numerous, he often attains simple and graceful effect, and stanzas like the following, which describes the infant Kṛṣṇa, are by no means rare :

*ehyehi vaiṣa pitar ehi mamāṅka-mūlam
ityukta eva janakena sa mātur ahhāt/
āgatya kaṇṭham avalambya jugupsate mām
mānā katham bata mṛṣeti kalam jāṇāda/*

As his *Caitanya-candrodaya* shows, Kavikarṇapūra could undoubtedly write simple and vigorous prose, but in this work he seeks to copy the eccentricities and extravagance of the interminably descriptive, ingeniously recumbite and gorgeously ornamented prose of the Sanskrit Kathā. It must be admitted that he has a decided talent for such verbal juggleries, but the element of mere trick impairs whatever literary value his prose possesses. Even as an imitation the work is not impressive, and does not repay the exertion of wading through

the tedious length of its brilliant, but hardly illuminating, elaboration of rhetorical magnificence. It is a triumph of poetic artifice, but not a poetic creation.

To the Bengal Vaiṣṇava authors, the Vṛndāvana life of Kṛṣṇa constitutes the essentially Nitya-līlā, and the infant and adolescent Kṛṣṇa is the supreme object of adoration. There is a departure to Mathurā and Dvārakā, but this happens only apparently in the Manifest Sport (Prakāṣa-līlā), the real Unmanifest Sport (Aprakāṣa-līlā), to which he is made to return ultimately even in his Manifest Sport, goes on eternally at Vṛndāvana. The Epic Kṛṣṇa of Kurukṣetra, therefore, is deliberately excluded; the entire Purāṇic life of Kṛṣṇa, as depicted in the *Harī-vaṃśa* and *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, is alone accepted in all its tender and erotic implications. It is for this reason that most of the Vaiṣṇava poets concentrate upon the Vṛndāvana-līlā, either in its entirety or in its detached erotic episodes, in conformity with the erotic-mystic character of the faith.

In his *Gopāla campū*,¹ however, Jīva Gosvāmī ambitiously comprehends (as Rūpa does in his *Lalīta-mādhava*) not only the Vṛndāvana-līlā, but also Mathurā- and Dvārakā-līlās of Kṛṣṇa, the first part or Pūrvārdha (in 33 Pūrāṇas or chapters) being co-extensive with Kavikarṇapūra's *Campū* and dealing with Bālyā and Kaidora, the second part or Uttarārdha (in 37 Pūrāṇas) being devoted to Kṛṣṇa's career at Mathurā and Dvārakā. The bulk of the work of seventy chapters, in prose, verse and song (covering in the printed edition 3940 pages!) is frightening, but its hard crust of learning is also depressing and its scholastic pedantry unsurpassable. The opening verse (which is elaborately explained by the author himself lest his readers should not appreciate!) pays homage simultaneously to Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa-caitanya, and mentions, by means of puns, Śaṅkara, Rūpa, Gopāla (Bhaṭṭa), Raghunātha and the author's father

1 See above, p. 157.

Vallabha. Jīva informs us that the nectar of dogma (*Siddhānta-mṛta*), which he has collected in his *Kṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha*, is now presented in the reliable form of a *Kāvya*. It is true that he envisages the entire life of Kṛṣṇa, as Bengal Vaiṣṇavism understands it, but the legend is freely modified or interpreted in accordance with its theology. The work is, therefore, not only a prolix amplification of the Bhāgavata legend of Kṛṣṇa, but also a learned *Siddhānta-grantha*, which is held in high esteem by the sect. There are quotations and systematic comments on sectarian and Purāṇa texts, as well as theological discussion and exposition. If it is an extensive poetic endeavour of conscientious effort, massive craftsmanship and high pretensions, in the ornate and difficult *Kāvya* manner, it is also a stupendous work of endless divagation, description, argumentation and eroticism. It is, in fact, a nondescript production, consisting of a curiously laborious smulge of poetry and theology, scholasticism and romance, eroticism and devotion, reason and credulity.

It is not possible within the limits of space at our disposal, to give anything more than a rapid survey of this enormous work ; but it is not necessary for us to do so, for apart from its devotional or doctrinal value, its purely literary importance need not be exaggerated. The work opens with the usual lavish description of Vṛndāvana, along with its surrounding scenery and appurtenances, like the Govardhana hill, the Śyāma-kuṇḍa, the Rādhā-kuṇḍa, the river Yamunā, the Bhāṇḍira-vaṇa, the palace of Nanda and the abode of cows and cowherds. It is the actual, as well as the ideal, Vṛndāvana, in which Kṛṣṇa eternally sports and which is identical with Goloka, the Vaiṣṇava paradise, and with the Śvetadvīpa mentioned in the *Epic* and *Purāṇas*, the significance of which names, as well as their essential features as the abode of Kṛṣṇa's own Go, Gopa and Gopi, is also discussed. The description is produced by the romantic fancy of a theologian ; and we are told (p. 21) that the eternal sports at Vṛndāvana are witnessed even today by devout minds. The

second Pūraṇa introduces the subject; and, after describing a whole day-and-night sports at Vṛndāvana, it brings in two Sūta boys, who are twins, named Madhukapṭha and Saigḍha-kapṭha, trained by Nārada and sent by him to Nanda's court. The scheme is conceived by the author of putting the entire narrative in the form of recital (Kathakatā) by these two young professional rhapsodists; and we are told in the Uttarārdha (p. 17) that they are deliberately modelled on the example of Lava and Kuśa appearing at the court of Rāma. The recital begins in the third Pūraṇa with a highly metaphysical description, fortified by plenty of quotations from the *Bhāgavata* and other texts, of the mystery of Kṛṣṇa's birth as the son, not of Vasudeva and Devakī, but of Nanda and Yaśodā, followed by a depiction of the beauty of the new-born divine baby. After this we have the ceremonies and festivities attending upon the birth (iv), Pūtanā-vadha (v), Śakaja-bhāḍjana and other infant exploits, Nāma-karaṇa with a theological discussion of the adequacy and significance of the name and astrological interpretation of the stellar conjunction presiding over the birth of Kṛṣṇa (vi), Tṛpāvarta-nivartana, Mṛd-bhaktapa (vii), Dāma-bandhana, Yamalārjuna-mocana (viii), the boyish sports of tending cows (Go-pālana) (ix), Vatsaśura-vadha (x), Brahma-mohana, Aghaśura-vadha (xi), and Go-cāraṇa (xii). All this, we are told, occurs up to the fifth year of age, and Kaumāra-dāśī (infancy) then ends with the commencement of Pauganḍa (boyhood). The chief exploits in Pauganḍa period are the humbling of the Kāliya serpent (Kāliya-damana), the quenching of the forest-fire (xiii) and the slaying of the donkey-demon (Gardabhāśura) (xiv). The author rhetorically asks (p. 694)—if the truthful Śukadeva and other sages had not described all these, who would have believed them to be true? With regard to the forest-fire, Jīva says that Kṛṣṇa put it out with his divine

1 With reference to the unbelievers, Jīva says elsewhere (xxiii, p. 1158): *aho Lalī-pravāṇa-dāśāya dāśa-rūpam idam* !

breath, but adds that the sages fancy that he drank it up ! This ends the *Bālyā-IIIā*.

Now begins the *Kaidora-IIIā*, which opens with *Pūrvān-rāga* or first love of Kṛṣṇa and Gopīs. We are told that Kṛṣṇa has just passed the sixth year of his age and the Gopīs were only a year younger—which according to our author, is the period of their *Nava Kaidora* or first adolescence ! But the descriptions show that it is certainly more than calf-love. The love really began with the heroic adventure with the *Kālīya* serpent ; but it has its fruition now through the contrivance of *Paurṇamāsī* and *Vṛndā*, and Kṛṣṇa goes to meet *Rādhā* in her bower. We are assured that *Rādhā* is already established as the consort of Kṛṣṇa in the *Bṛhad-gautamīya Tantra* and their union is the highest consummation of divine love. The arguments of the *Kṛṣṇa-saṁdarbhā*¹ are repeated here (pp. 750-61) to repudiate the view that Kṛṣṇa was the paramour, and not the husband, of the Gopīs,² and to show (in accordance with *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* x. 33. 37) that the Gopīs were deluded by *Yogamāyā* into thinking that the Gopīs were their married partners, although in reality they were Kṛṣṇa's wives.³ This anxiety to maintain conjugal decorum is expressed in the course of a lengthy theological discussion between the learned *Paurṇamāsī* and the inquisitive *Vṛndā*, in which they cite, like expert scholastics, not only the *Vaiṣṇava* scriptures, but also the *Gīta-govinda*, *Paṇḍita-stotra* ascribed to *Samkara*, *Lalitā-mādhava* and *Ujjvala-nīlamanī* of *Rūpa*⁴ and *Bhāvārtha-dīpikā* of *Śrīdhara* ! There is also an elaborate description

1 See above, pp. 339-40.

2 *anupaparyam arya anupaparyarham, kṛpā tu parama-ryamādhipa-lakṣmī-nārdīyaya-rad dāmparyam eva*, p. 761.

3 The question is discussed again in connexion with *Rām-IIIā*, p. 1223 f., 1310 f. and in the *Uttarārāḍha*, pp. 1581 f. and 1906 f.

4 But then the celestial *Nārada*, later on, refers (prophetically) to the two dramas and the two *Rām-āṣṭra* treatises of *Rūpa*, as well as to an incident of *Caitanya*'s life !

of the beauty, erotic feelings and gestures of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, but the passages give the impression of a subtle scholastic mind indulging in systematic flights of laboured prose and verse. We have then Pralamba-vadha by Balarāma and Dāvānala-pāna by Kṛṣṇa (xvi): Kṛṣṇa's propitiation of the Gopīs with the device of teaching them to play on his flute, which gives the opportunity of a rather lengthy description of the spell of Kṛṣṇa's flute and its far-reaching effect, not only on the people of Vṛndāvana, but on the whole universe, animate and inanimate (xvii). Then come the heroic feats of breaking up the sacrifice to Indra (Indra-makha-bhaṅga) and the lifting of the Govardhana hill (Govardhana-māna-varadhana) for seven days and nights to protect Vṛndāvana from the fierce rain and storm sent by the enraged Indra. All this leads to a long theological discussion, again between Nanda and Kṛṣṇa, on the value of Vedic sacrifice, as well as description of the festival of Govardhana Pūjā (described already by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa in his *Harī-bhakti-viṭāsa*)¹ enlivened by the songs of the Gopīs² (xviii). The topic is continued in the next chapter (xix), with Bṛhaspati's rebuke to Indra, who goes, extremely

1. See above, p. 503.

2. vill, p. 935. There are numerous songs after Jayadeva's model, as well as rhythmic prose-and-verse Bṛinda pieces (see below, under Sotra), inserted throughout the work, mostly to diversify descriptions of festive occasions: e.g. in the Pūrvārtha song on the birth of Kṛṣṇa, iv, p. 271; on the infant Kṛṣṇa vi, p. 387; on Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma tending the cows vii, p. 424-435, also xvii, p. 873; musical dialogue between Yaśodā and the Gopīs on the mischief-making boy vii, pp. 440-442; on infant Kṛṣṇa at Yaśodā's Dadhi-mathana viii, p. 450; song describing how Kṛṣṇa appeared to the Yajñapatāla xiii, p. 1174-1176; on Yaśodā's tending the young Kṛṣṇa xiv, p. 722; on Vāstra-haraṇa xxi, pp. 1077-1083, 1146-1147; on Rāsa xxiv, pp. 1270, 1381-89, xxi, pp. 1488, 1492, 1494; on Arāja-vadha xxii, pp. 1577 and 1581. Also in the Uttarārtha: on Kapra-vadha v, pp. 247-252; on Naraka-vadha xviii, pp. 909-912; on the praise of Vraja xxviii, p. 1347; Maṅgala-song at Advaita xxii, pp. 1644-1648; several concluding panegyrics xxviii, pp. 1990-2002, 2001-2016, 2044-2072 (mostly Bṛinda pieces), etc.

penitent, to Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana with the offer of the divine cow Surabhi, makes Daṇḍavat obeisance in the right Vaiṣṇava style and weeps at his feet. All the gods, headed by Indra, now perform the Abhiṣeka of Kṛṣṇa as Govinda or Protector of Cows. The next chapter (xx) describes an unexpected and involuntary visit of Nanda to the abode of Varuṇa and Goloka. He commits a breach of propriety by an untimely bath in the river Yamunā after the Ekādaśī fasting and gets drowned. He is carried by the spies of Varuṇa to Varuṇaloka, but he is rescued by Kṛṣṇa, to whom Varuṇa also makes Daṇḍavat obeisance. As Nanda is admiring the magnificence of the abode of Varuṇa Kṛṣṇa shows him the Goloka, the highest paradise of the Vaiṣṇava, the object being to convince him not only of its superiority but also of the fact that it is an exact replica of Vṛndāvana : for, we are informed, the Gopas exist in Goloka and the Goloka exists in them.¹ In the next chapter (xxi), we have the episode of the Kātyāyanī-vrata of the Gopīs and the playful stealing of their discarded garment by Kṛṣṇa while they bathe in the state of nature in the river Yamunā. In this connexion the Gāndhārva form of marriage between Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs is suggested and union is promised to occur soon. There is a song here describing how the bridegroom Kṛṣṇa will arrive and marry them ; and in it we have a reference to the abusive song of women (*gāṇī-prūyaṁ gānam*) which is sung in front of the bridegroom ! After an account (xxii) of the episode of Kṛṣṇa's begging food from the wives of Brahmanas who were engaged in a sacrifice (*Yajñapati*), described, we are told, in accordance with the *Bhāgavata*, we have the episode of the Rāsa-līlā which occupies practically the rest of the Pūrvārtha till Kṛṣṇa's departure for Mathurā.

The Rāsa-līlā, which occurs in fulfilment of the Kātyāyanī-vrata and Kṛṣṇa's promise at the time of Vāstra-haraṇa, begins (xxiii) with a description of the autumnal full-moon night and the erotic feelings, acts and gestures of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs.

1 *adhi-golake gopāḥ mayam adhi-gopas golokah.*

At first Kṛṣṇa pretends to dissuade them, but they declare their love for him. Jīva Gosvāmin utters the warning, in accordance with *Bhāgavata* i. 6. 27 and x. 33, 39, that what he is describing is a great secret (*aiti-rahasya*) and, being esoteric, should be revealed only to suitable persons. At every step the theologian in him appears to feel uneasy and obliged to find scriptural and theological justification for the apparently dubious acts of his deity. He launches again into a discussion tending to prove that the Gopīs were Kṛṣṇa's wives and not mistresses; and a large part of the chapter consists of a string of quotations of *Bhāgavata* verses on the Rāsa-līlā and systematic commentary and expansion of them. After a while in the next chapter (xxiv), Kṛṣṇa disappears with Rādhā who is therefore, described as the greatest and luckiest favourite, and the other Gopīs are left to lament and search after him until he reappears. In our author's opinion, the ordinary lovers can never envisage the complexities and endless aspects of the amatory feeling which one finds analysed in the *Rasa-līlā*; in its entirety they appear in Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs. We have in these chapters much fine erotic description, but unfortunately it is often marred by the ubiquitous intrusion of the theological apology. The theme of the next chapter (xxv) is the brief separation from Kṛṣṇa, which increases the longings of the Gopīs and becomes the means of attainment (*vipralambhāt kṛṣṇa-prāptih*). The nineteen stanzas of the Gopī-gītā (*Bhāgavata* x. 31. 1-19) are elaborately imitated and expanded by the author into twenty-six, with the frequent employment of lines and phrases of the original¹. This is followed by a digressive discussion of some enigmatical questions on Bhakti-rasa asked by the Gopīs and

1 Jīva gives a list of the names of the chief Gopīs, who are unnamed in the *Bhāgavata*, in accordance with the *Vaiṣṇava-tantra* on *Bh.* x. 32. 7, where they are said to be taken (as Jīva also professes to take them) from the *Malla-dhṛuḍa* episode of the *Śharīyottara* and the *Prabhāsa-saṁhitā* of the *Śāṇḍa*. The chief Gopīs, as identified by Jīva, are Bhadrā, Candrāvalī, Padmā, Rāvyā, Sītāmalā, Lalitā, Vīṭāḥā and Rādhā.

Kṛṣṇa's casuistic replies to them. In the next chapter (xxvi) Kṛṣṇa reappears, and the Gopīs burst into a song of joy (p. 1381-86):

jaya jaya sad-guṇa-sāra!

jagatī vīṭiṣṭam kalayitum iṣṭam gokula-lasat-avatāra! |

and celebrate the occasion with dance and sports. After the Rāsa, each of the Gopīs disappear simultaneously with Kṛṣṇa in the groves. In the following chapter (xxvii), we have the end of the Rāsa with sports in the water and wandering in the forest.

The next chapter (xxviii) describes how Kṛṣṇa with Nanda and Yaśodā visits Ambikā-vaṇa, in his ninth year, on the Śiva-rātri day and releases the Vidyādhara, named Sudarśana, from a curse which transformed him into an Ajagara (boa constrictor) serpent. This is followed by a chapter (xxix), entitled Raheṣ-kutūhala-vahe-vaḥala-kṛiḍā, which is devoted to Kṛṣṇa's secret sports with the Gopīs at night by practising various kinds of disguise and deception on the old women of Vṛndāvana; and we have conventional metrical pictures of the amorous condition of the Gopīs as Nāyikās of the Proṣita-bhartṛkā, Utkarṣitā, Abhisārikā, Vāsakasajjā and Vipra-labdā type. We have then the slaying of Śaṅkha-cūḍa demon and the festivity of Horikā with unrestrained fun and pleasantries (xxx); the killing of the bull-demon, called Ariṣṭa; the appearance of the two lakes, Śyāma-kunḍa and Rādhā-kunḍa (the former made by a stroke of Kṛṣṇa's Gadā!); boat-excursion and other sports, in which Rādhā takes a prominent place (xxxi); and the slaying of the horse-demon Kēśa (xxxii). All this happens when Kṛṣṇa is ten years old! The last long chapter (xxxiii) of the Pūrvārtha, which

1 According to the Bengali Vaiṣṇava theology, Kṛṣṇa's Kaumāra extended up to the fifth year, Paugandya up to the tenth and Kallora up to the sixteenth. According to the Bhāgavata verse: *cāḍāśa-saṁśaṁśa sarva gūḍhārcitā subalo'vāsa*, he stayed at Vraja up to his eleventh year of age. His erotic sports, we are told, were possible at this tender age through the power of the divine Yogamāyā!

concludes the Vṛndāvana-līlā, gives an anticipatory survey of his Līlā at Mathurā and Dvārakā. The sage Nārada comes to Kṛṣṇa; and after a long prose description, studded with a profusion of paronomasia and other poetic figures, of Kṛṣṇa's appearance, he conveys the news of Akrūra's coming to Vṛndāvana in order to fetch Kṛṣṇa to Mathurā. On perceiving Kṛṣṇa's doubt and sorrow, Nārada states that Kṛṣṇa's career is already marked out and should be fulfilled even at the cost of personal feeling and inconvenience. He then gives a prophetic résumé of his future career up to the end of Dvārakā-līlā, including his future marriages with Rukmiṇī and others, and his return to Vṛndāvana at the end, according to a promise made by himself (*Bh.* x. 45. 23), an act of return which is obscure in the *Bhāgavata* but explicit in the *Padma-purāṇa*¹.

The Uttarārṇha is, therefore, an expansion of the narrative of Nārada into a separate Campū of a somewhat bigger dimension, consisting of 37 chapters or Pūrapas. The narrators and listeners are the same, but we have also the subsidiary device of introducing messengers from Indraprastha and other places, who describe the doings of the absent Kṛṣṇa. The theme of Vipralambha or love in separation is kept up throughout as the dominant motif, until Kṛṣṇa's return to Vṛndāvana and entry into Goloka.

The first three chapters of the Uttara-campū describe the great love which the people of Vṛndāvana bore to Kṛṣṇa, the advent of Akrūra who is really extremely Krūra, and the sorrow of separation of the parents, relatives, friends and beloved Gopīs, to whom Kṛṣṇa makes a promise to return as soon as his work abroad is finished. The fourth and fifth chapters are devoted to the description of Kṛṣṇa's entry into

1 The Pūrvarṇha is dated at Vṛndāvana in Śaṃvat 1643 and Śaka 1310 (= 1908 A.D.). —There is a reference (p. 1837) to Caitanya's relating the verse *yaś kāmūdra-haraḥ*, which incident is also mentioned in some detail by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in his Bengali biography of Caitanya.

Mathurā, during which the women of the city throng to see him in the approved Kāvya manner of Pura-praveśa, his heroic exploits at Mathurā, including the slaying of Kaṣṭha and sundry other demons, and the erotic episode of his meeting with Kujā, for which, of course, we are supplied with the inevitable ideological justification and evaluation of Kujā's love, in reply to the ironical question posed by Lalitā: *yaś kim api nākāryam ārya-caritānām kujāyām nūcaritam ta katham nyubhikṣtam*! Kṛṣṇa places Ugrasena on the throne of Mathurā, himself preferring to be a cowherd (Gopātva) rather than a king (Rājatva). The sixth and seventh chapters revert to the motif of separation from Vṛndāvana by describing Nanda's return and the great sorrow of all concerned at Kṛṣṇa's departure. The next two chapters (viii and ix) describe the Upanayana ceremony by which Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma become Kṣatriyas, which we are assured they really were, but which fact was concealed for the sake of the Līlā at Vṛndāvana! They proceed to the sage Saṃdīpani at Avantī and acquire in no time all the Vidyās and the sixty-four arts¹. As fee (Dakṣiṇā) to his teacher, Kṛṣṇa brings back his Guru's dead son from the abode of Yama, for Yama turns out to be a great devotee of the Bhagavat (Mahābhāgavata). The next three chapters (x-xii), which conclude the Mathurā-līlā, deal with the familiar theme of Uddhava-saṃdēśa, which Rūpa Gosvāmin has also dealt with in one of his small Dūta-kāvya. On returning to Mathurā, Kṛṣṇa sends his friend Uddhava, whom he himself describes as a great devotee well read in the Śrīmad-bhāgavata and the Vaiṣṇava-śāstra (!), with a message to Vṛndāvana (x); this is a fine chapter but for the usual affectations of its author. Then we have Rādhā's Bhāva-vaikalya, in an extremely artificial chapter (xi) composed in strict conformity to the dictates of the Rasa-śāstra and illustrating the various feelings and gestures industriously analysed

1 See Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇi on Bh. x, 43, 27 for a list of the sixty-four arts.

by it ; but there are also some poetical passages depicting the mingled emotions of Rādhā. The next chapter (xii) concludes the topic by describing the return of Uddhava and Kṛṣṇa's satisfaction, as well as sorrow, on hearing the welfare and woe of the people of Vraja.

The next six chapters (xiii-xviii) describe the defeat or death of several inconvenient people and the celebration of several convenient marriages. We have the binding of Jarāsaṃdha (who married the two daughters of Kāṃsa and was proving troublesome) eighteen times (xiii) ; the alluring of Kālayavana, with his host of three crores of Yavanas, to the cave of Mucukunda and getting him killed by the fire of the untimely awakened eyes of Mucukunda (xiv) ; Baladeva's marriage with Revatī, daughter of Revata (xv) and Kṛṣṇa's marriage with Rukmiṇī, daughter of Bhlāmaka, who was meant for Śitupālā, but whom, at her own request, Kṛṣṇa abducts (xvi) ; a long story of seven more marriages of Kṛṣṇa with Satyabhāmā, daughter of Satrajit, Jāmbavatī, daughter of Jāmbavat, Yamunā, daughter of Sūrya (sun-god), Mitravindā (*Bh.* x. 58, 30-31), Nagnajitī, daughter of Nagnajit of Koṭala, Bhadrā (*Bh.* x. 58, 56) or Lakṣaṇā, daughter of the king of Kekaya, and Mādrī, daughter of Brhatsena of Madra. Jīva Gosvāmin in this connexion refers to Rūpa's *Lalitā-mādhava*, where these maidens are equated respectively with Rādhā, Lalitā, Viśākhā, Śaivyā, Padmā, Bhadrāvalī and Śyāmā (xviii). Then we have the slaying of the Naraka-demon, seizure of the heavenly Pārijāta tree, and the abduction of sixteen thousand maidens carried away by Naraka to his capital city in Prāgjyotiṣa (xviii). After this we have the adventure of Kṛṣṇa's son, Pradyumna, born of Rukmiṇī, who abducts Uśā, daughter of Bāpa, and of Kṛṣṇa humbling the pride of Śiva in the battle-field (xix). The next three chapters (xx-xxii) are concerned with some of Balarāma's erotic and heroic feats. Balarāma returns to Vṛndāvana to visit his old friends and relatives, stays for two months (*Bhāgavata* x. 65.

17) and marries some of the Gopis he left behind in the Gāndhārva form (xx). But he has to hurry back to Dvārakā on getting news of fights with Pauṇḍraka and others. Pauṇḍraka having been a pretender who wanted to pose as Vāsudeva. Balarāma carries some milk from Vraja which Kṛṣṇa drinks fondly (xxi). Balarāma's slaying of the monkey-demon Dvivīdha, his visit to Hastināpura, and curbing the pride of Duryodhana by an attack upon the city and the river Yamunā with his mighty ploughshare, conclude the incidental story of Balarāma (xxii). Next come two interesting chapters (xxiii-xxiv), which are more or less doctrinarian inventions of Bengali Vaiṣṇavism. The story of the Kurukṣetra war and the part played by Kṛṣṇa in it are deliberately avoided, but a sentimental episode is brought in of a reunion at Kurukṣetra of Kṛṣṇa with the people of Vṛndāvana who, on a message from him, come there as pilgrims during a solar eclipse. Kṛṣṇa meets his beloved Gopis, assures them of his love in spite of his marriages of convenience, and ends by giving a theological lecture to them as a piece of consolation. He sports with them at night, but we are told that 'It was not like what they had in the old days at Vṛndāvana. This is the motif underlying the episode.' and the explanation furnished (*hydī yad*

1 This is also the view of Rūpa Gosvāmin in a verse which is composed as a variation of the well-known old verse of Śrī-kṛṣṇa-śāstrī, *yah kauṁḍre-haraḥ* (Śārngadhara-paddhati, no. 3768; *Padmāvatī*, no. 382). Rūpa's verse is given in his *Padmāvatī* (no. 383); and Kṛṣṇadāsa tells us (*Madhya* I. 76) that Rūpa composed it at Puri and received the approval of Caitanya on the delineation of the sentiment of Rādhā's longing at Kurukṣetra described therein :

*prīyaḥ so'yaṁ kṛṣṇaḥ saharari kurukṣetra-militas
 tatkālam aś rādhā tad idam abhayaḥ saṅgama-sukham/
 tatkāḥ pyamāyā-kheṇa-madhura-murālī-paṭcamā-yaj
 mano me kṛlindī-pallava-vipindīya sprhayati//.*

It is noteworthy that Jīva, endorsing the description of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, refers (*Pūrva* xxiii, p. 183) to Caitanya's relishing of the verse *yah kauṁḍre-haraḥ*, and puts it in the mouth of Rādhā elsewhere (*Uttara* xxvi, p. 190).

virahau garāgaminau) is the existence of previous pangs of separation (*Gata-viraha*) and impending sorrow of disunion (*Bhāvi-viraha*). This is followed by the recounting in three chapters (xxv-xxvii) of the well known story (in which the influence of Māgha is perceptible) of Yudhiṣṭhira's Rājāsūya sacrifice at Indraprastha, the slaying of Jarāsaṃdhya by Bhīma by a trick suggested by Kṛṣṇa, and Kṛṣṇa's cutting of the head of Śiupālā by the Sudarśana disc. The connected episodes of the slaying of Śālva, who wanted to avenge Śiupālā's death and of Dantavakra, who was Śālva's ally, occupy the next three chapters (xxviii-xxxi). Both are favoured by Śiva's boon but Kṛṣṇa proved invincible for them. A whole chapter of theological digression (xxx) is introduced regarding the inconsistencies found in the accounts respectively of the *Bhāgavata* and the *Padma-purāṇa* about Kṛṣṇa's movements after the death of Dantavakra. The *Uttara-khaṇḍa* of the *Padma-purāṇa* speaks of Kṛṣṇa's return to Vṛndāvana after the Dantavakra episode, but the trouble arises from the fact that the *Bhāgavata* is not explicit about it. We have, therefore, a theological chapter of proofs in the form of a learned discussion between Paurṇamāsī and Vṛodh, in the course of which they freely quote and comment, with considerable scholastic acumen, not only texts from the *Bhāgavata* and other Purāṇa and Tantra scriptures, but even from Vācaspati-miśra's commentary on the *Sāṃkhya-kārikā* (p. 1417)!¹

The remaining chapters (xxxii-xxxvii) of the *Campū* are devoted to the story of Kṛṣṇa's return to Vṛndāvana and his entry into Goloka from there. Kṛṣṇa comes back, leaving

1 Among other things, they discuss various questions relating to the sports of the Gopīs, Prabhāsa and Aprabhāsa-III, Nitya-III and so forth. The question of Kṛṣṇa's age at the time of his return is also interesting. When Yudhiṣṭhira regained his kingdom, we are told that Kṛṣṇa's age was thirty-seven, but when he came back to Vṛndāvana it is said to be forty-four. As he left when he was eleven, the people of Vṛndāvana, by this computation, received him back after thirty-three years.

behind his weapons and his heroism, and putting on his Gopadresa with his flute, his staff and his peacock-feathers. From Kṛṣṇa's Aitvarya, we revert to his Mādhurya; from his acts of valour to his acts of love; and the ultimate superiority of his Vṛodhivana-IIIā is vindicated by making him return to it. The object of describing his Aitvarya is not to eclipse his Mādhurya—for his essential and permanent Mādhurya can never be eclipsed—but to make his Mādhurya more piquant and attractive.¹ Kṛṣṇa is drawn by his old love for the Gopīs, but he doubts whether it would be right for him to marry them, as they are known to be the married wives of other people. Pauruṣāṁśu intervenes and shows by elaborately quoting the scriptures that the Gopīs are his own, the Nitya-siddhā beloved, or Nitya-preyaś, of Kṛṣṇa, their being other people's wives is an illusion created by his own Yogamāyā.² The Vaiṣṇava apologist appears to think that conjugal love can hardly serve as an effective symbol of the passionate, unfettered and romantic love of devotion, but the desperate method of scriptural and allegorical interpretation is employed perhaps to maintain social and moral decorum by demonstrating that they are really wives of Kṛṣṇa and by effecting a regular marriage in the end, the semblance of irregular union being meant for furthering the intense eroticism involved in the Līlā (xxxi). Kṛṣṇa, now convinced, generously resolves to destroy even the semblance of the

1 According to Vīṭṭaśaṅka Cakravārtin's interpretation (*Rāga-ratna-maṇḍita*, Prakāśa ii), the Mādhurya of the deity is an attribute in which the semblance of human acts (*Manuṣya-IIIā*) is not obscured by the manifestation or non-manifestation of Aitvarya. Thus, Aitvarya is manifested in Pūtanā-vadha, but Kṛṣṇa's sucking the breast of Pūtanā like a human child is an act of Mādhurya which evokes the semblance of the sentiment of Vīṭṭalya. The case of non-manifestation of Aitvarya is illustrated by his human sports with the Gopīs as the best example of Mādhurya.

2 It is emphatically declared that the Gopīs bore no children; for even if the scripture states *pūyānāyāś hīnā payāś*, it does not say *pūyānāyāś sūta nānam*; they were presumably children of relatives!

infamy that the Gopīs have a husband;¹ and Paurṇamāsī making a formal proposal of the marriage to Nanda and Yotodā, declares that Rādhā and the Gopīs had, through Māyā created by herself,² only a semblance of marriage (*vīrāha-bhāṣa*) with the Gopas, but that they were in fact unmarried; an unreal image of them stayed in their own houses, while they went out to meet Kṛṣṇa. In order to test the truth of her statement, Paurṇamāsī summons Durvāsas by her power of meditation, and stages a kind of symbolical fire-ordeal or Agni-parīkṣā (after that of Śītā), there being no actual fire here but the fire of the Tapas of Durvāsas ! The next two chapters (xxiii-xxiv) describe the preliminary preparation (*Adhivāsa*) of the impending marriage ceremony, bathing, dressing and decoration of the bride and bridegroom and the festivities and pleasantries suitable to the occasion. The forty Āryā verse (pp. 1688-1702) which describe the ornaments of Rādhā, as well as the ornate prose passages, are extremely tilted examples of the use made of the traditional resources of rhetorical ingenuity, but they are matched by forty-five verses and a long prose passage (pp. 1706-1726) of a similar character on Kṛṣṇa's decoration. The marriage ceremony, with the *Śrī-kulīcāra* (p. 1769), follows in the next chapter (xxv), and consummation in the chapter next to that (xxvi), Rādhā generously requesting Kṛṣṇa to satisfy also her companions Lalitā, Viśākhā and others simultaneously ! But even in the midst of the bliss of married love, Rādhā is described as possessed of an indefinite nostalgia for the sweetness of the other love, and reciting with infinite longing the old verse *yah kaumāra-haraḥ* ascribed to Śītā-bhāṣārīkṣā !³ The last chapter (xxvii) entitled *Goloka-praveśa* describes entry into Goloka which, unseen by men,

1 *na-priyāṅgaṁ paṇi iti bahir alhyāri-duḥkhaṁ kṛtā*, p. 1686.

2 *mayā prthivyaṁ varāṇaṁ vīrāhavatāḥ svapnāya samyaddana-vīrāvasūryāḥ mūlyayā itāṁ anyāṁ vīrāha-bhāṣaṁ nirvṛtitaṁ*, p. 1681.

3 See above, p. 639 footnote 1.

exists constantly in Vṛndāvana,¹ and the work is concluded with a theological-poetical account of Goloka-am-Vṛndāvana.²

The brief résumé given above is perhaps enough to show that the *Gopāla-campā* of Jīva is an ambitiously enormous effort, and that it is an enormity in every sense. After his theological labours in his abstruse *Śrīkṛṣṇa-saṃdarbhā*, he wanted to relax and put his dogmas into an attractive poetical form: but the work he composed with this laudable object is not less abstruse, nor attractive and poetical, because even in his avowed literary composition Jīva could never relax nor forget that he was the theological apologist of the Caitanya sect. By inclination, training and acquirement, he was undoubtedly qualified for this exacting task, and he must have earnestly considered this to be the mission of his life. His work, therefore, could not be (and its declared object shows that it was never meant to be) a plain and poetical narrative without constantly wearisome excursions into didactic and doctrinal exposition.³ He was temperamentally a scholaristic, and not a poet, but a scholastic with little critical sense or idea of proportion; and his mind was too devout to be really artistic. There is, no doubt, a great deal of conventional art or artifice,⁴ but it is laboriously acquired. His excessive consciousness of it, as well as his subtle and

1 *sa khalvayam loṭaḥ prākṛta-dṛṣṭindam prakāśe vṛndāvana eva-
prakāśam vartate*, p. 1936. We are warned that since through the power
of Yogamāyā all these exploits of Kṛṣṇa are rendered possible, one
should not disbelieve (*taś ca sarvaṃ ayaṁ pūrva-pūrva-labdha-yogamāyā-
balaśān nāpūram manurjyam*, p. 1921).

2 The *Uttarārdha* is dated in Vṛndāvana, Śaṃvat 1649 and Saka
1314=1392 A.D.

3 A large number of Purāṇa, Tantra and sectarian devotional texts
is cited, but none which is not quoted also in his *Samudāhṛta*. An
index, therefore, need not be given here.

4 See above our remarks on the literary merit of Jīva's *Mādhava-
mahatāva*, which, however, from the literary point of view, is a much
better composition.

multifarious learning, makes his industrious production not so much a delectable poetic creation as a marvel of erudite correctness and massive workmanship.

In fairness it must be said that in individual stanzas, scattered over this vast work, fine and elegant touches are not wanting : as, for instance, in the description of Rādhā's confusion and conflict of feelings at the sudden approach of Kṛṣṇa (Uttara xv, p. 729):

*akasmād āyantaṃ harim anubhavanī kila hriyā
dādam akṣor nānā drutaṃ api dadhe sā nasa-mukhi/
mudā smerā bhugnā vikaṣitavati kuñcitavati
sa-bāṣṭa stabdhābhābhavad iti samaṃ yā na ghaṭate//.*

Or, in the picture of Dadhi-mathana by Yaśodā (Pūrva viii, p. 449):

*dyāmā lola-dukūla ratna-vilasaṭ-kūñcit-cayenāñcitā
raṭ-jhaṃkāra-karambira-dhvani-dhara-śṛṅgaṅgañjālaṃkṛtā/
patyanī tanayānanāṃ laghu-laghūnmilann-śṛṅgī-drayaṃ
śṛmad-gopa-mahatīrī cala-bhujāmatahṇād abhikṣyaṃ dadhi//*

But, normally, the descriptive or sentimental verses are more conventional in words, ideas and imageries : as for instance, the following verse (Pūrva xv, p. 737) on Rādhā's beauty¹:

*navendur mūrtir vā, kanaka-kamalaṃ vaktram atha vā,
cakoraṃ netre vā, viśarad amṛtaṃ dṛṣṭir atha vā/
aplītham rādhāyāṃ yadī jita-tulāyāṃ na balare
vikalpaḥ kiṃ tarhi prajāñitarāṃ tat-tad-upamā//.*

Jīva possesses considerable literary and metrical facility, and even skill, but not much literary and poetical excellence. The play of wit and fancy, with its elaborate conceits and verbal trickeries, which is a characteristic feature of later decadent Sanskrit, is unweariedly and wearisomely in evidence. We have also not infrequent display of pure pedantry : such

¹ For an elaborately rhetorical description of Rādhā's embellished beauty, see Uttara xxiv, pp. 1688-1702.

as in the following verse uttered by Paurṇamī (Pūrva xv, p. 766):

*avacam avocam uvāca ca vacmi hi vaktūmi vakṣyāmi/
ucyāsam idam vacyāṃ vocūni no ced avakṣyaṃ na||*

Or, in the following comment, serious and not ironical, on the longing love of the Gopīs (Pūrva xvii, p. 872):

*anumāna-gatā tādām arthāpatitiḥ prastīyate/
yataḥ kṛṣṇaśya dayitās tā eva nyāya-paṇḍitāḥ||*

presuming that the Gopīs were as well versed in Nyāya as the learned author himself !

Jiva's prose is even more deliberately difficult and stilted, being more loaded with luxuriant rhetorical embellishments. When it is not argumentative, it is often a dreary imitation (like that of Karpapūra, if not to the same extent) of the periphrastic, ornamented and tortuous style, set in fashion by Subandhu and Bāṇa. It abounds in involved complexities of construction, long compounds, sesquipedalian sentences and every kind of subtle verbal devices and mental conceits. It is not that Jiva's theme is small, inadequate or unsubstantial, or lacks situations of poetic possibilities, but it is made a convenient outlet for technical skill and learning. His style is naturally and always ponderous, even in dealing with light topics, and there is always a pedantic mass of descriptive details laboriously worked out. It is not necessary, nor can we afford space, to select any lengthy specimen here, for they occur from page to page : but consider, for instance, the taste of Kṛṣṇa's brief punning witticism to the denuded Gopīs during the Vāstra-harṣa-līlā (Pūrva xxi, p. 1091):

*bhavaśīlām ambarīvaragatā vidyata eva, tad ambaram
karṣam apahāreṇa sambalanam avalambam|*

If Jiva's poetry, though written in verse, is too often prosaic in spirit and style, his prose, attempting to be poetical, too often attains only the subtle and fatiguing ornamentation of an overworked diction. In bulk of production, in unflin-

workmanship and general literary competence, it is impossible to ignore this triumph of literary and theological dexterity, but it is equally impossible to enjoy it heartily. As a whole, this extraordinarily elaborate Campū gives one the impression that no labour is too arduous, no ingenuity too refined for the essentially scholastic mind behind it, which delights to indulge in methodical flights of strenuous prose and verse.

It is perhaps a relief to turn from these extensive and learned productions to the two small *Dūta-kāvya*s¹ of Rūpa Gosvāmin, which were composed probably before the author met Caitanya, but which undoubtedly bear witness to a trend of independently developed Vaiṣṇava inclination. Although they are not burdened with didactic and doctrinal matter, it cannot be said that they are more original or less artificial compositions than the professed devotional *Kāvya*s of the Caitanya sect, which we have reviewed above. Their very form, as well as the fact that they are obvious imitations, encourages artificiality. They are, like innumerable other poems of the same type,² plainly literary exercises; and their interest lies not so much in their absolute poetical worth as in the utilization, in an unoriginal epoch, of the original form and motif of sending a love-message in a different way and for a different purpose. They illustrate the literary variation that can be worked by clever and industrious talent, which could not imbibe nor reproduce the inimitable poetic spirit of Kālidāsa's little masterpiece. Both the *Dūta-kāvya*s of Rūpa deal with aspects of the Kṛṣṇa-Rādhā legend, and depict the sending of messages respectively from Rādhā at Vṛndāvana and from Kṛṣṇa at Mathurā.

The *Harṣa-dūta* (142 stanzas) discards the original *Mandākrāntā* metre for *Śikharipi*. The messenger selected is a white-feathered swan, but the imaginary journey is only

1 See above, p. 152.

2 See S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Literature* ch. vi, under Erotic poetry, pp. 372-73.

for a short distance from Vṛndāvana to Mathurā ; and the sender of the message is neither the hero nor the heroine but a companion of the latter (Lalitā), who is filled with pity for Rādhā's lovesorn condition. There is the usual indication of the route, describing various places of interest in Vṛndāvana connected with Kṛṣṇa's exploits, such as the Kadamba tree on which Kṛṣṇa sat at the time of the Vāstra-harapa, the place of Rāsa-sports, the Govardhana hill, the Kadamba-bower, the Bhāṇḍīra-grove, the spot where Brahmā's pride was humbled and the Kālīya lake, until Mathurā is reached. We have then a description of Mathurā, of the spectacle of Kṛṣṇa's entry into the city witnessed with emotion by a throng of women, of the magnificence of Kṛṣṇa's residence and his appearance, of the beauty of his various limbs (starting from the toe-nails to his face, 53-62), and finally a recital of the message (65-140), sent on Rādhā's behalf by Lalitā, imploring Kṛṣṇa, in view of Rādhā's desperate condition, to hurry back to Vṛndāvana. The message, however, includes not only a detailed description of Rādhā's sorrow of separation, but also Lalitā's appeal addressed to Kṛṣṇa himself, as well as systematically to his garland (Vanamālā), ear-ornament (Kupḍala), Kaustubha jewel and his conch-shell (Kambu), together with ingeniously applied references in ten stanzas (128-137) to his ten incarnations. Of this last topic, the reference to the Buddha may be cited as a specimen of witty application of the motif of ten incarnations to the particular context of Rādhā's condition and the kind-hearted Kṛṣṇa's apparent indifference:

*na rāgaṃ sarvajña kvacid api vidhate, raśi-paṇiṃ
muhur dveṣṭi, drohaṃ kalayati balād iṣṭa-vipraye |
ciraṃ dhyānānukṛā nivāsati adāsaṃ gata-ratiḥ
tathā pyasyāṃ haṃho sadaya-hṛdaya tvam na dayase ||¹*

1 The poem opens and ends with an obeisance to Kṛṣṇa ; there is no reference to Caitanya, but homage is paid to Saṅkṛta in one of the concluding verses. The reading *viditeṣṭi* *utkarayati* ('known as Śākara'),

The explanation of Rādhā's inability of sending a direct message herself is given in a verse of Rādhā's walling, which is a brief but fine imitation of a well known passage in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*:¹

*garlyān me premā ivayi param iti sneha-laghutā
na jivāyāmīti praṇaya-garimākhyaḍpara-vidhīh/
katham nāyānti amaraṇa-paripāṭi-prakāṣaṇam
harau samdeśāya priya-sakhī na me vāg-avasarah//.*

The *Uddhava-saṁdṛīa*, in 131 Maṇḍākrāntī stanzas, keeps more to the scheme and metre of the original, and has the advantage of expanding the *Bhāgavata* incident (x. 47) of Kṛṣṇa's despatching Uddhava as a messenger from Mathurā to Vṛndāvana. After an indication of the route, along with the old loving associations connected with the various places of Vṛndāvana, Kṛṣṇa describes the lament of the Gopīs when Akrūrā fetched him, and the eagerness with which they will receive Uddhava. He entrusts a message to each of the chief Gopīs, namely to Candrāvalī, Viśākhā, Dhanyā, Śyāmalā Padmā, Lalitā, Bhadrā, Śaivyā and lastly, to Rādhā, to whom he sends his garland as a token. It is perhaps a more appealing poem in the tender quality of its description of reminiscent love, although the vividness and reality of the emotion are still obscured by the conventional banalities of rhetoric² and sentiment. While graceful passages³ like the

found in some MSS. is probably an ingenious substitution for *viditeḥ antaḥvṛtāyā*.

1 At the end of the *Pūrva-bhāga*, ed. Nirṇay Sagar Press (6th ed.), Bombay 1921, pp. 414-415.

2 The diction is easier, but its general artificiality cannot be doubted. Rūpa, like Jiva and other learned writers of the time, is given to much display of grammatical and rhetorical niceties. One curious instance is his fondness for intensive verbal forms which he uses quite frequently in this small poem, e.g. *rāreṣīti* in 36, *bāhāramīti* in 42, *dandaḥīti* in 78, *dandaḥīti* in 79, *varīrasi* in 85 (cf. *varīrasi* in *Haravāḍī* 81) and *śaṇḍedīti* in 122.

3 Most of these, as well as fine passages from the *Haravāḍī*, will be found quoted by himself in the two *Rasa-līlā* works of Rūpa.

following, for instance, from the lament of the Gopis are not infrequent:

*yatra sphitādhara-madhu-hareḥ śitalotsaṅga-saṅge
saundaryeṇollīkṣita-vapuḥ sphāra-saurabhya-pūre/
narmdrambha-sihapūṣṭa-vocaḥ-kandale nu-da-sūnau
modīyante mama sakhi kadā hama pañcendriyāṇi//*

We have also stanzas elaborately working out metaphorical conceits like the following:

*akṛūrākhye hṛtāvati haṣṭāḥ śivanam mām nidāghe
vindanānām muhur aviralākkāram antar-vidāram/
śadyaḥ tūḡyan-mukha-vanaruhām vallavī-dīrghhikāṇām
yādam āśa-mṛdam anuśṛjāḥ prāṇa-kārmā vasanti//!*

5. STOTRAS, GITAS AND BIRUDAS

Like the regular Vaiṣṇava Kāvya, the Vaiṣṇava Stotra marks a departure from the staid and elevated tradition¹ of the reflective Stotras, of which the Vedic hymns ascribed to Śaṃkara may be taken as the type, by their erotic-mystic sensibility and by their more passionate and sensuous content and expression. If the traditional Stotra as poems of praise and panegyric derived its impetus from speculative thought, the quasi-amorous attitude of the Vaiṣṇava Bhakti movement shifted the basis of inspiration by transforming the mighty sex-impulse into an ecstatic religious emotion, and by relating the devotional literature very closely to the erotic: the religious longings being expressed in the intimate language and imagery of earthly passion. The apotheosis of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend, with all its paraphernalia of impassioned beatific sports, was, no doubt, a literary gain of immense importance and lifted the devotional literature from the dead level of speculative thought to the romantic richness of an intensely passionate experience. But very soon subtle scholars-

1 See S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Literature* ch. vi, under Devotional Poetry, pp. 373-98.

ticism laid its cold dry fingers upon the spontaneous blooming, not only of the regular Vaiṣṇava Kāvya but also of the devotional Vaiṣṇava Stotra; and the incubus of a long-established literary tradition retarded the growth of independent form and expression. As a result, rhetorical nicety and psychological refinement came to dominate. The technical analysis and authority of the older Poetics and Erotics had already evolved a system of meticulous classification of the ways, means and effects of the erotic sentiment, and established a series of rigid conventionalities to be expressed in stock poetic and emotional phrases, analogies and conceits. To add to this, the neo-vaiṣṇava theology and theory of sentiment brought in a further mass of well defined subtleties and elegancies. Neither the regular Vaiṣṇava Kāvya nor the Stotra could, therefore, escape refined artificiality of sentiment and expression, as well as inevitable monotony arising from similar themes and motifs, similar series of words and ideas and similar method and treatment.

The Bengal Vaiṣṇava Stotra, therefore, exhibits practically the same set of characteristics as the regular Vaiṣṇava Kāvya which we have reviewed above, and they are also composed by the same set of writers with similar prepossessions. If the Stotra springs from a more personal religious consciousness and is not weighted entirely by the dry dogmatism of mere scholastic thought, the expression is too conventionally artistic and too subtly saturated with studied erotic niceties. In spite of the emotional inflatus, they are deliberate works with all the distinctive features of deliberate art. Nevertheless, the Stotras are comparatively short pieces and are generally not so dull and dreary as the laboured and extensive Kāvya. We often find in them a rare and pleasing charm, a luscious exuberance of pictorial fancy and a mood of sensuous sentimentality, which we often miss in the more ambitious and leisurely composed Kāvyas of massively erudite fancy. It is true that the reality of the personal emotion is too often lost in the repetition of conventional ideas and imageries, but the

spring and resonance of the verses and the swing and smoothness of the comparatively facile diction, as well as the inherent passion and picturesqueness of the romantic content, frequently make these devotional efforts transcend the mere formalism of literary and emotional trivialities. According as the sentiment gains in ardour and the expression in concreteness, theology and rhetoric recede to background ; but, at the same time, it must be admitted that it is not very often that these poems of adoration and eulogy rise above the level of modest mediocrity.

It is not denied that some of the Bengal Vaippava Stotras maintain their popularity, being daily uttered and relished by innumerable devout minds, but popularity or devotional employment is no index to literary quality. They are popular, not because they are great religious poems, but because they give expression to cherished religious ideas. They have, therefore, different values for the devotee and the literary critic. They come within the purview of literary appreciation only when they are not merely liturgical verses, or strings of laudatory names and epithets, or metrical litanies of glory and greatness, or didactic dissertation of doctrinal matter. These effusions of the devout heart are, in a sense, beyond the scope of formal criticism ; and it is perhaps difficult for the uninterested critic, who is apt to dismiss them as expressions of abnormal sentimentality, to realise the entire mentality of these devotee-poets, the earnestness of their creed and credulity, the exaltation of their refined emotionalism. But when these devout utterances represent a professional effort and not a born gift, a systematic exposition of religious emotions and ideas and not their automatic fusion in an instinctively poetical and devotional personality, they seldom reach the true accent of a great religious poem.

Although ignored by orthodox opinion for some of its unorthodox views, the *Calanya-candrāmṛta*¹ of the emotional

1 See above p. 130.

ascetic Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī is a refutedly passionate adoration of Caitanya, which should not be ignored as a remarkable contribution to the Stotra literature of the sect, inspired by sincere personal devotion. We have already given above a brief account of the content of poem, but more than the content, the expression, in spite of conventional ideas and imageries, often rises, in its intensity of emotional ardour, much above the level of what one finds in ordinary poems of paenegyric. In self-disparagement the poet exclaims:

*vañcito'ami vañcito'ami vañcito'ami na saṁśayaḥ/
vītvam gaura-rāse magnam sparśo'pi mama nābhavat//.*

and laments:

*kair vā sarva-pumartha-maulir akṣāyāsair ihāsādīto
nāsīd gaura-pādāvinda-rajasa sprāṣṭe mahī-maṇḍale/
hā hā dhīā mama jīvanam dhig api me vidyā
dhig apyāśramam
yad daurbhāgya-parāvarair mama na tai-saṁbandha-
gandā'pyabhūt//.*

The pictures he gives of Caitanya's ecstatic emotions, his frenzied dancing and singing, have a richness and reality which one often misses in the more laboured accounts. We can select here, at random, only one specimen, but it will be enough to indicate the tone:

*abhūd gehe gehe tumula-horī-saṁkīrtana-rava
babhau dehe dehe vipulā-pulekhāru-vyatikarāḥ/
api snehe surhe parama-madhurotkarṣa-podav/
dāvīyaryāmnāyād api jagati gaurē'vatarati//.*

The personal note, however, which makes this short poem so enjoyable, is much less in evidence in the interminable elaborate *śatakas*, called collectively *Vṛndāvana-mahīmāṁṣa*,¹ which are ascribed to Prabodhānanda. The work is nothing

¹ See above pp. 131-32. The authenticity of the ascription is neither proved nor disproved.

more than a series of lavish description and reflection on the romantic associations of Vṛndāvana as the abode of Kṛṣṇa and the scene of his varied sports. It would have been a marvellous literary feat indeed if the author had fulfilled his alleged ambitious project of writing ten thousand verses in one hundred Śatakas, all on the same topic ; but, as it is, the seventeen Śatakas, so far published, give us a total of 1871 stanzas composed in a large variety of metres. One need not, however, be surprised at this inexhaustible fertility, for the indomitable Sanskrit poet is inexhaustible in his resources ; and to the devout mind, the charms of Vṛndāvana are inexhaustible. But literary fertility is seldom synonymous with poetical excellence ; and however exuberant and amazing the devotional fancy might be, it can never dwell upon the same theme on such a minute and extended scale without producing a sense of monotony and futility. However vividly and variedly they might have been conceived by a devout mind of great affluence, a more or less abstract contemplation of the divine sports could hardly inspire the poet with the same emotional directness as his real experience and adoration of Caitanya's vital devotion. If one can leisurely wade through this long and laborious production, one will certainly come across verses, lines and phrases, richly yet elegantly expressed, some real flash and felicity of workmanship, as well as a pleasing and picturesque sensuousness of details ; but the prevailing note of literary artificiality in matter and manner is unmistakable, and the modest poetic merit of the composition need not be piously exaggerated.

The wistfulness and ecstacy of the erotic-mystic devotional attitude, inspired by the frankly sensuous Vṛndāvana sports of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, as well as its intensely passionate appeal, are best exemplified by a series of fervent poems of praise and prayer composed by Raghunātha-dāsa. The twenty-nine Stotras contained in his *Stāvadhī*¹ are of varying

¹ See above pp. 121-122, where the names of the individual Stotras, number of stanzas in each and their respective metres are also given.

lengths, diverse metres and unequal merit ; but with the exception of the first two small pieces (*Caitanya-ṣṭaka* and *Gaurāṅga-stava-kalpataru*),¹ which give expression to the author's reminiscence and loving obeisance to Caitanya, all the poems are concerned with the author's vivid and impassioned realisation of the beatific sports. We can, however, at once exclude the *Rādhikāṣṭottara-lāla-nāma* and the *Premaṁbhōja-makaranda*, which consist of nothing more than strings of descriptive epithets, in the śloka metre, in praise of Rādhā, meant for devout recitation. The four short poems (two on the Govardhana hill,² one on the Rādhā-kuṇḍa and one on the Dānalīlā-kuṇḍa) are concerned with worship and adoration of the holy places connected with Rādhā's sports and the author's ardent desire to live in them ; while the much longer *Vraja-vilāsa-stava* (107 stanzas in various metres) is practically a systematic devotional and descriptive catalogue of everything connected with Vṛndāvana which, as the divine domicile, is said to be superior to Mithurā and Dvārakā, because of the divine sports occurring eternally therein.³ It enumerates and describes elaborately, in the form of obeisance in consecutive stanzas, the parents, grandparents, relatives, friends, associates, servants, assistants (even the nurse and the priest) of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, the Gopas and Gopīs, the cows, bulls and calves, the flute, the pet peacock, the hills, groves, rivers, birds, bees, forests, trees,

1 Although Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja thinks highly of these two Ślokas and quotes them extensively, they are not impressive compositions. In verse 4 of the second poem the Gambhīrī episode and the miracle of extended limbs are referred to.

2 Rāghavānanda's blindness in old age is also mentioned in the last verse of the *Govardhanāṣṭottara-dātaka* (see above p. 121).

3 Verse 5. Also verse 7:

vaidagdhyaottara-narṇa-karmajha-sakha-vṛndāṣṭ paritāp rasath
 pratyekam taru-kūṭja-vallari-gīrdhrāṇāṁ nāṣṭipatnam /
 nāṣṭa-kali-bharaṇa yatra ramate tan-marya-gānāṁ yugam
 tar-pāṇḍura-gaṇika-bandhuraṇaṁ vṛndāvanam tad bhaje //

creepers, various places of sports, and even the humble grass and dust of Vṛndāvana, as well as those people, devout or otherwise, who have the blessed fortune of residing therein today!

But the remaining Stotras are of greater interest. They illustrate aspects of the realisation of the Rāgānuṅgā form of Bhakti,¹ in which the poet imagines himself to be, not a Sakhi or companion,² but a Dāsi or humble handmaid of Rādhā, and passionately prays for a vision and vicarious enjoyment of the frankly erotic sports. In the first verse of his *Sva-niyama-dātaka*, Raghunātha clearly enunciates his creed by enumerating the objects of his adoration:

*guruṁ mantrē nāmni prabhuvara-sacitgarbhaja-pade
svarūpe śrī-rūpe gaṇa-yuji tādīya-prathamaḥ |
girindre gāndhārvā-sarasi madhu-puryāṁ vraja-vane
vraje bhakte goṣṭhālayiṣu param āstūṁ mama matiḥ ||*

namely, the Guru, the Mantra, the blessed Name, Caitanya, Svarūpa Dāmodara, Rūpa,³ Sanātana, the Govardhana hill, the Rādhā-kuṇḍa, Mathurā, Vṛndāvana, the Goṣṭha, the devotee of Kṛṣṇa and the people of Vraja. But he also declares emphatically that the sole object of his prayer and praise is Vṛndāvana and its presiding deity, Rādhā. The ecstatic worship and adoration of Rādhā (Rādhā-bhajana),

1 See above pp. 176-79.

2 Possibly the imaginary Sakhi of Rādhā, named Rūpamañjarī, whom Raghunātha addresses in some of his Stotras, may have been Rūpa Gosvāmī; and tradition may not be wrong in associating Rūpa with the form of Sakhi-bhāva realisation.

3 Stanzas 10 and 11 of the *Prāthamaṅga-ratna-dātaka* appear to indicate that Rūpa was dead by the time when these stanzas were written. Also see his *Sva-niyama-dātaka*, verse 1. The Stotras must have been composed at different periods of time: for Raghunātha's *Mukṣa-carita* makes a wholesale insertion of the *Prēmānubhāsa-māla-randa*, while his *Kṛṣṇa-kellī* is apparently a variation of the theme of the *Mukṣa-carita*.

therefore, becomes the predominating motive of almost all his Stotras : for he states (*Vilākhānanda-stotra*, 131):

*bhajāmi rādhām aravinda-netrām
smarāmi rādhām madhura-smirāṣyām/
vadāmi rādhām karuṇā-bharārdrām
tato mamānyāsti garīṇa kṛpī* ||.

The mode of worship that he prefers, however, is not Sakhya but Dāya:

*pādābhāṣas tava vinā vara-dāyam eva
nūnyat kadāpi samaye kila devī yāce/
sakhyaḥ te mama namo'stu namo'stu nityam
dāyaḥ te mama raso'stu raso'stu satyam* ||.

Hence, in his much praised *Vilāpa-kusumāñjali*, from which the verse quoted above is taken, his sorrow of separation from Rādhā and his intense longing for service and worship are expressed with great warmth and earnestness, the author conceiving himself as a handmaid of Rādhā,¹ and describing in detail how he would like to wait upon her, help her to dress and decorate her limbs and minister unto her love-affair. Rādhā and her divine lover are presented in these Stotras in a background of highly sensuous appeal: and the extreme asceticism of the author's personal life affords a strange contrast to the extreme eroticism of his devotional effusions. But the attitude is essentially one of pathetic supplication and surrender for being included in the divine entourage, for ecstatic vision of the erotic sports. The fervent prayers are addressed to Rādhā, more than to Kṛṣṇa, because without an adoration of Rādhā it is impossible, in the poet's view to attain Kṛṣṇa (*Sva-saṅkalpa-prakāśa*, verse 1):

*anūrādhyā rādhā-padāmbhōja-reṇum
andhṛitya vṛndāvarīm tat-padāḥkam/
asaṁbhūḡya tad-bhāva-gambhīra-cittān
kutaḥ tyāma sindho rasavyāvagāhah* ||.

1 *atyakṣajṇa nitarām vīrahānāṣṇa
dandāhyamāna-hṛdayā kila kṛpī dāu* ||
hā vramāmi kṛpām ita prapayena pādham
ākṛandaneṇa vidhura vilāpāmi padyaḥ ||.

Hence, *snapeyati nija-dārye rādhikā maṃ kadhā nu : rādhāṃ kadhāṃ bhaje ; kṛṣṇaṃ api mama rādhe netram ānandaya svam ; bhaje mano rādhāṃ agādhāṃ rasasiḥ* ; such words and sentiment form the refrain of each stanza, as well as the theme, respectively of his *Rādhikāṅgaka*, *Utkarṣhā-dalaka*, *Prema-pūra* and *Navāṅgaka* Stotras ; while his *Abhāṅga-prārthana* and *Abhāṅga-sūcana* give expression to his eagerness to serve and worship Rādhā, and his *Navayuva-dvandva-dīrghaṅgaka* as well as *Prārthanāmṛta* to a longing to witness the divine sports. It is true that some of the Stotras are composed in direct honour of Kṛṣṇa (e.g. *Mukundāṅgaka*, *Gopāla-rāja-stava*, *Madana-gopāla-stotra*),¹ but Rādhā figures in them very prominently. The more ambitiously elaborate *Vitākhānanda-stotra* is a panegyric of Rādhā (in 134 śloka verses), in which she is described, in a highly rhetorical passage (77-86), as personified Victory in Love-sports (*Kandarpa-yuddha-kṛt*), with all her paraphernalia of charming, yet deadly, weapons and battle-resources, and in which Kṛṣṇa throws out a single-handed challenge for love-fight, not only to Rādhā but also to all her companions ! The extensive *Rādhā-kṛṣṇaḥṣṭala-kusuma-keli* describes (in 44 śikharipi stanzas with occasional intrusion of connecting prose) such a mild combat, but it is only a wordy warfare, a battle of erotic wit and raillery,² arising from a playful dispute over the ownership of the groves of Vṛndāvana, and ending in Kṛṣṇa's prescribing suitable, but audacious, punishment to Rādhā and the Gopīs for having, without title, plucked flowers from the groves which belong to him !

In spite of an excess of sensuous sentimentality which, however, is an essence of the faith, the devout, yet passionate,

1 All these Stotras have the last Pāda of each stanza as a repeated refrain. In *Gopāla-rāja* (verses 13 and 14), Viṅkhaleśvara, son of Vallabhācārya, is mentioned as a worshipper of the image of Gopāla at Vṛndāvana.

2 In theme and treatment, this Stotra is only a variation of the poet's *Dāsa-keli-candimayī* and *Mukūṭa-candimā*.

personal note in these Stotras of Raghunātha-dāsa is certainly appropriate to this subjective type of devotional literature. It is a touching picture that he himself gives, in one of his smaller Stotras,¹ of his own simple, ascetic life of humble devotion at Rādhā-kuṇḍa, near the alleged Govardhana hill, bereft of the companionship of his dear friends in old age, awaiting desirable death in the holy place and filled with nothing but an intense longing to serve and worship his deity :

*parityaktaḥ preṣa-jana-samudayaḥ bāḍham asudhīr
durandho nīrandhraṃ kadano-bhavarakāḍhau nipatitaḥ /
irṇaṃ dantaḥ daṣṭvā caṭubhīr abhīyāc'dya kṛpayā
svayam īrī-gāndharvā sva-pada-nalināṁśaṃ nayau mām / /
vrajaṣṭṭanna-kṛtālana-vasana-pātrādibhīr aham
padārthair nirvāhya vjaraḥṛtīm adamabhaṃ su-niyamaḥ /
vasāntā-kuṇḍe giri-kula-vare caiva samaye
marīṣye tu preṣṭhe sarasī khalu śivādi-purataḥ / /*

It is not mere abstract contemplation, dogmatic exposition or artistic expression of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend which interests him : he desires a rich and intimate realisation of all its romantic associations. And he has been able to communicate to his Stotras the rich and intimate picturesqueness of his devotional fancy and exuberant sentiment. The purely poetic merit of these passionate lyrical effusions is perhaps not very high, but they are comparatively free from mere dogma and rhetoric in their emotional exaltation and warmth of earnest belief.

The Stotras, Birudas and Gītas of Rūpa Gosvāmin are of a somewhat different type. They have more rhetoric than reality, more wealth of words than fervour of faith, more artistic than human appeal. They are collected together by his nephew Jīva, in a volume entitled *Stava-mālā*.² With the

1 *Sva-niṣama-dalaka* 8-9.

2 See above p. 153. The work is also edited (and printed in Devanāgarī) by Bhavadatta Sastri and K. P. Parab, with the commentary of (Baladeva) Vidyābhūṣaṇa (and not Jīva), Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay 1903.

exception of three opening Aṣṭakas on Caitanya (the first two composed in the Śikharipi and the third in the Pṛthvi metre, but showing no remarkable features), the entire body of some sixty separate Stotras, Brūdas and Gitas are, of course, concerned with the various details, chiefly erotic, of the Vṛodāvana-illā of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. Most of the Stotras are small, and the Aṣṭaka form, in the smaller pieces, appears to have found much favour with our poet : he uses in them mostly short lyrical syllabic metres, each stanza often possessing refrain in the last foot. The jingle of rhyme is frequently melodious and the repetition of refrain pleasing, unless both are overdone: thus, in Svāgatā metre (*Kuñja-vihāryaṣṭaka*):

*Indrandīpa-maṇi-maṇjula-varṇaḥ
phulla-nīpa-kusumāñcita-karṇaḥ |
kṛṣṇalābhīr akṣitorasi hārī
sundaro jayati kuñja-vihārī ||
rādhikā-vadana-candra-cakoraḥ
sarva-bāllava-radhā-dhṛti-corah |
cārcarī-caturāñcita-cārī-
cāruto jayati kuñja-vihārī ||*

Or, in Mālinī (*Mukunda-muktāvalī*¹):

*nava-jaladhara-varṇaṁ campakodbhāsi-karṇaṁ
vikasita-nalināśyaṁ visphuraṇ-manda-hāryaṁ |
kanaka-ruci-dukūlāṁ cāru-bārhāvacūḍāṁ |
kam apī nikhila-sāraṁ naumi gopi-kumārāḥ ||*

The Aṣṭakas concerning Kṛṣṇa are those on Keṭava (Pṛthvi, with refrain), on Kuñja-vihārin (two Stotras in Svāgatā with refrain and rhyme and in Mālinī with refrain), on Mukunda (Mālinī, with refrain), on Vraja-paṇa-yuvarāja (Mālinī, with refrain) and on Kṛṣṇa-nāman (in varied metres). The Aṣṭakas

¹ This is, however, not an Aṣṭaka. Kavikarṇapūra, as we have seen, also uses middle- and end-rhyme throughout his *Kṛṣṇāvalī-lāmanāḥ*, but Raghunāthadīna does not affect these devices either in his Kāvya or his Stotras.

concerning Rādhā are those on Rādhā (Mālinī, with refrain) and Gāndharvā-samprārthana (Vasantatilaka). There is only one Aṣṭaka concerning both, namely, on Vraja-navina-dvandva (Pṛthvī). But there are several on places or persons connected with their sports, namely, those on Yamunā (Toṭaka), on Mathurā (Śragdharā and Śārdūlavikrīḍita, but it is not an Aṣṭaka, because there are only four stanzas available 1), on the Govardhana hill (two Aṣṭakas in Mattamayūtrā and Mandākrāntā respectively, both having refrains), on Vṛndāvana (Pṛthvī, with refrain) and on Lalitā (Vasantatilaka, with refrain). There is nothing very remarkable in these small supplicatory panegyrics of eight stanzas for mercy and beatific vision, except their verbal and metrical melody and gorgeous erotic fancy. The *Hari-kusuma-stavaka* and the *Tribhāṅga-pañcaka* are not technically Aṣṭakas, but are of the same character; the former consisting of 11 Toṭaka stanzas, and the latter comprising five rhymed moric stanzas of four feet of 32 syllabic instants (Mātrās)¹ in each foot. The two Aṣṭakā-śatanāma Stotras respectively on Kṛṣṇa (called *Premendusaḍgata*) and on Rādhā (named symmetrically *Premendusaḍhā*), both in the Śloka metre of 45 and 42 verses, are merely litanies, consisting of strings of descriptive epithets of the usual sensuous character. Of a similar type are the *Cāru-puṣpāñjali*, *Prapñcha-prapaya* and *Kāraṇya-pañjikā* which plead, in 24, 14 and 45 Śloka verses respectively, for favour of inclusion in the entourage of the divine sports.

Of greater interest, not only for their picturesque devotional-erotic fancy, but also for their extraordinary metrical

- 1 The following will serve as a specimen of the Tribhāṅga stanza:

yamaśrjṇa-bhañjanam śrīra-vañjanam śhī-gañjana-
ghana-lārya-bhañam
palupāla-puraṇḍaram abhīṣṭa-kandaram aśi-sundaram
arevinda-karam/
vara-gopa-vadhāḥkara-viracta-pāñjanam uruśrjṇa-
nara-veṇu-dharam
smara-narmanirakṣapam aśhīla-nīlakaṣa-ranu-lakṣanam
aśi-dakṣaram //, etc.

harmony and prodigality of verbal dexterity, are the more extensive *Mukunda-muktāvalī*, *Utkalika-vallarī* and *Svāyam-utprekṣita-mā* composed in varied metres ; the two *Biruda* and *Chanda-kāvya*s, namely, *Govinda-birudāvalī* and *Aṣṭa-daśa-cchandā* ; and the fine collection of songs in the moric metres, entitled the *Gītāvalī*. Apart from their devotional merit, they are literary exercises of great ingenuity ; but since they attempt to evolve new rhythmic and lyrical forms in verse, prose and song, they deserve a more detailed treatment. The *Mukunda-muktāvalī*¹ consists of thirty rhymed or alliterative stanzas, eight being composed in the moric *Paṅkti* of sixteen *Mātrā*s, four in *Māli*l, and two in each of the following short lyrical measures, namely, *Citrā*, *Jaladharamāli*, *Rāgi*ṇī, *Tūpaka*, *Bhujāṅgaprayāta*, *Sragvi*ṇī, *Jaloddhatagati*, *Śāli*l and *Tvarita*gati. Some of these metres are of rare occurrence in general literature, but they are employed with great skill and fine adjustment of sound-effect, so much so that the work may be as well called, not inappropriately, *Yṛita-muktāvalī*. Take, for instance, the *Yṛityasuprāsa* in the following stanza in *Rāgi*ṇī metre :

parva-vartula-tarvarīpati-garva-riri-harānanam
nanda-nandanam indirī-kṛta-vandanam dhṛta-candanam |
sundarī-ratimandirīkṛta-kandaram dhṛta-mandarām
kupāḍa-dyuti-maṇḍala-pluta-kandharām bhājasundaram ||.

Or, the middle rhyme in *Tvarita*gati :

rucira-nakhe racaya sakhe valita-ratīm bhājana-tatīm |
tvam aviratā tvarita-gatir nata-śaraṇa harī-śaraṇe ||

Or, the end-rhyme in *Sragvi*ṇī :

ullasat-bhāṇī-vāsaḍām taskaras
tejasā nirjita-prasphurad-bhāṣakarah |
pīna-doh-śambhayaṛ ullasat-candanah
edtu vah sarvato devakī-nandanah ||.

¹ Also printed in Devanāgarī without the name of the author, in *Kāvya-mālā*, Geṭchaka II, p. 157 f.

and continuous rhyming in Jaloddhatagati:

*vihāra-sadanam manoḥṛa-radanam
praṇīta-madanam śaśāṅka-vadanam/
urastha-kamalam yaśobhīr anilam
karāṭṭa-kamalam bhājarva tam alam//.*

Or, continuous alliteration and end rhyme in Tōṣaka:

*ruṇḍa-kānti-daṇḍitoru-pāṇḍurāṇṭu-maṇḍalam
gaṇḍa-pāli-rāṇḍāvāli-lāli-ratna-kuṇḍalam/
phulla-puṇḍarīka-ṣaṇḍa-kṛpta-mālyo-maṇḍanam
caṇḍa-bāhu-daṇḍam atra naumi kaṇṭha-khaṇḍanam//.*

The same fondness for alliteration and rhyming is in evidence throughout in the *Svayam-utprekṣita-līlā*, (also called *Vīlāsa-mañjarī*) which, however, is not formally a Stotra but a little sketch, describing the familiar episode of Rādhā's plucking flowers in the groves of Vṛndāvana, with the full knowledge of Kṛṣṇa's presence nearby. Kṛṣṇa's playful obstruction and threat of punishment, and the inevitable erotic witticism and rallery. It is composed also in thirty rhymed and alliterative stanzas, the metres used being Dohaka, Mattā, Śṛṅgīṇī, Bhramaravilāsita, Jaloddhatagati, Bhujāṅga-prayāta, Tōṣaka, Āryā (which is a rarely used metre in Bengal Vaiṣṇava Stotras), Pajjhaṭikā, Svāgatā, Rathoddhatā, Lālā, and Mālinī. It is not necessary to multiply examples; one in the rare Mattā and another in the common Bhujāṅga-prayāta metre will perhaps serve to illustrate the style:

*bhṛṅgīreyaṁ tam aparimeyaṁ
mugdhā gandham hṛdi kṛta-bandham//
vyagra-prāyā pulakita-kāyā
premodbhātā drutam abhi yāti//.*

and

*pariḥāṣam adya prāśūnālim eṣām
lunīṣe tvam evaṁ pravāśāḥ sametām/
dhṛtāsau mayā lāṭhāna-īreṇi-gauri
pravṛjḍat gehaṁ katham puṣpa-cauri//.*

The *Utkalika-vallari* is a much more extensive production of seventy verses, which are simultaneously addressed to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and express the poet's longing to serve and vicariously enjoy their sports. The poem does not employ rhyme and chimeing, but the rhetorical and metrical display is equally prominent. The metres used are Upajāti, Mālinī, Śikharīṇī, Sundarī, Rathoddhatā, Pāṇḍitagrā, Svāgatā, Vasantatīlaka, Drutavilambita, Hariṇī, Śārdūla-vikṛāṇī, Rucīrā, Pṛthvī, Mandākrāntā, and Matamayūrī. The following stanzas in Sundarī and Rathoddhatā are normal specimens of its ornate expression:

*dadhatam vapur aṅgu-kandalīm
dalad-indivara-ṛynda-bandhurām |
kṛṣṇa-kāñcana-kānti-varācanāḥ
sphuritām cāru-marīci-saṃcayāḥ | |*
*svām ca ballava-puraṇḍarātmaja
svām ca gokula-vareṇya-nandini |
eṣa mūrdha-rocītaḥjalir naman
bhikṣate kim api durbhago janah | |.*

but we have also elaborate working out of rhetorical conceits and imageries, as in the following:

*gopendra-mītra-śaṅkṣa-dhruva-dhairya-sindhu-
pāna-kṛiyā-kalasaṃbhara-veṇu nādam |*

The *Biruda-kāvya*, called the *Govinda-bṛudāvālī*, illustrates the extreme limits to which can be carried the inexhaustible talent for ingenious verbal devices of alliteration, rhyming and similar tricks of rhythmical repetition of syllables. But it also makes a clever attempt to evolve an extremely original series of rhythmic and alliterative prose forms (the interspersed verse in orthodox form and metre being negligible), which certainly demand a more exhaustive study than what is possible here. Viśvanātha, no doubt, defines the *Biruda-kāvya* as a poem of praise in honour of

kings, composed in prose and verse,¹ but he does not consider its characteristics, nor are earlier discussion of the subject and illustrative specimens available for our enlightenment. The Bengal Vaiṣṇava Biruda Kāvya, also composed in a somewhat unique kind of prose and nominal verse (or sometimes in nominal prose and unique verse), but dedicated to prayer and praise of deities, perhaps represent an original trend of literary composition. The credit of elaborating it should go to Rūpa Gosvāmin, although Kavikarṇapūra has one Stotra in the Biruda-form in his *Ānanda-vyṇḍavana Campū* (av. 220-256). Rūpa also composed a work called *Sāmānya-biruddāvallī-lakṣaṇa*,² in which he defines and illustrates nearly fifty varieties of the form, and from which Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa quotes profusely in his commentary³ on the *Govinda-biruddāvallī*. Jīva wrote, in imitation, the *Gopāla-biruddāvallī*⁴ and inserted some Biruda-stotras in the last chapter of his *Gopāla-campū*; while Viśvanātha Cakravartin and Raghunānada Gosvāmin, in the 18th century, composed respectively the *Nikūñja-keli-biruddāvallī*⁵ and *Gaurāṅga-biruddāvallī*, which are highly ingenious imitations. In spite of these sectarian attempts, the form does not appear to have succeeded in obtaining popularity or currency, its elaborate artificiality probably standing in the way of general acceptance.

The unit of the Biruda form consists generally of a measure of rhythmic and alliterative prose, called *Kalikā*, corresponding to the metrical foot or *Pāda*, but a number of

1 *padya-padyamayi nija-stuti birudam ucyate, Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, vi. 536, but nothing is known of the work, *Biruda-maṇi-māṇḍa*, which it cites in illustration. The description of the *Biruddāvallī* of Raghudeva of Mithilā, given by Audrecht in his Oxford Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. no. 224, is too indefinite for any conclusion.

2 See above p. 156.

3 See Bombay ed. pp. 114-115; Berhampur ed. pp. 263-266.

4 See above p. 157. It exemplifies only the varieties of the first Cāpāyita type, and therefore need not be separately considered here.

5 Ed. Haridas Das, Navadvīpa 1940.

each unit is often prefaced and concluded by some verses in the orthodox metre; or it may sometimes consist of units of verse *Kalikās*, with similar prefatory or concluding brief lines of prose. The measure of each *Kalikā* should generally be not more than sixty-four or not less than twelve *Kalās*, corresponding to *Mātrās* or syllabic instants of the metric metre, but the disposition of syllables generally follows the *Gapa*-scheme. In each piece or *Vṛtta* the number of *Kalikās* may extend from five to thirty. It should possess pomp of words (*Śabda-ḍambara*) and describe the valour, glory or beauty of the deity concerned. In effect, the long stretches of *Kalikās* are nothing more than strings of descriptive epithets, the chief object being to show verbal skill and subtlety in the manipulation of alliterative and rhyming ingenuities. Five varieties are distinguished, namely, *Caṇḍa-vṛtta*, *Dviguḍi-gaṇa-vṛtta*, *Tribhāṅgi vṛtta* (all three having prose, often with preliminary and concluding verses), *Mītra-vṛtta* (having verse with lines of prose at the beginning and at the end) and *Kevala-vṛtta* (pure prose); but the subdivisions are more minute and complicated¹

The *Govinda-bīradāvallī*, which purports to be a series of *Stotras* addressed to *Kṛṣṇa*, is an ambitious literary feat deliberately composed to illustrate practically all the forty-nine varieties of the new form. It is impossible to indicate here the diversity of effects attained, but a few specimens of

1 The details of characteristics must be sought in Rūpa's *Sādhya-bīradāvallī-lajjā* and illustrations in these *Bīrada Kāvya*s. But we may just indicate that the *Caṇḍa-vṛtta* is said to have two varieties, *Nakha* and *Vīṇā*, the former of which may have nine kinds (*Vardhita*, *Virabhadra*, *Samagra*, *Cyuta*, *Uṣṇa*, *Turāṅga*, *Gaṇa-rati*, *Māṅga-kholita*, *Tilaka*) and the latter eleven kinds (namely, *Padma*, *Kunda*, *Campaka*, *Vatjula*, *Yakula*, the *Padma* again being of six types, namely *Pankarūpa*, *Śukadja*, *Plodāpala*, *Indirava*, *Aruṣambhoja*, *Kahlāra*). The *Dviguḍi-gaṇa* are of five kinds: *Koraka*, *Guchaka*, *Saṃphulla*, *Kumma* and *Gandha*. The *Tribhāṅgi-vṛtta* has six kinds. The *Mītra* may be *Gadya-saṃpṛkta* and *Sāptavibhaktika*. The *Kevala* may be *Akṣaramayī* or *Sarvalaṅghī*.

the prose *Kalikās* may be given here to illustrate the style and type of composition. Thus, *Utpalā* of seventeen moras and minimum of five *Kalikās* of the *Caṇḍa-vṛtta* variety :

*kānandrabaddha-kākaṇṭhābda-
pāṇavākṛṣṭa-gopikā-dṛṣṭa
cāturīṣṭa-rādhikā-tuṣṭa
kāminīlakṣa-mohane dakṣa
bhāmīnī-pakṣa mām amuṣa rakṣa.*

Or, the *Gūḍa-rati* variety of *Caṇḍa-vṛtta* consisting of twelve *Kalikās* :

*prakāṣikṛta-guṇa śakaṣi viśhajana
nikāṣikṛta-naḥalakuṣi-vara vana-
paṣaṇi-taṣa cara naṣa-līla madhura
surabhikṛta-vana surabhi-hīra-kara
muraṣi-vīlāṣita khuraṣi-hṛta-jagad-
aruṇādhara navu-taruṇāyata-bhuṣa
varuṇālaya-soma-karuṇā-parimela
kalabhāṣiyo-bala-lalabhāṣiyo-khala
dhavalā-dhṛti-hara-gavalāḍṛita-kara
sarasiṣṭa-nara sarasīruha-dhara
kalasi-dadhi-hara kala-līlita-mukha
lalitā-rati-kara lulināvali-para.*

The illustrations of the much longer varieties of other types cannot be given here in full for want of space. But here is a string of succeeding *Yamakas* :

*ivaṃ jaya ketava keta-bala-stuta
vīrya-vīlakṣaṇa lakṣaṇa-bodhita
kelīṣu nāgaṇa nāga-raṇoddhata
gokula-mandana nanda-natī-vrata*

and so forth. Or, an extraordinary jingle of sounds :

*vraja-pṛthu-paṇi-parisara-vali-
vana-bhuvī taṇi-gaṇa-bhṛti maṇi-
manasiṣa-bhāṇiṣita-tivamaṇi-
kumuda-mataṇi-yuṣi gata jhili-*

*paripadi haṁṣaka-sukha-jhaṁṣi-
rata pariphalikṛta-cala-cilṁṣi-
jita-rati-maṁṣi-mada-bhura, etc.*

Or, a succession of light syllables:

*kusuma-nikara-nicita-cikura
nakhara-vijita-maṁṣa-mukura
subhaja-pajima-ramita-mathura
vikaja-samara-najana-catura
samada-bhujaga-damana-carapa
nikhila-padupa-nicaya-larapa, etc.*

Or, a row of phrases arranged according to the order of letters of the alphabet (Akṣaramayi variety):

*acyuta jaya jaya āra-kṛpa-maya
indra-makhārdana īti-vilāṣana
ujjvala-vibhrama ūjita-vikrama, etc.*

Or, all the seven case-endings illustrated serially (Śāpta-vibhaktika)¹:

*mukha-vidhur iṣṭaḥ sudṛḡ-abhimṛṣṭaḥ
smara-mada-dhṛṣṭaḥ sa bhavatu dṛṣṭaḥ/
suvalita-hastau kari-kara-dastau
rati-kala-tastau yuvatiḥśir astau/
jṛita-bahu-dāśa jagad-abhilāśa
madhurima-vāśaḥ syur iha vilāśaḥ//.*

and so on. There is no limit to these feats of clever verbal verbosity.

The *Aṣṭādala-cchandas*, as its name implies, makes similar attempts at eighteen Chandas or rhythmic prose and verse forms, but it is more diversified in content inasmuch as it proposes, in the succeeding pieces, to deal with some of the episodes of *Vṛndāvana-Mā*, ranging from birth (Nandotsava) to the slaying of Kṛpaa (Rahgasthala-kṛiḍā). The charming names of the eighteen Chandas are Guccaka, Koraka, Anu-

¹ The specimen is taken from Vitaranika Cakravartin's *Niladja-kali-bṛundāvaṇi*, which is much simpler than Rupa's example.

kula, Praphulla-kusumāvallī, Kala-gīta, Aśoka-puṣpa-mañjarī, Anāḥataśekhara, Dvīpādikā, Hārīharīṣa, Indirā, Matta-mātaṅga-līlā-kara, Mugdha-saurabhā, Saṃphulla, Lalita-bhṛṅga, Kānti-ḍambara, Mukhadeva, Guccaka (different from the first-named) and Bhṛṅgāra, applied successively to the familiar eighteen topics of Nandotsavādi, Śakata-bhāṣādi, Yamalārjuna-mocana, Go-vatṣa-cāraṇādi, Vatṣa-haraṇādi, Tālavana-carita, Kāliya-damana, Bhāṇḍira-kriṣādi, Varṣā-tarad-vihāra, Vāstra-haraṇa, Yajñapati-prasāda, Govardhanoddharaṇa, Nandāpsharaṇa, Rāsa-kriṣā, Sudarśana-mocana, Gopikā-gīta, Aṣṭavadbhādi, and Rāga-sthalakriḍā, (=Kṛpā-vadha). Although some of the metres, like Aśoka-puṣpa-mañjarī, Anāḥataśekhara and Matta-mātaṅga-līlā-kara are included in the Daṇḍaka class of metres in such orthodox works on Prosody as the *Vṛtta-ratnākara*, most of them, not so reckoned, are of the Gapa-cchandas or Mātrā-cchandas type. But since the Gapa and Mātrā schemes are also the basis of the Biruda Vṛttas, this group of metrical and rhymed Chandas bears a close resemblance to the Birudas. The stretches of the stanzas, with their non-stop lines ranging from eight to sixty, are too lengthy for full quotations here, but we cite a few lines only from some of them to illustrate the variety of verbal melody which they attain:

Guccaka (11 lines):

*nīla-mukhima-maṇḍalī-vraja-vasatī-rocanaṇī
vadana-vidhu-mādhurī-ramita-pitṛ-locanaṇ
brutirupaga-bhāṣura-vraja-vihita-jātakaṇ
tanu-jalada-tarpiṭa-svajana-gaṇa-cātrakam, etc.*

Anukūla (12 lines):

*dhyta-dadhi-manthana-daṇḍa jananī-cumbita-gaṇḍa
pīta-savītri-dugdha kala-bhāṣita-kula-mugdha, etc.*

Hārī-harīṣa (15 lines):

*megha-samaya-pūrti-racita vṛṣṭipu taru-kandara-cita
nīpa-kalabha-puṣpa-valita sāndra vipina-labha-lalita*

*bhakti-paripad-īṣṭa-varada hārī-vibhava-dhārī-tarada-
lankṛta-bahu-pakṣi-bhārīta-kānana-kṛta-dīvyo-carita*, etc.

Lalita-bhṛga (58 lines):

*tārada-vidhu-vikṣaṇa-madhva-vardhita-mada pūra
īṣṭa-bhajana-vallabha-jana-citta-kamala-sūra
gopa-yuvati-maṇḍala-mati-mohana-kala-gīta
mukta-sakala-kṛtya-vikala-yauvata-parivṛta*, etc.¹

The amazing versatility of Rūpa in weaving endless patterns of rhythmic richness is also exemplified by his *Gītravali*. It consists of forty-one songs, set to musical tunes, and composed in metric metres after the *Padāvallī* of Jayadeva. The songs deal with four picturesque topics connected with the *Vṛndāvana-līlā*, namely, the festivities and sports concerning birth of Kṛṣṇa, *Vasanta-pañcamī*, *Dola* and *Rāsa*, as well as give incidental musical word-pictures of *Rādhā* as the following eight types of heroine, namely, *Abhidhrikā*, *Vāsaka-sajjā*, *Utkarṣitā*, *Vipralabdā*, *Khaṇḍitā*, *Kalahāntarītā*, *Proṣita-patītā* and *Svādhina-bhartṛkā*. Rūpa always keeps in view the particular object of illustrating his *Rasa-dhātva*, but the rhetorician does not here overshadow the poet. The pieces are finely wrought as songs, but they are also enjoyable as little musical poems. One is tempted to quote extensively, but one specimen (on the *Rāsa*) will perhaps be sufficient to give an idea of the type of song affected:

(*Rāsa Dhanūri*)

*kamala-tatikara-ramya-vandānara-nirmūta-gīta-vilāsa/
tārṇa-saṁdāsa-vallava-yauvata-vikṣaṇa-kṛta-parihāsa//
jaya jaya bhānuvāt-taṭa-raṅga-mahānata
sundara nanda-kamāra/
tarad-aṅgīkṛta-dīvyo rasāvṛta mahāla-rāsa-vihāra//* (Dhruva)
*gopī-cumbita-rāga-karambita-māna-vilokana-līna/
guṇa-garvonnata-rādhā-saṁpata-sauhṛda-saṁpad-adhīna//*

¹ There are also some three poems (*Līlātara-varṇana*) which describe again in orthodox metres the *Govardhana-dhārṇa* (1 *Prītvī*, 27 *Bhajanāgasyāṣita*, 1 *Sragdhārī*), *Vastra-haraṇa* (*Śrūda*) and *Rāsa* (17 *Pañchajīkā*).

*rad-vaṇḍāṃṣṭa-pāna-maddhṛta valayikṛta-parivūra/
 sura-sarupī-gaṇa-maṇi-vikṣobhaṇa kṣelana-valṇita-hāra//
 ambu-vigāhana-nandita-nīja-jana maṇḍita-yamunā-tīra/
 sukha-saṃvid-ghana pūrṇa sandāna nirmala nīla-sāra//.*¹

There can be no doubt that this is a fine imitation of the spirit and style of Jayadeva's exquisite songs. In compositions like these Rūpa's art and humanism seldom yield place to mere academicism. For facility of phrase and marvellous modulation of sounds and syllables he had an undoubted talent; and, in spite of the fact that the songs of the *Gītāvalī* are imitative, their pleasing quality should not be depreciated. At the same time, neither sectarian estimation nor general literary appreciation would place them on the same level or consider them as having superseded the *Padāvallī* of the *Gītā-gorinda*.

It will be seen that the *Stotras*, *Birudas* and *Gitas* of Rūpa Gosvāmin, however elaborate they may be, are not of the merely descriptive and reflective character, but that the fundamental characteristics of their picturesque devotionism are saturated with erotic emotionalism, of which it is a transfigured expression. This is undoubtedly made prominent by the highly sensuous pictorial fancy and the inexhaustible lyrical and musical gift of the author; but profuse and overwrought rhetoric often obscures the reality of the emotion and gives it an appearance of spectacular sensibility. It is not the rhetorical habit by itself which annoys so much as its incessant and disproportionate employment; and the real grace of graceful poetry is too often smothered by overfertile prodigality and deliberate straining after purely verbal and metrical effect. No doubt, Rūpa's *Stotras* and *Gitas* bear witness alike to his devotion, learning and literary skill, but we miss in them the touching quality of self-expression, the flavour of a simple, lovable personality, which is so

1 Although the name of Sandāna is cleverly inserted in every song, it does not occur as the technical Bhagita, and there is no justification for the view that the *Gītāvalī* is Sandāna's work.

conspicuous in the less artistic efforts of his friend Raghunātha-dāsa. Rūpa is certainly a poet, but he is also a trained verbal specialist. His volume of vocabulary and richness of decorative devices become excessive and wasteful; the whole battalion of descriptive epithets, of alliterative and rhyming jingles is often too compactly and indiscriminately arrayed to give us convincing visual pictures. The exuberant verbal and metrical dexterity ceases to be a means of beautiful expression; it obstructs our sense of visualisation, although it pleases by its astonishing lavishness and endless ingenuity, not so much of sense as of mere sound. Rūpa possesses an irrepressible talent for such pleasing tricks, which he can accumulate untiringly in interminable series of fresh surprises. It makes his praiseworthy attempt to evolve new rhythmical-prose and verse forms look plausible. To a certain extent, he is successful, but the effort fails by its outrageous tendency to prolonged elaborateness and meaningless pomp of brilliant, but hardly illuminating, gorgeousness. Rūpa, in his *Stotras* and *Gītas*, is not difficult and abstruse; nor is he didactic, nor prone to insane and recondite subtleties; but these tendencies of a scholastic training find expression in his inability to distinguish between art and artifice, between poetry and its make-believe.

A brief reference in this connexion may be made to Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Padyāvalī*,¹ which gives an anthological survey of Vaiṣṇava devotional verses, new and old, and is meant to illustrate the many nuances of the Bhakti-devoutness of Caitanyaism. Its content and arrangement are somewhat different from those ordinarily found in Sanskrit anthologies. All the verses are devoted to Kṛṣṇa-līlā; and they are arranged in sections in accordance with the different doctrinal aspects of Kṛṣṇa-Bhakti and different episodes in the erotic career of the deity. The whole arrangement conforms

1 Ed. S. K. De, Dacca 1934, of which see introd. for further details about the work. See above p. 153.

generally to the rhetorical classification of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava Rasa-dīpa, to which the compilation may be regarded as an illustrative compendium. It gives us a selection of 386 verses from over 125 authors, including verses taken from the works of the compiler himself and his associates and contemporaries, as well as freely drawing upon Vaiṣṇava verses from the earlier Bengal anthology, the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, of Śrīdhara-dāsa. Rūpa, however, does not confine himself to Bengal nor to Vaiṣṇava authors alone. He selects older verses from Amara, Bhavabhūti and others and places them in a Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa context, sometimes even making changes in the text in order to make non-sectarian verses applicable to a sectarian purpose! The *Padyāvalī*, therefore, is a unique anthology in bringing together in one context a large variety of Kṛṣṇaite verses to explain the many aspects of the devotional emotionalism connected with Kṛṣṇa-Bhakti; but it is also important as bearing witness to a phase of literary activity in mediaeval Bengal which produced in Sanskrit a remarkable lyric literature peculiar to itself. The merit of this repository of single stanzas lies not so much in the selection of really great poems, but in its special object of preserving against oblivion a large number of fleeting, but fine, pieces of obscure and well-nigh dateless poets. Most of the verses reflect a charming quality of emotional directness, which one rarely finds in the more elaborate masterpieces; and they can be appreciated as much from the point of view of religious expression as from the standpoint of literary effort of a fervent lyrical character, which the emotional religious movement inspired. The purely poetic merit of the detached stanzas is unequal, and perhaps may not be high; but we often come across lines, phrases and even whole stanzas of undoubted charm, which fact indicates a general diffusion of the poetic spirit, capable of making even inferior songsters beautifully and passionately articulate.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

P. 155, and p. 599, footnote 3. The eleven verses (in Sragdhark, except verse 4 in Śārdūlavikrīḍita) of Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Smaraṇa-maṅgalā*, reconstructed from the somewhat corrupt MS belonging to the Vaidya Sāhitya Pariṣad (*Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 1116, p. 234), is given below. The MS consists of seven folios; and the colophon names Rūpa Gosvāmin as the author, and the work as *Smaraṇa-maṅgalāikāḍaśa*. But there is also a running gloss (not recorded in the *Catalogue*!) by one Rādhavallabha-dāsa, which says at the end: इति मन्त्रमार्त्तदिनापदानां पूर्णस्मृतानि व्याख्यानि समाधानि श्रीराधावल्लभासेन विरचितानि !

स्मरणमङ्गलैकादशम्

श्रीराधापाजकम्बोजरत्नकमलयोः केवासेपाद्यगम्या
 वा साध्या प्रेमसेवा मञ्जवरितपरैर्वाङ्मयैककम्ब्या ।
 सा स्वात्मासा यथा तां प्रययितुमधुना मानसीमस्य सेवां
 माध्या रागाभ्युपगम्यैव जयन्तु वरित नैस्त्विकं तस्य नीमि ॥१॥
 कुञ्जाङ्गोष्ठं निशाम्ये प्रविशति कुण्डले दोहनाम्नाशमाघां
 प्राणः स्वार्यं च लीलां विहरति सन्निभिः सङ्गरे वारयन् ना ।
 मध्याङ्गे बाध नक्तं चिह्नसति विपिने राघवाद्यापराङ्गे
 गोष्ठं वानि प्रदोषे रमयति सुहृदो यः स कृष्णोऽवताकः ॥२॥
 रात्र्यम्ये प्रसङ्गान्देरितबहुविरचैर्बोधितौ कीरसारी-
 पदौहं पदौहपैरपि सुकवापनानुत्थितौ तौ सन्धीभिः ।
 हृष्टौ हृष्टौ तन्मायोदितरत्निलितौ कुञ्ज-टीगीःसशङ्खौ
 राधाकृष्णौ सत्पूजायपि निजनिजधाम्नास्ततस्वी स्मरामि ॥३॥

राधां स्नातविभूषितां ब्रजपयाहुतां^१ सखीभिः प्रये
 तद् द्वे विहिताश्रपाकरणनां कृष्णाक्षोपाशनाम् ।
 कृष्णं पुनर्मन्वातधेनुसप्तं निम्बं दृगोदोहं^२
 सुस्नातं कृतभोजनं सहचरैस्तां वाय तं वाधये ॥४॥
 पूर्वाह्णे धेनुमिद्वैर्विधिमनुसृतं गोष्ठलोकानुयातं^३
 कृष्णं राधातिलोलं तद्विभूषितकृते प्राप्ततत्कृष्णतीरम् ।
 राधां बालोप्य कृष्णं कृतगृहगमनामार्चयाकर्चनावै^४
 विष्टां कृष्णप्रवर्ते महितमिद्वसखीवत्सनेकां स्मरामि ॥५॥
 मध्याह्णेऽभ्योम्यसङ्गोदितविषिधकिकारादिभूषाप्रमुष्णौ
 वाम्योष्कप्यातिलोलौ स्मरमल्ललितापालिमर्मात्सलातौ ।
 दोलारम्याम्बुवर्षादृतिरतिमधुपानार्कपूजादिलीलौ
 राधाकृष्णौ सत्पणौ परिजनघटया सेम्बमानौ स्मरामि ॥६॥
 धीराधां प्राप्तगोहं निजरम्यकृते क्लृप्तनानोपहारां
 सुस्नातां रम्यवेशां मियमुककमलालोकपूर्वप्रमोदाम् ।
 कृष्णं वैवापराह्णे ब्रजमनु वरितं धेनुवृन्दैर्वैयस्यैः
 श्रीराधालोक्युतं पितृमुत्तमिहितं मातृसुखं स्मरामि ॥७॥
 सार्धं राधां स्वसख्या निजरम्यकृते प्रेषितानेकभोग्यां
 सम्प्राणीते सरोपाशममुदितहृदां, तां च तं च ब्रजेभुम् ।
 सुस्नातं रम्यवेशं गृहमनु जननीलासितं प्राप्तगोष्ठं
 निम्बं दृगोदोहं स्वगृहमनु पुनर्मकवन्तं स्मरामि ॥८॥
 राधां सालीगवान्तामसितसितनिशाभोग्यवेशां प्रदोषे
 पूष्या वृन्दोपवेशाद्विभूषितयमुनातीरकस्यागकुञ्जम् ।
 कृष्णं गोपैः समायां विहितगुणिकलालोकनं स्निग्धमात्रा
 यजाशानोप संज्ञायितमथ निवृत्तं प्राप्तकुञ्जं स्मरामि ॥९॥

१. मन्वात=ब्रजेश्वरो यतोदा ।

२. मार्चया=वदितया, चर्चयंनावै=मूर्च्छनावै ।

तावुन्को लम्पसङ्को बहुपरिचरणैर्बुद्ध्याराध्यमानौ
 गानैर्नर्मयहेलीलपमसुन्दरौ रासलास्यादिचरैः ।
 ग्रेष्ठासीधिरसन्तौ रतिगणमनसौ सुप्रमाणौकपानौ
 कीडाचार्यौ निकुञ्जे विविधरतिरसौ हृद्यविस्तारिताम्बौ ॥१०
 ताम्बूलैर्गन्धमाद्यैर्भ्यञ्जनद्विमपयन्वाक्षसङ्घादनाद्यैः
 मेम्ना संसेव्यमानौ प्रथमिसङ्घचरीसंख्येनातसातौ ।
 बाष्पा कान्तेरजामिनिधुतरतिरसैः कुञ्जसुताल्लिख्यौ
 राधाहृष्णौ निरायां सकुसुमशयनौ प्राप्तनिद्रौ स्मरामि ॥११
 इति श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामिना विरचितं स्मरणमङ्गलैकाक्षं संपूर्णम् ॥

One wonders if these pedestrian verses were really composed by an accomplished writer like Rūpa Gosvāmin!

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