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GOPĀLA BHATTA

By S. K. DE



Apart from uncertain legends, there is no full or satisfactory account of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, who is regarded by the Caitanya sect of Bengal as one of their six revered Gosvāmins, in the earlier authoritative records of the sect. He is said to have been an immediate disciple of Caitanya and a man of great learning and piety, who settled down, along with the other five Gosvāmins, to the celibate life of an ascetic devotee and co-operated with them in producing in Sanskrit the dogmatic religious literature of the sect. Nothing, however, is recorded of him by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Caitanya's well-known biographer, who must have known Gopāla Bhaṭṭa quite well at Vṛndāvana during the last phase of the latter's life; for in his *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (Ādi, i. 37), Kṛṣṇadāsa refers to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa as one of his Śikṣā-Gurus.¹ Narahari-cakravartin, in the first half of the 18th century, explains² 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*.³ The tradition recorded by Narahari informs us that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was the son of Veṅkaṭa Bhaṭṭa, a learned Brahmin 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 receiving in a dream Caitanya's direction to leave for Vṛndāvana and meet Rūpa and Sanātana Gosvāmins there. Narahari tells us that of all this

¹ Other references to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa occur at Ādi, xi. 4; x. 105; Madhya, xviii. 49. For a brief account of the six Gosvāmins and their work, as well as of the Caitanya movement generally, see the present writer's edition of Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* (Dacca University, 1934).

² श्रीगोपालभट्टं दृष्टं हेया आज्ञां दिल । अन्ये निज प्रसङ्ग वर्णिते निषेधिल ॥
केने निषेधिल इहा के वृत्तिते पारे । निरन्तर अतिदौन माने आपनारे ॥
कविराज तौर आज्ञा नारे लक्ष्मिवार । नाममात्र लिखे अन्य ना करे प्रचार ॥

³ Ed. Radharaman Press, Berhampur-Murshidabad, 1926, ch. i, pp. 6-16.

there is a special account in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*,¹ meaning Kṛṣṇadāsa's biography; but he acknowledges that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's name does not appear there in this connexion.² But, as an explanation, he further states that 'elsewhere' it is found that Gopāla was the son of Veṅkaṭa.³

What is actually found in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* and 'elsewhere' about Gopāla Bhaṭṭa can be summarized as follows. In his Sanskrit Kāvya, entitled also *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*,⁴ Kavikarṇapūra, whose father Sivānanda-sena was a direct disciple of Caitanya, states that Caitanya spent four months in the house of Trimalla Bhaṭṭa at Śrīraṅgam during his South Indian pilgrimage, but no mention is made of Veṅkaṭa or Gopāla Bhaṭṭa in this connexion. Nor is the incident referred to in Kavikarṇapura's better-known Sanskrit drama, *Caitanya-candrodaya*. Another Sanskrit *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*,⁵ which goes by the name of Murāri Gupta, an elder contemporary and disciple of Caitanya, mentions the hospitality of Trimalla (and not Veṅkaṭa) during the rainy season, and describes Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, a young lad already turned into a Bhakta by the touch of Caitanya, as the son of Trimalla. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, in his Bengali biography mentioned above, speaks separately (at Madhya i, 108-10 and ix, 82-166) of the hospitality of Trimalla and Veṅkaṭa, at Śrīraṅgam, respectively for six and four months; both of them are described as Śrīvaiṣṇavas, but their connexion is not stated; and, as Narahari says, the name of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa does not appear. In other Bengali biographies of Caitanya there is no reference to this incident at all.

By 'elsewhere', therefore, Narahari is probably referring to some such work as the *Prema-vilāsa* of Nityānanda-dāsa⁶ where a similar but much briefer account is found; while the *Anurāga-vallī* of Manohara-dāsa⁷ records in some detail a somewhat similar tradition. According to Nityānanda-dāsa, Caitanya spent four months in the house of Trimalla Bhaṭṭa at Śrīraṅgam and directed Trimalla's

1 चैतन्यचरितामृते विशेष वर्णन ।

2 गोपालभट्टेर नाम अन्यत्र तथाय ।

3 अन्यत्र यत्र गोपाल वेङ्कटनम ।

4 Ed. Radharaman Press, Berhampur-Murshidabad, 1885 (in Bengali characters), xiii, 4.

5 Ed. Amrita Bazar Patrika Office, Calcutta, 2nd Ed., 1911 (in Bengali characters), iii. 15. 14-16.

6 Ed. Radharaman Press, Berhampur-Murshidabad, 2nd Ed., 1911, in the 18th Vilāsa. The work is said to have been composed in Śaka 1522 = 1600 A.D.

7 Ed. Amrita Bazar Patrika Office, Calcutta, 1898, pp. 8-12. The work is said to have been composed at Vṛndāvana in Śaka 1618 = 1696 A.D.

younger brother Prabodhānanda to educate the young Gopāla Bhaṭṭa (apparently Trimalla's son, for Veṅkata is not mentioned), who would in time become a very learned man, and commanded Gopāla Bhaṭṭa to go to Vṛndāvana after his parents' death. Manohara-dāsa accepts this view but he agrees with Narahari in believing that Gopāla was Veṅkata's son, and that Trimalla was the eldest and Prabodhānanda the youngest of the three brothers. In his opinion, Gopāla was already a grown-up 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 Rūpa and Sanātana later at Vṛndāvana.

It will be seen at once that there is a great deal of discrepancy and uncertainty in the accounts given of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa in the orthodox records of the sect. Narahari is not unaware of this fact, but he exhorts the faithful not to indulge in vain argument.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 Rūpa and Sanātana at Vṛndāvana, he himself had not yet met them and there was as yet no question of a Vṛndāvana settlement. 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.

Some modern writers² add to the confusion by proposing to identify Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's alleged father, Veṅkata Bhaṭṭa, with Veṅkatanātha of Velaguṇḍi, whom Dharmarājadhvarin mentions as his Guru in his *Vedānta-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 met in Mallāra land (Malabar?).

The mention of Prabodhānanda as the uncle of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa is also curious; but it occurs nowhere else but in the three works of

¹ श्रीगोपाक्षभट्टेर ए सब विवरण । केह किछु वर्षे केह जा करे वर्णन ॥

जा बुझिया मर्म रहे कुतर्क ये करे । अपराधबीज तार हृदये सञ्चारे ॥

² Ramnarayan Vidyaratna, Introd. to the Berhampur ed. of *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*; Dinesh Chandra Sen, *Vaiṣṇava Literature of Bengal* (Cal. Univ., 1917), p. 57, etc.

Nityānanda, Narahari and Manohara cited above. At commencement of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, no doubt, describes himself as the Śiṣya of Prabodhānanda, but he is silent regarding his own parentage and makes no mention of the alleged relationship to Prabodhānanda. He describes Prabodhānanda as *bhagavat-priya*, 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 disciple of Caitanya; and if this is a fact, then Gopāla Bhaṭṭa would become, not a direct disciple, but the disciple of a disciple of Caitanya. But it is somewhat strange that the Bengali biographies of Caitanya preserve no account of Prabodhānanda and his connexion with Caitanya and the sect.¹ Some Stotra-Kāvya exist bearing the name; they testify to their author's Vaiṣṇavite inclination and devotion to Caitanya. Of these, the more well known is the *Caitanya-candrāmṛta*. The printed text² of this work 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, Praṇāma, Āśīrvāda, Avatāra, Mahiman, Abhakta-nindā, etc., would indicate their content. The verse 38 suggests that the author must have seen Caitanya and had been in close contact with him, which would support the inference of his having been a disciple. This is one of the earliest works which explicitly inculcate Caitanya-worship, to which the Gosvāmins, however, do not appear to have lent any direct theoretical support.³ The theory that all the Gaṇas of Kṛṣṇa became incarnated at Navadvīpa along with Caitanya (such as is described in Kavikarṇa-pūra's *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā*) is mentioned in verse 118, while the belief that Caitanya was an incarnation of both Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā finds expression in verse 13. In verse 132 there is a reference to Caitanya as Gaura-nāgara-vara, which apparently subscribes to the Nāgara-bhāva doctrine of Narahari-sarakāra and Locana-dāsa, but which hardly found favour in the orthodox circles. The commentator Ānandin gives the name and description of his author as Parivrājarāja Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī, which is often found in the colophons of

¹ The omission is sometimes explained as due to Prabodhānanda's alleged defection from the orthodox views of the Gosvāmins, but this is unconvincing in view of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's mention of him as his Guru.

² Ed. Radharaman Press, Berhampur-Murshidabad, 1926, in Bengali characters, with the Sanskrit *Rasikāśvādinī* commentary of Ānandin. MSS. of this work, with or without the commentary, are not rare; for references see Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, and *Descriptive Cat. of the Skt. MSS. in the Vāṅmīya Sāhitya Pariṣad*, p. 223.

³ S. K. De, *Caitanya-worship as a Cult in Indian Culture*, vol. i, pp. 173-189, at p. 183.

the MSS. of the work. The other work ascribed to Prabodhānanda is entitled *Samgīta-mādhava*.¹ It gives in fifteen cantos a treatment of the Vṛndāvana-līlā of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa; and, in imitation of Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda* which is its obvious model, it includes melodious Padāvalis or songs. A third work, called *Vṛndāvana-mahimāmyta*,² is also ascribed to him; it describes with elaborate devotional fancy the glories of Vṛndāvana as the abode of Kṛṣṇa. A Sanskrit commentary³ on the *Gopāla-tāpanī Upaniṣad* by Pāramahansa Parivrajakācārya Śrī-Prabodha Sarasvatī also exists, while a *Viveka-śataka*⁴ on dispassion or indifference to worldly attraction is found ascribed to Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī.⁵ Whether this ascetic devotee and stotra-writer with the title Sarasvatī is identical with Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's Guru Prabodhānanda is not yet proved; and the

¹ Printed from the Bhakti-prabhā Office, Hugli, 1936, in Bengali characters. There is a MS. of this work in the Dacca University Library (No. 1402) in Bengali script, with 17 folios. One of the opening (verse no. 6) and one of the concluding (verse no. 138) verses pay homage to Caitanya as Gaura and Saci-nandana respectively. The MS. contains 15 cantos and a total of 141 verses, excluding songs.

² A. B. Kathvate, *Report on the Search of Skt. MSS.*, 1891-95 (Bombay, 1901), p. 38, no. 577. The number of verses contained in the work is not mentioned, but since the MS. has only 11 folios (with 11 lines on a page) it cannot be a very considerable work. It is, however, said that Prabodhānanda composed it in one hundred Śatakas, of which sixteen Śatakas have been printed in Bengali characters at Vṛndāvana (1933-37) by Harendra Kumar Chakravarti and others. Some of the Śatakas in this collection contain more than a hundred verses. A *Vṛndāvana-śataka* (ed. Haeberlin's *Kāvya-saṃgraha*, 1847, p. 430f; reprinted in Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara's *Kāvya-saṃgraha*, pt. ii, 3rd ed., Calcutta, 1888, pp. 333-84; 126 verses) is often ascribed to Prabodhānanda; but the name of the author is missing in the printed text. There are, however, two opening verses in this work (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 *Vṛndāvana-śataka* are noticed, it is assigned to Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī (e.g. R. L. Mitra, *Notices*, vi, p. 188, no. 2122; Peterson, *Third Report*, p. 396, no. 351; *Catalogue of Skt. MSS. in the Vāṅmīya Sāhitya Pariṣad*, p. 205; but no name of the author is found in MSS. noticed in Stein's Jammu Catalogue, p. 74, no. 816 and in R. G. Bhandarkar's *Report*, 1887-91, p. 32, no. 468).

³ *Descriptive Cat. of Skt. MSS. in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library*, vol. x, pp. 158-59.

⁴ R. L. Mitra, *Notices*, vii, p. 261, no. 2510.

⁵ The Stotra-kāvya, named *Rādhā-rasa-sūdhānidhi*, printed in two parts from the Bhakti-prabhā Office, Hugli (1924, 1935), is wrongly ascribed to Prabodhānanda. The first and 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 (Bodleian Catalogue, p. 131, no. 239), Haraprasad Shastri (Descriptive Cat. of ASB. collection, vii, p. 230; *Notices*, 2nd Series, i, p. 384), while the work is uniformly assigned in these and other manuscripts to Hitaharivamśa, son of Vyāsa. It is obviously a case of appropriation by the Caitanya sect of a work composed by Hitaharivamśa of the Rādhāvallabhī sect.

allegation that he was Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's uncle is found only in the legend narrated by Nityānanda, Narahari and Manohara.

The proposed identification¹ of Parabodhānanda with Prakāśānanda whom Caitanya met at Benares is still more unfounded and unjustifiable. There is no evidence for the statement² that Caitanya changed the name of Prakāśānanda into Prabodhānanda. Caitanya is alleged to have met and converted Prabodhānanda in Southern India long before he came across the scoffing unbeliever of Benares, but nothing is said of any change of name there. This Prakāśānanda is supposed to have been the well-known author of the *Vedānta-siddhānta-muktāvalī*, a pupil of Paramahansa Parivrajā-kācārya Jñānānanda; but this appears to be pure imagination, for there is no evidence for the identification except their common interest in Vedānta. The conversion of Prakāśānanda at Benares is given as a proof of Caitanya's successful missionary effort; but even from this point of view, judging from Kṛṣṇadāsa's account, Caitanya's abandon of Bhakti does not appear to have made much effective impression in a city like Benares where rationalistic and rigoristic views prevailed.³ The fact of the conversion is rendered suspicious by the want of explicit mention by the biographers, as well as by the denunciation, in fairly immoderate language, of Prakāśānanda, put more than once in the mouth of Caitanya himself, by Vṛndāvana-dāsa (Madhya iii and xx). This biographer is scarcely amiable to the Vedāntic ascetic and appears to assume a singularly un-aiṣṇava attitude to an alleged Vaiṣṇava convert.

From what has been said above it will be clear that the account of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa found in the records of the Caitanya sect is not only meagre but also uncertain and unsatisfactory. But here the matter does not end. Another work is definitely ascribed to 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 them. Narahari informs us⁴ that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa composed a *Ṭippanī* on Līlāsuka Bilvamaṅgala's Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta, which became a source of delight to the devout Vaiṣṇavas; while

¹ By Dinesh Chandra Sen and others.

² Jadunath Sarkar, *Caitanya's Life and Teachings*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1922, p. xiii, misled by Dinesh Chandra Sen and others.

³ Caitanya is reported by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja to have himself regretted that his sentimental wares did not sell at Benares (काशीते वेचिते आनि आदलान भावकाहि । काशीते पावक नाहि वस्तु ना विकाय ।)।

⁴ करिजेन कव्यकर्षामतेर डिप्यसी । वैष्णवेर परमानन्द याचा मुनि ॥

Manohara¹ not only mentions and characterizes this commentary but also quotes and comments on its two Maṅgala-śloka and declares Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's authorship of the work. These verses do indeed occur, as they are quoted, in the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* commentary of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa on the *Kṛṣṇa-karnāmṛta*,² as its first two opening verses. The first verse is an invocation of Kṛṣṇa, there being no Namaskriyā to Caitanya, while the second verse³ names the author and the work and informs us that the commentator was a Drāviḍa Brahmin. But in one of the closing verses,⁴ which, however, is not quoted by Manohara, the commentator informs us that he was the son of Harivaṁśa Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Nṛsiṃha of the Drāviḍa country!⁵ It is needless to add that no such description occurs in the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*. The conclusion, therefore, is 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.

Of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, son of Harivaṁśa Bhaṭṭa and author of *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* commentary, two or three works are known. That he was also an Ālaṃkārika, interested in erotic Rasa-treatises is clear from the fact that he also wrote a commentary, entitled *Rasika-*

- ¹ श्रीमद्भगोपाणि कर्णाम्बरे टीका कैच । अथेव विशेष व्याख्या तादाते लिखित ।
याद्वार दर्शने भक्तपण्डिते चमत्कार । रसपरिपाटी याते सिद्धान्तो सार ।
से टीका मङ्गलाचरणे दुर स्त्रो । लिखित्यादे यादा देखि शुनि सर्वस्त्रो ।
आपना पासरे रचे वकित चर्या । पुस्तकादि अथु वरे मुख बुक बाबा ।
तथा हि स्त्रोको—चूडाचुम्बितचापचन्द्रक etc.

² A critical edition of the Bengal recension of this work, along with the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* commentary of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, as well as with the *Subodhanī* of Caitanya-dāsa and the *Sāraṅga-raṅgadā* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja is being printed and will be shortly published by the present writer in the Dacca University Oriental Text Publication Series. It is based on two complete and one incomplete MSS. of the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā*, and eight MSS. of the other two commentaries from different sources. In the introduction there is a discussion of the problems indicated here.

- ³ छव्यकर्णाम्बरे टीका श्रीछव्यवज्जभाम् । गोपालभट्टः कुरुते द्राविडवनिनिर्जरः ।
⁴ श्रीमद्भगोपाणिददम्भिविधुः श्रीमद्भगोपाणिददम्भिविधुः श्रीमद्भगोपाणिददम्भिविधुः ।
तत्पुत्रस्य छतिस्त्रियं वितनुतां गोपालनाम्नो मुदं गोपीनाथपदारविन्दमकरन्दान्दिचेतोस्त्रिजः ॥

⁵ The colophon confirms this by reading as follows: इति श्रीद्राविडहरिवंशभट्टकचरण-
गरणभगोपालभट्टविरचिता श्रीछव्यकर्णाम्बरेटीका श्रीछव्यवज्जभाम् समाप्ता ॥ (The readings of both of our complete MSS. agree, one of these MSS. being dated Samvat 1662 = 1606 A.D.).

rañjanī, on Bhānudatta's *Rasa-mañjarī*.¹ The second opening verse of this commentary informs us that its author Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was a Brahmin of the Drāviḍa country²; and the first of the two concluding verses, which is identical with one of the concluding verses, quoted above, of the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* (*śrīmad-drāviḍa*°), gives the names of his father and grandfather respectively as Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa and Nṛsiṃha.³ This commentary contains no reference to or citation from the works on *Rasa-śāstra* of the Bengal school, as the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* does; and, so far, no MSS. in Bengali character of this commentary have been found. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa appears to have written another exegetic work of a similar type. The *Kāvya-mālā* edition of Rudra's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka* (Gucchaka iii, p. 11 footnote) mentions an incomplete commentary on Rudra's work by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa which is called *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*; but no details about the commentary or its author are given and no other MS. of this work is known to exist.

Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, son of Harivaṃśa Bhaṭṭa, appears to have written yet another ritualistic work, called *Samāya-* or *Kāla-kaumudī*, which is noticed by Rajendra Lal Mitra.⁴ Here also, the author in one of the opening verses⁵ describes himself in almost similar terms as a Brahmin of the Drāviḍa country, while the colophon to the

¹ See S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, i, p. 252. MSS. of this work are noticed in Mitra, *Notices*, iv, p. 294, no. 1712; Mitra, *Bikaner Catalogue*, p. 709, no. 1573; Eggeling, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 357; Stein, *Jammu Catalogue*, p. 63, no. 748; Hultzsch, *Report*, iii, p. 48, no. 1251; Peterson, *Sixth Report*, p. 92, no. 377; R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report*, 1887-91, p. 32, no. 453; Kathvate, *Report*, 1891-95, p. 46, no. 705. We have seen the last two Devanagari MSS., now deposited in the Bhandarkar Institute (no. 453 of 1887-91 and no. 705 of 1891-95, the former incomplete), as well as two other MSS. of work in the same collection (no. 244 of *Viśrāmbāg* i, and no. 207 of *Viśrāmbāg* i).

² श्रीमद्गोपालभट्टेन द्राविडज्ञानुपवर्णा । क्रियते रसमञ्जर्याष्टौका रसिकरञ्जनी ॥

³ The opening and concluding verses occur, in the form stated, in the India Office MSS. and in the MSS. noticed by Mitra; in the other catalogues the detail is not found. They occur also in the two complete MSS. of the Bhandarkar Institute collection (no. 705 of 1891-95 and no. 207 of *Viśrāmbāg* i); in MS. no. 244 of *Viśrāmbāg* i, the beginning is missing, but the concluding verse in question (*śrīmad-drāviḍa*°) is found; and in the fragmentary MS. no. 453 of 1887-91 we have the second opening verse, but the MS. breaks off on fol. 6. In all the MSS. mentioned above, wherever they are complete, the colophon reads, with minor variations; इति चरिवंशभट्टिकचरणशरणगोपालभट्टकृता रसमञ्जरौ टौका रसिकरञ्जनी समाप्ता ॥ All these MSS are in Devanagari characters. The commentary is not extensive, being rather a series of running glosses; and there is hardly any direct quotation or reference in it except once to the *Kāvya-prakāśa*.

⁴ *Notices*, vii, p. 254, no. 2501 (with a résumé of its contents).

⁵ श्रीमद्गोपालभट्टेन द्राविडज्ञानुपवर्णा । क्रियते विदुषां प्रीत्यै रम्या समयकौमुदी ॥

work, which is almost similar to those of the works mentioned above, describes him as 'one whose refuge is the feet of Harivamśa Bhaṭṭa'¹. The work appears to be 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 Saṃskāras, the Dīkṣā, the various Vratas, festivals (e.g. Janmāṣṭamī), the installation of the image of the Bhagavat, and so forth. The work has not been printed, and the MS. is not available; but the notice of the only known MS. of the work, 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 dealt with it may be presumed that it was written by a Vaiṣṇava author.

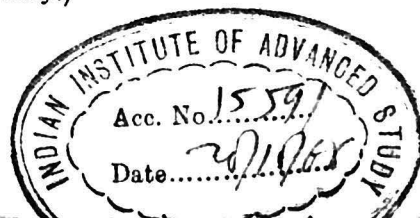
On the other hand, the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, which goes under the name of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa of the Caitanya sect, contains no such colophon or self-descriptive verse giving his ancestry. In one of its opening verses² it states that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, a disciple of Prabodhānanda, who is dear to Caitanya, is compiling the work for the satisfaction of Raghunātha-dāsa, Rūpa and Sanātana. It contains Namskriyās to Caitanya at the commencement of each of its twenty sections, called Vilāsas. It is a voluminous and almost exhaustive metrical compendium in Sanskrit of the Vaiṣṇava ritual of the Bengal school, of the corpus of its social and religious practices. It aims to cover all the compulsory and occasional rites and ceremonies, the rules of everyday service as well as the more elaborate ritual of temples and higher places of worship. An enumeration of the principal topics covered by its twenty Vilāsas will give some idea of its fairly comprehensive scope. They are as follows:—I. Guru, Śiṣya and Mantra, II. The ceremony of Initiation (Dīkṣā), III. The Sadācāra or daily devotional acts of a Vaiṣṇava, IV-V. The ritual of the temple (Maṇḍira-saṃskāra), VI. The Mode of Worship of the Sacred Image (Śrīmūrti-pūjā), VII. The offering of flowers, Tulasī leaves, etc., VIII. The offering of light (Dīpa), incense (Dhūpa), food (Naivedya), etc., IX. The taking of the auspicious water of the conchshell (Śaṅkhodaka), 'foot-nectar' (Cāraṇāmṛta), consecrated food (Mahāprasāda), etc., X. The

¹ इति हरिवंशचरचरणगोपालभट्टकृता कालकौमुदी समोष्ठा ॥

² भक्तैर्विलासांश्चिनुते प्रबोधानन्दस्य शिष्यो भगवत्प्रियस्य ।

गोपालभट्टो रघुनाथदासं संतोषयन्नपञ्चातनौ च ॥

(Ed. Radharaman Press, Berhampur-Murshidabad, 2nd ed. in two parts, 1889, 1891 in Bengali characters, with the Digdarśanī commentary.)



Bhagavad-dharma and the characteristics of a Vaiṣṇava devotee, XI. The daily duties of a devotee (Nitya-kṛtya), XII. The fortnightly observances (Pakṣa-kṛtya), XIII. Fasting (Upavāsa) and duties connected with it, XIV–XVI. Monthly observances (Māsa-kṛtya), vows (Vrata) and festivals, XVII. The use of prayers and formulas (Japa), offering of oblation (Homa), etc., XVIII. The making of Images (Mūrti-nirmāṇa) and Sacred Stone (Śālagrāma), XIX. The setting up of Images (Mūrti-pratiṣṭhā), XX. The construction of temples (Mandira-nirmāṇa). It is a work of extensive erudition; and each rule is copiously illustrated and supported by quotations from the Purāṇas, Saṃhitās, Tantras and other scriptures. It is, in brief, a complete guide to Vaidhī Bhakti, in which the devotional acts proceed from Śāstric injunctions. Some omissions, however, are 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 Tāntric ideas is a noteworthy feature. While festivals connected with deities other than Kṛṣṇa are excluded, an exception is made in favour of Śiva-rātri; but the most important Vaiṣṇava festival of Rāsa-yātra, which Raghunandana also omits in his *Yātrā-tattva*, is conspicuous by the absence of all reference. It is also important to note that this ritual authority does not recognize the cult of Caitanya-worship or the worship of Caitanya's image, which became a remarkable feature of the later development of the faith. The work departs in many details from the accepted views of the sect. There are no directions, for instance, for the construction of the images of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, although there are rules for those of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa,

¹ The deficiency is sought to be remedied in a work called *Sat-kriyā-sāra-dīpikā*, which is undoubtedly a later fabrication passed off in Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's name. It was published in Bengali characters in the Bengali Vaiṣṇava journal, *Sajjana-toṣaṇī*, vol. xv-xvii, by Kedarnath Datta and reprinted by the Gauḍīya Mādhva Maṭha, Calcutta, 1935. MSS. of it are noticed in Hārāprasād Shastri, *Notices*, 2nd Series, i, p. 397, no. 395; ii, p. 209-10, no. 235. The reprint contains another work, entitled *Saṃskāra-dīpikā*, meant as its supplement, on the duties of Saṃnyāsa, also ascribed to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa; but the authority for this attribution is not known, and no MS. of this work has yet been noticed. The *Sat-kriyā-sāra-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 Vivāha, Garbhādhāna, etc. and end with Samāvartana, following the order of treatment of Bhavadeva's *Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati*; but it omits the important ceremony of Antyeṣṭi or Śrāddha as forbidden to a true Vaiṣṇava. The Bhagavad-dharma being, in the author's opinion, superior to every other Dharma, the Smārta rules are excluded from application to a Vaiṣṇava (but Tāntric ceremonies and rules are preferred!); and yet the author acknowledges as his source the works of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa, Govindānanda, Bhīma Bhaṭṭa, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, besides the older works of Manu, Hārīta, etc.

Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī, and other forms of the deity. This Kṛṣṇa is Cakradhara, and not Dvi-bhuja Muralīdhara; and the Rādhā-cult does not figure as prominently as it should, Rādhā being even omitted in the Dhyāna of Kṛṣṇa. But 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 Kānāi-dāsa, a manuscript of which (No. 1231) exists in the Dacca University Library. As the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* is quoted by name in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* (ad 1. 2. 40), which is expressly dated in Śaka 1463 (=1541 A.D.), it must have been composed sometime before this date.

On this work there is a Sanskrit commentary, named *Digdarśanī*, which is attributed to Sanātana Gosvāmin; but there is also a tradition that the original work also was composed, not by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, but by Sanātana. The story of its origin, as given by Narahari relates¹ that the idea of composing a Vaiṣṇava Smṛti originated in the mind of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, but the work was actually composed by Sanātana in Gopāla's name. Manohara also believes² that Sanātana wrote the work itself, but Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was responsible for the illustrative passages culled from the Purāṇas and other scriptures. As the statements of Narahari and Manohara are not always beyond suspicion, 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 Gosvāmin, in the list he gives of Sanātana's works at the end of the (*Laghu*) *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*. This is also confirmed by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, who was a disciple of the six Gosvāmins at Vṛndāvana; for he makes Caitanya teach a rapid summary (*Madhya*, xxiv) of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* to Sanātana with an express command to write a Vaiṣṇava Smṛti

1 कर्तिते वैष्णवस्मृति हरिह भट्टमने । सनातन गोखामी जानिछा सेह कथे ॥

गोपालेर नामे श्रीगोखामी सनातन । करिछ श्रीहरिभक्तिविश्वास वर्धन ॥

2 श्रीसनातन गोसांनि ग्रन्थ करिछ । सर्वत्र चाभोग भट्टगोसांनिर दिछ ॥...

ओरूप सनातन रघुनाथ दास । दहा सवाय सुख दिते हरिभक्तिर विश्वास ॥

संपद करिछ श्रीभागवतप्रधान । सर्व पुराणेन वाक्य करिया सन्धान ॥ (pp. 8-9)

Nityānanda-dāsa is not clear on this point; but he says that at the direction (चाह्वा) of Rūpa and Sanātana, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa undertook the work. After it was completed Sanātana gave it to him and he took it as his own work and put his own Guru's name in it (ग्रन्थ पूर्वे हरिले समर्पिछ सनातने । निजग्रन्थ करि ताहा करिछ पदके ॥ ताहाते लिखन निज गुरुर वर्धन ।)

on the basis of the outlines taught. Moreover, Kṛṣṇadāsa expressly ascribes this work to Sanātana in two passages (Madhya, i, 35; Antya iv, 221). These testimonies cannot be lightly set aside, but in the text itself Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's authorship is unambiguously declared. If Manohara's proposed solution to 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 its commentary, a direct connexion with the text, seems highly probable; at the same time, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's authorship, expressly declared in it, cannot be easily dismissed. It is undisputed that Sanātana, with his equally able brother Rūpa, was the acknowledged centre of inspiration of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava group at Vṛndāvana; but, if Gopāla 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

¹ Equally unfounded and unconvincing is the suggestion of some modern writers (Dinesh Chandra Sen, *Vaiṣṇava Literature*, Calcutta University, 1922, p. 290; followed by Kennedy, *Caitanya Movement*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1925, p. 137) that Sanātana's name was not officially associated with the work because his defection from Hinduism to Islam before becoming a Vaiṣṇava had created a prejudice and stood in the way of the acceptance of this ritualistic work. If this were so, it is unintelligible why the alleged prejudice did not stand in the way of Sanātana's name being associated officially with the works of Rūpa, Jīva, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja and others, or of his own *Bhāgavatāmṛta* and *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* being accepted as authoritative. As a matter of fact, we have no satisfactory evidence of Sanātana's alleged conversion to Muhammadanism. No doubt, he became, along with his brother Rūpa, a high official at the Muhammadan court at Gauḍa, and it is said that he was known by the Muhammadan name or title of Dabir Khas (= Private Secretary) before Caitanya gave him the devotional name of Sanātana; but there is nothing unusual in this, and there is no evidence to show that he actually adopted the Muhammadan faith. On the contrary, the *Bhakti-ratnākara* tells us (pp. 42-43) that Sanātana and Rūpa, whose descent is traced (after Jīva's account) to a Karnāṭa Brahmin family, invited a colony of Karnāṭa Brahmins to settle near Ramakeli, and kept up with them their inherited social and religious practices, only considering themselves impure because of their contact with the Mlecchas. We are told that they kept themselves in touch with the Vaiṣṇava group at Navadvīpa, and this explains their eagerness to meet Caitanya of whom they had heard so much. Sanātana learnt the Śāstras from one Vidyāvācaspati of Navadvīpa, whom he mentions reverentially as his Guru in one of the opening verses of his *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*. Of Sanātana, Kṛṣṇadāsa says (Madhya xix, 17): भट्टाचार्य पण्डित विश विश लब्ध । भागवतविचार करे समते वसिञ्ज ॥ This surely is not the description of an outcast. The stupendous Śāstric learning and Vaiṣṇava disposition of the two brothers, which undoubtedly prompted Caitanya to impose on them the fitting task of composing the entire authoritative devotional literature of the sect, could not have been acquired in a day; and it undoubtedly points to the retention of their ancestral faith from the very beginning.

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 Dākṣiṇātya Bhaṭṭa (by which reference he is supposed to mean Gopāla Bhaṭṭa himself), on which he based his own elaborate *Ṣaṭ-saṁdarbha*. It seems probable, therefore, that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, as stated in the work itself, was the actual author of the *Hari-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 by himself, the Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, who composed the ritualistic work *Kāla-kaumudī*, and the *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* and *Rasika-rañjanī* commentaries, was the son of Harivaṁśa Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Nṛsiṁha, 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 several facts in favour of his identification with the Gopāla Bhaṭṭa of the Caitanya sect. The absence of Namaskriyā to Caitanya in his *Kṛṣṇa-vallabhā* and other works, though suspicious, is not decisive; for the two *Dūta-kāvya*s, the *Dāna-keli-kaumudī* and the *Padyāvalī* of Rūpa Gosvāmin do not also contain such Namaskriyā. The commentary gives ample evidence that the author was a devout Vaiṣṇava, and there is hardly anything in it which does not subscribe to the peculiar tenets of Caitanyaism. On the contrary, it refers at the very commencement to the characteristic doctrine of the Bengal school that Kṛṣṇa is not an Avatāra but the Avatārin, the supreme deity himself. It also believes in the other important doctrine of the Bengal school that the deity possesses a supersensuous and blissful form, which is adolescent (*kiśora*) and quasi-human (*narākṛti*), always sporting at Vṛndāvana, and which is the highest object of adoration. With very minor modifications it comments upon the Bengal recension of the *Kṛṣṇa-karnāmṛta*, and does not accept the South Indian text in spite of the author's declared Dravidian origin. All this makes it likely that the commentator was a Vaiṣṇava who accepted the views of the Bengal school; and the presumption is strengthened by the fact that he quotes directly (in both cases citing by the title of the works) from the two authoritative Rasa-treatises of Rūpa Gosvāmin, the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and its supplement *Ujjvala-nīlamanī*, a fact which would also indicate that the commentary could not have been composed before Śaka 1463 (=1541

A.D.), which is the date of the composition of the first of these cited works. Against these arguments in favour of the 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* commentary in his own *Sāraṅga-raṅgadā* commentary on the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*; on the contrary, he accepts and expands Caitanya-dāsa's *Subodhanī* commentary on the same. But this circumstance need not present a serious difficulty.

(2) There is, however, no direct evidence to identify him with the Gopāla Bhaṭṭa who was one of the six Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins of the Caitanya sect. The personal history of this Gosvāmin is, at best meagre and fatuous; his lineage, as given in the records of the sect-is vague, conflicting and obviously legendary; whether he belonged at all to Southern India is not certain. 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. The history of this Prabodhānanda is not clear, and it is very doubtful if he was (as alleged by Nityānanda, Narahari and Manohara) an uncle of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa; for the story of Trimalla-Veṅkaṭa-Prabodhānanda is suspiciously legendary and uncorroborated.

The question is further complicated by the discovery of another Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, who wrote another but an entirely different commentary on the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*, entitled *Śravaṇāhlādinī*, and who apparently also belonged to Bengal. A MS. of this commentary was first noticed by S. R. Bhandarkar in his *Catalogue of the collections of MSS. deposited in the Deccan College* (Bombay, 1888, p. 135) under the serial number 178 of 1879-80; the MS. now exists in the Bhandarkar Research Institute under the same number. The MS. is written in old Devanagari script which uses occasional *prṣṭha-mātrā*, and consists of 145 folios. In one of the opening verses¹ the author bows to his Guru, named Nārāyaṇa, and in two of the concluding verses supplies some information about himself. The name of the author's father is given in one of these verses as Bhaddat² (? Udyat-) phaṇa; and we are informed that the commentary was

¹ यत्पादवारिजराजःकचिकैकवन्धुर्कोऽपि प्राकृतिदुर्गा पदवीं प्रयाति ।

अकृत्रिभैकग्ररथं कवचाकरं तं नारायणं गुरुमहं सततं नमामि ॥

²

श्रीमोविन्दपदारविन्दभजनत्यक्ताखिलार्थवयः

श्रीमद्भगवतार्थवित्पुमभवद् भट्टाख्यः (? उद्याख्यो) विदुः ।

श्रीराधारमवाङ्मि सङ्गमनसा गोपाकभट्टेन त-

त्पुत्रेण अवधाम्यतस्मा रचिता टीकास्तु सप्रौतये ॥

composed to please the author's friend Vanamāli-dāsa and younger brother Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa.¹ The Bengal origin of the commentary is indicated by the fact that it follows the Bengal recension of the text, and cites not only Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda* (fol. 22b), but also the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* (fol. 16a, 19b) of Rūpa Gosvāmin, earlier than which last work (i.e. earlier 1541 A.D.) it could not have been written. It follows generally the views of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism.

The mention of yet another Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, belonging to Bengal, is found incidentally in a sub-commentary on the *Bhāgavata*,² entitled *Dīpikā-dīpana*. It is a commentary on the *Bhāvārtha-dīpikā* commentary of Śrīdhara-svāmin. The author Rādhāramaṇa-dāsa speaks of himself in the opening verses as devoted to the service of Śrīmad Gopāla Bhaṭṭa (*śrīmad-gopāla-bhaṭṭānām dāsye saṁsakta-mānsaḥ*), as a worshipper of (the image of) Rādhāramaṇa (*rādhā-ramaṇa-sevinā*) and as a friend of Kṛṣṇagovinda (*kṛṣṇagovinda-mitreṇa*). Is this Gopāla Bhaṭṭa different from those mentioned above?³

1

नैरर्थरत्नैर्वनमालिदासमित्रस्य कर्णदयमात्मनश्च ।

विभूषयानीह तथैव लक्ष्मीनारायणस्यायुजस्य कण्ठम् ।

² Chintaharan Chakravarti, *Descriptive Catalogue of Skt. MSS. in the Vāṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad*, Introd., p. xvii.

³ Thanks are due to my friend, Mr. P. K. Gode, Curator of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, for loan of the Institute MSS. utilized in this article.

