

GOSVĀMIN

THE
PADYĀVALĪ

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THE
PADYĀVALĪ



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THE
PADYĀVALĪ

An Anthology of Vaiṣṇava Verses in Sanskrit

COMPILED BY

RŪPA GOSVĀMIN

A Disciple of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya of Bengal

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ढाकाविश्वविद्यालय-प्राच्यग्रन्थमाला, ग्रन्थाङ्कः ३

श्रीकृष्णचैतन्यपार्षदेन

श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामिना समाहृता
पद्यावली

नाम वैष्णवकाव्यसंग्रहः

ढाकाविश्वविद्यालयाध्यापकेन

श्रीसुशीलकुमार दे इत्यनेन पाठभेदादिभिः सविमर्शं संशोधितः

शाके १८५६ वत्सरे १९३४ ख्रिस्ताब्दे

ढाकाविश्वविद्यालयेन प्रकाश्यं नीतः



TO
PROFESSOR F. W. THOMAS



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INTRODUCTION



INTRODUCTION

The *Padyāvalī* of Rūpa Gosvāmin is in many respects a unique work of mediaeval Bengal. Apart from its value as one of the well known anthologies of Sanskrit literature, its connexion with the Vaiṣṇava movement of Bengal gives it an added interest and importance. Its author, a scholar and devotee, was a well known disciple of Caitanya, the founder of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism; and as an authoritative teacher and exponent of its doctrines he became the centre of its arduous and prolonged theological and literary activity, and occupied the most commanding position in the later development of the sect as one of its six acknowledged law-givers. Though not concerned directly with dogmas and doctrines, his *Padyāvalī*, as an illustrative collection of devotional verses, has been cited with great respect among his other authoritative works.

One of the most important features of the Caitanya movement was its extraordinary literary energy. The power and vitality of its inspiration are evidenced by the vast literature it created for itself both in the learned classical tongue as well as in the living language of the province. The abundance, variety and spontaneity of this literature are amazing. On the



These spiritual effusions of the devout heart may not always have attained a high level of artistic excellence, but they often have a touching and tender quality which is sometimes rare in an elaborate and studied masterpiece. The *Padyāvalī*, which gives an anthological survey of such Vaiṣṇava poems in Sanskrit, not only preserves these fleeting minor poems from oblivion but also furnishes important material for the study of this aspect of the movement.

In order to appreciate the full importance of the work, therefore, it will be necessary to take into account the essential features of the religious movement, of which it forms one of the striking literary expressions, and consider its intimate relation to the Vaiṣṇava ideas and sentiments. As the scope of this Introduction, however, is limited, it will not be possible for us to recapitulate, even briefly, the various aspects of this movement; but we can refer the reader for these details to the forthcoming work on Caitanyaism and the Caitanya movement by the present editor, which will deal not only with the early history of the movement but also with all the implications of its theology and philosophy, its Rāsa-sāstra, its ritualism and devotional practices, as well as its varied literary expression in Sanskrit and Bengali verse. We shall content ourselves here with a brief and general account of the beginnings of the movement and the part played in it by Rūpa



Gosvāmin as well as by some other authors cited in this Anthology.¹

Although Bengal Vaiṣṇavism is usually associated with the name of Caitanya, there can be no doubt that some form of Vaiṣṇavism obtained in Bengal long before the advent of Caitanya. But even if one can presume the diffusion of some kind of Vaiṣṇavite worship from the Gupta or Post-Gupta period, it is extremely difficult to determine the particular form it took. The recent discovery, however, of the image alleged to be that of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in the Paharpur excavations, as well as the emergence of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend in a finished literary form in the *Gīta-govinda* of Jayadeva makes it probable that Vaiṣṇavism in the particular form of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult had already obtained currency even a few centuries before Caitanya. It is not necessary for us to discuss here the character of this pre-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal, but we have tried to show elsewhere² that the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* emotionalism, which had its most probable origin in Southern India and which was first definitely established in Bengal by Caitanya and his followers, is hardly evidenced.

¹ Much of what is written here is reproduced and adapted from the present editor's larger work on the subject which is mentioned above. All details as well as controversial matters are therefore omitted here.

² We have briefly dealt with this question in an article contributed to the Winternitz Commemoration Volume.



by the Sanskrit *Gita-govinda* of Jayadeva, as well as by the Bengali *Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana* of Candīdāsa ascribed to the 14th century.

The chief and almost exclusive scripture of Caitanyaism is the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, on whose devotional poetry and legend it bases its erotic emotionalism. Although Rādhā is not directly mentioned in this Purāṇa, Rādhā in the thought and worship of Caitanyaism occupies a very prominent place as an aspect of the highest attribute of infinite bliss (Hlādinī Śakti) ascribed to the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa, conceived as the Perfect Person and the highest object of adoration; and all the erotico-mystical possibilities of this devotional attitude are developed to their fullest extent in its Rasa-śāstra as well as in its theology. But this glorification of the Rādhā legend need not of itself connect Caitanyaism with the *Brahma-vaivarta* or other Purāṇas, which exalt this theme but which are not accepted as canonical by the Bengal school. Nor can any influence of the Nimbārka sect, which also gives a similar prominence to Rādhā-worship, be directly traced or presumed in it. The influence of the Śrī-sampradāya of Rāmānuja has no doubt considerably moulded the trend of some of its dualistic dogmas and doctrines, but direct affiliation with this sect is out of the question; while the Vallabhācārya sect was almost contemporaneous and could not have immediately influenced



Caitanyaism. There was a tendency in the later history of the Caitanya sect in the 18th century to affiliate it as a branch of the Mādhva-Sampradāya; but there is hardly any evidence to establish this as an original trend.³ On the contrary, Caitanya himself is said to have discredited Mādhva doctrines of the Tattva-vādin Gurus at Udupi during his South Indian pilgrimage; while the six authoritative Gosvāmins of Caitanyaism do not anywhere acknowledge the Mādhvas as Pūrva-gurus.

It seems highly probable, on the other hand, that the Caitanya sect and its doctrines, like the other four mediaeval Vaiṣṇava sects and their doctrines, had an independent origin directly from the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* tradition. It also seems probable, as we have attempted to demonstrate elsewhere, that the way for its growth was prepared by the mystic emotionalism interpreted and established by a class of emotional Śāṅkarite Sannyāsins from the time of Śrīdhara, who attempted to combine the Advaita teachings of Śāṅkara with the emotionalism of the Bhāgavatas. It is true that into the complex texture of Caitanyaism, as shaped and formulated by the six Gosvāmins of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, were also woven ideas and sentiments from various other

³ See our article (in Bengali) on the Mādhva-sampradāya and the Caitanya-sampradāya in *Haraprasāda-saṁvārdhana-likha-mālā* (Calcutta, 1933), pt. ii..



non-vaiṣṇava sources (e. g. Tantra) which to some extent coloured its inherited Vaiṣṇava tradition; but to any one conversant with the history of Caitanyaism, as well as with its theology, philosophy and devotional practices, there can be no doubt that it ultimately based itself upon the implications of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* as interpreted chiefly by Śrīdhara Svāmin. From the well known commentary of Śrīdhara on this work, as well as on the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* and the *Bhagavad-gītā*, it seems that about the time of Śrīdhara there must have grown a tendency to interpret and temper the severe monistic idealism of Advaita Vedānta with the devotional worship of a personal god. This can also be presumed from the fact that many a Śāṅkarite ascetic has implied in his teaching or practice that the stage of Advaita realisation can be reached through the devotional worship of a particular deity (like Nṛsiṃha or Kṛṣṇa) as a person or as a symbol of the Absolute. Śrīdhara himself was a worshipper of Nṛsiṃha, and devotion to such deities does not appear to have been thought inconsistent with one's belonging to the Śāṅkara Sampradāya. Śrīdhara in his commentaries therefore acknowledges Śāṅkara's teaching as authoritative, but considers Bhakti as the best means of Advaita Mukti. 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 Sampradāya, but that it ultimately came to prevail through divine intervention. It seems, therefore, probable that from his time a class of mystic-emotional Sannyāsins grew up, who found nothing in their practice of Bhakti which was inconsistent with their belief in Advaitism.

An Advaita Sannyāsin of this type must have been Viṣṇu Purī of Tirhut, whose devotional verses are cited in the *Padyāvalī*, but who is often mistakenly described as a Mādhva ascetic. His very title Purī indicates that he belonged to the Daśanāmī order of Śaṅkarite Sannyāsins ; and following the tradition of Śrīdhara, which he directly acknowledges in the closing verse of his work, he compiled a *Bhāgavata-bhakti-ratnāvalī* in which the finest devotional passages of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* are selected and arranged in "thirteen strings" according to their subject matter. As such, Viṣṇu Purī is rightly regarded as one of the precursors of the Bhakti movement in Bengal in Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (Ādi ix, 14). Mādhavendra Purī and his disciple Īśvara Purī, who are said to have influenced the early religious inclination of Caitanya but who are also mistakenly regarded by some modern writers as Mādhva ascetics, were also probably devotional Śaṅkarite Sannyāsins of the same type ; and the descriptions given of their religious attitude in the Bengali Vaiṣṇava works,

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which however never call them Mādhva ascetics, fully bear out their emotional predilections. The historical evidences are strong enough to show that Caitanya himself, as Kavikarṇapūra tells us, was formally initiated into this Daśanāmī order of Śaṅkara Sannyāsins, even though the ultimate form he gave to Vaiṣṇava Bhakti had nothing to do with Śaṅkara's extreme Advaita-vāda. It is true that Caitanya's formal belonging to a particular Sampradāya hardly made any difference to his personal religious consciousness, that 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 Advaita Sannyāsins of Benares, and that he himself rose superior to sombre and passionless asceticism; but it is highly probable that Keśava Bhāratī (an ascetic apparently of Śaṅkara's Bhāratī order), who was his Sannyāsa-Guru, and Īśvara Purī, who was his Dīkṣā-Guru, formally introduced him into this tradition of emotional Sannyāsa, 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-bhāgavata*, which was accepted as



authoritative by the Bengal school. Apart from the fact that Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva, the three great apologists of Caitanyaism, extensively quote and accept Śrīdhara's views in their own works, Caitanya himself is said to have possessed the highest veneration for Śrīdhara Svāmin ; and on one occasion he is said to have repudiated a commentary on the *Gītā* on the ground that it departed from Śrīdhara Svāmin's interpretation.

The apostle with whose name this early Bhakti movement is chiefly associated in the period immediately before Caitanya is the emotional Śaṅkarite ascetic, Mādhavendra Purī, of whom we have spoken above. Among his direct disciples is counted not only Īśvara Purī who gave the Daśākṣara Mantra to Caitanya at Gaya, but also Advaita Ācārya who was Caitanya's precursor as well as associate in the movement at Navadvīpa. The *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* of Sanātana Gosvāmin states that the Kalpa-taru of Kṛṣṇa-bhakti-rasa was germinated by Mādhavendra in the three worlds ; the *Caitanya-bhāgavata* of Vṛndāvana-dāsa informs us that Mādhavendra was the *ādi-sūtradhāra* of Bhakti-rasa in Bengal ; the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* pays a similar compliment by speaking of him as the first sprout of the Kalpa-taru of Bhakti ; while Kavikarṇapūra in his *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* distinctly says that Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal, with its doctrines



of Prīta, Preyas, Vatsala and Ujjvala Rasas, owes its origin to Mādhavendra. Caitanya himself never appears to have met Mādhavendra who must have died when he was in his boyhood, but he appears to have cherished a great reverence for this far-famed ascetic. At Puri, we are told, Caitanya used to recite with great emotion Mādhavendra's verse *ayi dīna dayādra nātha he*, which is given in our Anthology No. 330. From the accounts left of him Mādhavendra appears to have been a devotee of great emotional capacity, who must have, before Caitanya, imparted a new spirit to the gloomy and forbidding aspects of asceticism, and who probably cared more for actual devotional fervour than for the teaching of dry doctrine. It is remarkable 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 standard works of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism about his ecstatic emotions, visions and trances as striking features of his religious experience. He would, for instance, go into a mystic trance even at the sight of dark-blue clouds which became to him a symbol of the divine Kṛṣṇa. In all this he anticipated Caitanya himself and prepared the way for his advent. Fifty years before the Bengal Gosvāmins, he turned the thoughts of Bengal Vaiṣṇavas towards the sacred sites of Vṛndāvana where he is said to



have recovered an image of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa and established a temple with two Bengali priests as custodians. In this also he anticipated the work of Caitanya and his disciples.

Mādhavendra's disciple, Īśvara Purī, deserves mention in this connexion, for a momentous meeting with him at Gaya is said to have formed a turning point in Caitanya's life. Īśvara Purī's original name before initiation into Sannyāsa is not known, but he is said to have been a Bengali, having been born at Kumārahaṭṭa (modern Halisahar, near Naihati) of Rādhīya Brahmin family. His father's name is given as Śyāmasundara Ācārya, but no other details of his life are known. He is said to have composed a *Śrīkṛṣṇa-līlāmṛta* in Sanskrit at the house of Gopinātha Ācārya at Navadvīpa, and this work may or may not have been the same as the *Rukminī-svyamvara*, which is ascribed to Īśvara Purī by Rūpa Gosvāmin and from which two verses are quoted in the latter's *Ujjvala-nīlamanī*. In the *Padyāvalī* also some of Īśvara Purī's devotional verses have been selected. It is probable that in the course of his wanderings Īśvara Purī came very often to Navadvīpa. It is recorded that on one occasion 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

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from Īśvara Purī's *Śrīkṛṣṇa-līlāmṛta*. Later on at Gaya, Caitanya received Mantra-dīkṣā from Īśvara 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 Kumārahatta he is reported to have said that the very dust of the place which saw the birth of Īśvara Purī was to him dearer than life or wealth. Like Mādhavendra, Īśvara Purī was also an emotional mystic, who used to go into trances on hearing the Kirtana of Kṛṣṇa's name.

The city Navadvīpa (modern Nadiyā), 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, called Navya Nyāya. It was and, still to a certain extent, is the stronghold of orthodox Brahmanism as well as of neo-Tāntrikism, and produced a stringent social dictator like Raghunandana as well as a champion of obscure Tāntrik rites like Kṛṣṇānanda. Its great reputation for Sanskrit scholarship and orthodoxy drew students from all parts of the country, but it possessed an arid and intellectual atmosphere, highly materialistic, narrow, proud and even sceptical. Vedāntism formed the topic of conversation of the cultured few, who looked down upon the



emotional abandon of Bhakti as weak and vulgar; while the self-satisfied formalism of the orthodox Smārta 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. But there also existed in the city a devout Vaiṣṇava community, although it was neither a large 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 praises of Śrīkṛṣṇa. This small community must have been inspired and encouraged in its Vaiṣṇava tendencies by Mādhavendra Purī and his disciples, for we find that the most commanding figure in this group, before Caitanya, was a disciple of Mādhavendra, named Kamalākṣa Bhaṭṭācārya, better known by his other name of Advaita Ācārya. He was an elderly Brahmin scholar of Śāntipur, more than fifty years senior to Caitanya, and lived for the most part at Navadvīpa, being held in high esteem for his scholarly Vedāntic attainments, pious life and sincere devotion. His original home, like that of Caitanya's father, was Sylhet (in Assam), and he was apparently a friend of the family, whom Caitanya's mother



accused of having led her two sons to asceticism. Although originally a believer in the emotionally tempered Jñāna-mārga, Advaita Ācārya 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. Advaita seems to have very closely identified himself with the new movement, and attained such an eminent position in it that he came to be regarded in the later history of the sect as one of the blessed trio of the new faith, although the six Gosvāmins of Caitanyaism in the earlier stages of its history do not recognise him as such. It is recorded piously in the later Bengali works of the sect that Advaita was an Avatāra of Śiva, who preceded and thus made possible the descent of Caitanya into the world by means of his fervent prayer and appeal. Whatever may be the value of this pious belief, there can be no doubt that in spite of his Advaita-Vedāntic scholarship, which justified his title, 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 of the new movement.

In the midst of such surroundings Caitanya was born and passed his younger days. The story of his life, meagre though it is in striking external incidents, has been told so often and so



well that it is not necessary for us to enlarge upon it in detail, or linger over the scenes of devotional ecstasy, madness and miracles, which swell the bulk of his extant authoritative lives in Sanskrit and Bengali. The abundant fancies, no doubt, envelop the few facts, but even in the orthodox pictures where the colours are often laid too thickly, a forceful religious personality emerges which is not lacking in great human interest and appeal.

Caitanya was born on the Phālguna Paurṇamāsī day in Śaka 1407 (February 1485 A.D.), and was given the name of Viśvambhara. His father Jāgannātha Miśra (with the surname Purandara), originally an inhabitant of Sylhet in Assam, who had migrated and settled in the academic city of Navadvīpa, was a pious and scholarly Brahmin of devout Vaiṣṇava tendencies, and appears to have been a Rāma-worshipper ; while his mother Śacī Devī was a deeply religious and sensible woman who bore the loneliness of her closing years with great patience and resignation. Viśvambhara having been the only surviving child born in their old age, it is only natural that the fond parents should lavish all the wealth of their affection on this pretty boy, whom pitying affection nicknamed Nimāi, but whose personal charm and beauty earned the epithet of Gaura or Gaurāṅga. Although he grew up as a privileged child in the midst of all the social advan-

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tages of well-born Brahminhood, he appears to have received the education befitting an intelligent and well-placed Brahmin boy at such a centre of learning as Navadvīpa. His studies, however, appear to have been chiefly confined to Sanskrit Grammar, especially Kalāpa Grammar, and possibly to some literature and rhetoric to which allusion is made. If he became pert and pretentious, he only imbibed the spirit of the time and the place, but it also indicates an exuberant, healthy and light-hearted youth. While he was still a student, his father died and the burden of the household fell upon his young shoulders. Soon after he married Lakṣmī, daughter of one Vallabha Ācārya, a Navadvīpa Pundit, became a householder, set up a Sanskrit school like most educated Brahmins of the day and received pupils. In order to acquire wealth he undertook a tour in East Bengal and received gratifying gifts from pious householders. 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 married again to Viṣṇupriyā, daughter of a Navadvīpa Pundit Sanātana Miśra, but his conjugal life did not last long. It is probable that his first wife held a unique place in his affection, and in spite of his second marriage the



shock of her death had something to do with his Sannyāsa which occurred not many years later.

As yet the young Pundit, busy with his scholarly and domestic duties, showed no open sensibility to the religious influences which surrounded him, but very soon a great change came over his life and swept him off with its overwhelming force. This occurred during his pilgrimage to Gaya where, as a dutiful son, he had gone to perform the Śrāddha ceremony of his father. What exactly happened there is not known, but the hidden springs of his religious emotion must have been very deeply stirred. His biographers emphasise that the principal factor in his transformation was his meeting with Īśvara Purī, 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. Īśvara Purī gave him a Mantra of ten syllables, 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 ; and however much the religious surroundings of the holy place and the personality of Īśvara Purī may have influenced it, it must have been deep-seated and spontaneous. His pride of learning was humbled ; his love of finery and care of personal appearance, to which



frequent allusions are made by his biographers, were gone ; scholastic pursuits and worldly concerns lost their interest. He had seen one of those mystic visions which turn secularly minded men into god-intoxicated devotees. People said he came back a mad man, and he certainly behaved as such. When he taught his pupils, the subject of his discourse was Kṛṣṇa, and very soon he had to close his school. Wrapped in mystic and emotional experience, he laughed and wept, raved in abstraction, incessantly shouted Kṛṣṇa's name, and went into those mystic trances which from now became a striking feature of his religious experience.

The change in him became the talk of the town and a matter of concern to his relatives ; but the small group of Vaiṣṇava devotees, headed by Advaita, saw in him something more than symptoms of lunacy and welcomed him with hope and joy. Very soon he was joined by Nityānanda, who was eight years senior to him and had been for many years a wandering Avadhūta ascetic, but who was now destined to play, along with Caitanya, an important part in the history of the movement. Supported by Advaita and Nityānanda, Viśvambhara became the centre of the devout Vaiṣṇava group in the city and came to be regarded as the very incarnation of their spirit of devotion. His extraordinary capacity for religious 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 acts was the stimulation, if not the actual introduction, of an emotional mode of musical worship, known as Saṅkīrtana, in the daily devotional meetings which were held in the courtyard of Śrīvāsa's house at Navadvīpa. This soon expanded into Kīrtana processions (Nagara-Kīrtana) which were organised to parade the streets with lusty music, singing and dancing and to carry and spread the contagion of Bhakti from door to door.

But the proud scholar and the self-satisfied elite of the city, who formed a large and influential section of society, looked upon this uproarious movement as a public nuisance, and their initial attitude of indifference, now transformed into one of active opposition, proved a great obstacle to the movement. Viśvambhara at last resolved to win over these unbelievers by severing all local ties and embracing the universally honoured life of a Sannyāsin, although the deeper reason for this step must have been his innate predilection to asceticism, as well as the impatient inward urge of passionate devotion for completely abandoning self to the service of his deity. He was therefore initiated privately by Keśava Bhārati at Katwa, a town on the other



side of the Ganges, in the month of Māgha in Śaka 1431 (=January 1509 A.D.), when he was barely twentyfour years of age, and was given the Sannyāsa name of Śrīkṛṣṇa-Caitanya, usually abbreviated into his universally accepted name of Caitanya. Keśava Bhāratī lived at Katwa, but as there was little personal intercourse between him and Caitanya he does not appear in any way to have spiritually influenced his disciple either before or after the initiation. The particular Bhāratī order of Śaṅkara which Caitanya joined made as little difference to his inward religious consciousness, as even his very act of becoming a Sannyāsin itself. Although in matters of personal purity and self-denial he kept to his ascetic vow, he never strictly conformed to the severe passionless life of an Indian ascetic, to which he imparted a new spirit by his emotional faith in a personal god. He thus went far beyond his ascetic teachers in matters of belief and practice.

Caitanya now resolved to go to Vṛndāvana in order to realise his devotional fancy of reclaiming and founding a religious colony at the sacred sites associated with the name of Kṛṣṇa ; but he yielded to the entreaties of his lonely mother to reside permanently at Puri where his friends and followers could visit him frequently and whence pilgrims would often bring news of him.



Although a close connexion was kept up between the Master and his followers in Bengal by means of an annual visit paid by the latter, Caitanya's departure must have been a great loss 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 Nityānanda, was partly due to this lack of direct contact with the Master whose personality was not only the greatest asset of the community but also the only powerful influence which could unify and organise it into a compact body. The first short stay at Puri was marked by the important incident of the conversion of a famous Vedāntist, named Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya, some of whose devotional verses are given in the *Padyāvalī*. He is said to have been a Navadvīpa scholar born about the middle of the 15th century. He was much older than Caitanya whose maternal grandfather Nīlāmbara Cakravartin is said to have been a friend of Vāsudeva's father, Maheśvara Viśārada. Tradition delights to make a great academic figure of Vāsudeva, but there is no doubt about his Vedāntic scholarship from his still available works.⁴ The conversion of this great scholar from the confirmed Vedāntic convictions of a life-time must have been a notable

⁴ For informations regarding Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, see our Bibliographical Notes.



and significant triumph for the young Sannyāsin almost at the outset of his religious career. It was an important achievement because nothing like this had happened before. It is not difficult to understand the impression Caitanya 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 Puri, this adoration naturally deepened. Both distance and cherished memories of his wonderful devotion had actually deified him in their eyes as soon as he left Navadvīpa, and rapidly created a mass of pious legends which to-day obscure his real religious personality. But in a veteran logician and Vedāntist like Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma 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, however, that his rationalistic mind must have found something real and arresting in the religious attitude of Caitanya, and recognising its power and intensity he quickly fell under its mystic spell. Sārvabhauma was held in great esteem at Puri, and it was this conversion, as well as the actual sight of Caitanya's ecstatic devotion, which awakened the curiosity and homage of Gajapati Pratāparudra, ruler of Orissa and assured the future of



Caitanyaism in that province, although there is no satisfactory evidence to show that Pratāparudra was actually converted into the new faith.

After a few months' stay at Puri, Caitanya started on a long and extensive pilgrimage to southern and western India which occupied a little less than two years ; but as this pilgrimage was hardly productive of any deep and lasting results regarding the spread of Caitanyaism, it is not necessary for us to trace the course of his wanderings in detail. His orthodox biographers, however, make much of his meeting with a scholarly and devout Vaiṣṇava, named Rāmānanda Rāya, near Rajamundry on the Godavari. Rāmānanda is described as a Śiṣya of Rāghavendra Puri and a Pra-śiṣya of Mādhavendra. Rāmānanda's father Bhavānanda Rāya was probably a local chief, feudatory to Gajapati Pratāparudra ; and Rāmānanda himself held some high official position under this prince of Orissa. Rāmānanda composed an operatic drama (*saṅgīta-nāṭaka* as he calls it) on Kṛṣṇa-līlā, containing a glorification of Rādhā and songs on the model of Jayadeva. It was entitled *Jagannātha-vallabha*, and was enacted at the direction of Pratāparudra. The theological significance of the meeting with this devout scholar has been emphasised by Caitanya's biographers, but it is not necessary for us to dwell on it. It is, however, possible that the influence

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of Rāmānanda operated in the way in which Rādhā came to occupy a prominent place in the thoughts and sentiments of Caitanya.

The rather uneventful course of Caitanya's life of worship and ecstasy which began at Puri after his return from this long journey was during the many years he settled there broken twice in order to realise his long-cherished desire of visiting Vṛndāvana, the holy centre of Kṛṣṇa-līlā. The recovery of the sacred sites of Vṛndāvana by the followers of Caitanya and its erection into one of the chief 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. The inspiration originated probably from Mādhavendra Puri, but it culminated in the constructive enthusiasm of Caitanya and his disciples. The sacred Vṛndāvana, with its romantic associations of the Kṛṣṇa-Gopī legend, must have charmed the devotional fancy of Caitanya; but since the place had been long neglected even by Kṛṣṇa-worshippers, Caitanya had at an early stage of his career selected Lokanātha Ācārya, once his schoolmate and later on his disciple, and entrusted him with the 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 mythical 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 and was invested with a new sanctity and glory.

On his way to the newly restored Vṛndāvana Caitanya passed through Bengal, but the journey never extended beyond Rāmakeli, 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 Caitanya 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 of pious inclinations descended from Karṇāṭa Brahmins, who had settled for some generations in Bengal. They were employed at that time as high officials at the Court of Allauddin Hussain Shah at Gauḍa. They were enthralled by Caitanya's deep faith, became his followers, and ultimately abandoned wealth and eminence for the ascetic and scholarly life of a Vṛndāvana Gosvāmin. Caitanya gave them new names, Sanātana and Rūpa, by which they are better known. He directed them later on to make Vṛndāvana the academic as well as the religious centre of the new faith and produce



in Sanskrit the entire body of theological, philosophical and emotional literature for the sect. The works they produced under Caitanya's inspiration have ever since formed the most authoritative foundations of the cult.

The journey to Vṛndāvana having been interrupted, Caitanya returned to Puri; but soon after he set out once more and realised his object. His northern tour was not as extensive as his southern and western pilgrimage, and it is not necessary for us to linger over it. On his way back he spent a few days at Prayāga (Allahabad) during the great bathing festival (Kumbha-melā) and met a few saintly ascetics and scholars, among whom may be mentioned Raghupati Upādhyāya, a Vaiṣṇava scholar of Tirhut, some of whose devotional verses are given in the *Padyāvalī*. Caitanya was also joined here by one of his two new Bengal recruits, Rūpa Gosvāmin, who had now, with his younger brother Anupama (*alias* Vallabha), left home to follow him. Rūpa's elder brother Sanātana was delayed by a short spell of imprisonment into which the jealous Sultan of Gauḍa had thrown him, but he came and joined the party later on at Benares. At Benares, as well as at Puri, Caitanya is represented by one of his orthodox biographers as giving elaborate Śāstric instructions to Rūpa and Sanātana in the dogmas and doctrines of the faith, but the six long



chapters of the biography, which are devoted to this detailed theological exposition placed in the mouth of Caitanya, consist of nothing more than a direct summary, with free quotations, of the learned works which the two brothers composed later on after the passing away of Caitanya. The works themselves of these scholarly devotees prove the extensive learning of a life-time, and it is unbelievable that they could have thus learnt them in all their details by only a few months' instruction. The *Bhakti-ratnākara* speaks of their stupendous Śāstric knowledge even before they accepted Caitanyaism, and this is probably one of the reasons why Caitanya selected them for the special work of producing all the Śāstras of the new faith.

After returning from the pilgrimage Caitanya settled permanently at Puri at about Śaka 1430 (=1517 A. D.), and with a chosen few of his disciples about him passed the remaining sixteen years in a comparatively uneventful life of daily worship and adoration. The monotony was broken by the annual exodus of his Bengal disciples, as well as by occasional visits of scholars, devotees and admirers. The history of this 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 closing years of his life consist of an orgy of devotional passion, of an exclusive madness of divine love (Premonmāda). 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 frenzy must have made extraordinary demands on his highly wrought nervous system, and brought on exhaustion and constant fits of seizure. Under this increasing strain of an almost impossible emotionalism his physical frame broke down, and he passed away in Āṣāḍha, Śaka 1455 (= June-July, 1533 A.D.).

Although Caitanya possessed the great quality of leadership and extraordinary power over the minds of men, he does not appear at any time of his career to have concerned himself directly with the organisation of his followers. Absorbed in his 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 devotional faith. The enthusiasm of some of his more practical or more scholastically inclined disciples would rather see in him a great organiser and theological expounder of a system, but neither propagating zeal nor theological ambition ever entered his simple life of intense



devotion. If some notable conversions were achieved, they are hardly the result of any direct missionary effort on his part ; but, as the orthodox 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. This wonderful spiritual influence could enthral men of great capacity and inspire them with a life-long zeal for sectarian pioneering, 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 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 figure-head 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 personality and developed on the lines of his spiritual experiences, which formed its greatest and most powerful asset. This was the driving force by which the movement organised and propagated itself during his life-time, and which inspired his leading disciples to organise and propagate it after his passing away. 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 widespread emotional appeal of the new mode of Sāṅkīrtana which he developed, the sincerity and contagious passion of his realisation 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 his 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 followers into a definite sect and cult.



If Caitanya did not concern himself actively in the work of organising his followers, which was left mostly in the hands of Advaita and Nityānanda, 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 after his return from Gaya. 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 a man of his temperament spiritual realisation was hardly a matter of speculative discussion. In spite of the fact that some of his scholastic biographers delight to depict Caitanya as a trained theorist expounding with precision a whole theological system and invest him with the omniscience of a Śāstric Pandit, they also indicate that in his ecstatic absorption he was careless of mere Śāstric knowledge. The theology that is placed in his mouth is clearly the theology of a later day, in which these biographers themselves were severely trained. It must not also be forgotten that the significance of Caitanya's teaching, like the teaching of all great teachers, 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

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power over the minds of men. The whole trend indeed of Caitanya's life was against his being an exact scholar or thinker. When Caitanya closed his school after his return from Gaya he is reported to have shut up his books and said to his pupils that for him lessons were finished from that day. 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 or the zest for dialectic disputations—all passed out of his life, which now began to move in an entirely different atmosphere. Outside the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, the newly discovered *Brahma-saṃhitā* and the devotional lyrics of Bilvamaṅgala, Jayadeva, Vidyāpati or Caṇḍīdāsa he appears to have read next to nothing. It is misdirected zeal which invests him with the false glory of scholastic eminence ; his true greatness lies in other directions and his power over men came from other sources.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Caitanya wrote nothing with the exception of eight Sanskrit verses which are given as the *Śikṣāṣṭaka*, and which are nothing more than expressions of his simple and passionate faith. All these eight verses are to be found under his name (cited as Śrī-bhagavataḥ) in the *Padyāvalī*. Kavikarṇapūra in his *Caitanya-candrodaya* appears to negative the idea that Caitanya ever



wrote anything about his doctrines. 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 these reported utterances of his are in fact faithful summaries of the highly scholastic works of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins themselves, who as leisured recluses could devote their keen and highly trained minds to the construction of elaborate systems of speculation. It is not clear, therefore, how far these tenets of a later time actually represent Caitanya's views. No doubt, Caitanya is represented as commissioning Sanātana and Rūpa 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 Gosvāmins themselves that this fact takes away whatever truth there might have been in the representation. That some such relation actually existed between the Master and his learned disciples is highly probable, but excessive zeal has represented it in a distorted perspective. It is also remarkable that while these Gosvāmins themselves make a general acknowledgment of the inspiration derived from Caitanya and his life,



there is nowhere any acknowledgment of direct instruction or outlining of schemes to them by Caitanya. The actual personal contact of Rūpa and Sanātana with the Master was indeed very brief, while there is no evidence to show that Jīva, their nephew, ever had this good fortune. It is hard to believe that within the period of a few months at the most, they could have been instructed by Caitanya, as alleged, in the whole range and depth of the Bhakti-sāstra and in every such detail of doctrine as they set it forth in their elaborate and voluminous work. 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 experience ; and above all, his life itself must have furnished them a vivid text to enlarge and comment upon. But to hold Caitanya responsible for every fine point of dogma and doctrine elaborated by Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva would indicate an undoubtedly pious but entirely unhistorical imagination.

It is worth remarking in this connexion that although Bengal Vaiṣṇavism presents itself as a deliberate historical religion promulgated by a definite founder, yet in the practical working out of the system the direct intuitive realisation or teachings of the founder do not expressly find a



place. 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 the three early authoritative Gosvāmins (Rūpa, Sanātana 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 the older scriptures ; and Kṛṣṇa in their theory, as we shall presently see, is not an Avatāra but the supreme deity himself. 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 in Caitanya's name they rely exclusively 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 the Namaskriyās and miscellaneous devotional verses, is hardly ever discussed. It is said in the later Bengali biographies of Caitanya that these works themselves were not only inspired but were directly communicated to these disciples by Caitanya himself. It may have been so, but there is no direct acknowledgment of this fact by the Gosvāmins themselves ; and what appears to have been communicated (if we take the texts themselves as evidence) is not his own Anubhava but elaborate



scholastic systems based on and developed from inherited Vaiṣṇava tradition. Nor is there any devotional interpretation of the personality of Caitanya and Caitanya-līlā as there is of the personality of Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa-līlā. There can be no doubt that the devout life of Caitanya inspired these faithful disciples, but in the actual building up of their systems of philosophy and theology, there is no reference to the life, personality or views of the Master himself. There is, on the other hand, an entire dependence on a complicated system of interpretation of older sacred texts, rather than upon any direct and vivid spiritual illumination. In these works of the Gosvāmins we reach indeed a high level of the emotional doctrine of Bhakti in the setting of a vital system of religious beliefs, and the life and personality of Caitanya must have been a powerful exemplification of these beliefs and doctrines, but we still move in an indefinite haze of mythology, sentiment and speculation derived from the 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. In all probability Caitanya himself never claimed any divine honours, but the piety of his devout followers exalted him as such, making him an incarnation



not only of Kṛṣṇa but also of Rādhā ; but it is remarkable that this doctrine of single or double incarnation is nowhere discussed by the six authoritative Gosvāmins. Nor do they anywhere recognise or inculcate as a creed the worship of Caitanya or his image, although this became a notable feature of the later development of the faith.

Whatever might have been the case, the fact remains that Caitanya never thought it necessary to emulate the founders of other Vaiṣṇava Sampradāyas 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 life and personality as a shining example of devotion and as his best legacy to his followers. On his immediate and intimate disciples, therefore, fell the laborious task of systematising the doctrines and practices of the faith and defining its creed. How much of these is Caitanya's and how much their own will perhaps never be 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, Sanātana and Rūpa, 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 later on by the mystical-metaphysical scholarship of their nephew Jiva. They were men of great literary



and Śāstric talent, acute theologians and passionate poets, as well as ascetic devotees of exemplary lives. Their commanding position as the fit and chosen disciples, instructed and commissioned for the exacting task, their austere and saintly character, their selfless devotion to the cause, and their laborious and life-long scholarly activities gave them a unique influence as the three authoritative Gosvāmins or teachers of the faith. As such, they had been held in the highest veneration throughout the whole history of the sect. With them was closely associated Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, a South Indian Brahmin, whose name and attainments are held in almost equal esteem. His chief task appears to have been the codification, probably in collaboration with Sanātana, of the social and religious practices of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism in a voluminous compilation which forms the most authoritative ritualistic text of the cult. To these four Gosvāmins were added Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa who does not appear to have written anything but whose interpretation of the *Bhāgavatā* is highly praised, and Raghunātha Dāsa, whose passionate devotional sensibility expressed itself in a Sanskrit Kāvya of the Campū type on Kṛṣṇa-līlā and in a series of fervent Sanskrit Stotras and Bengali lyrics on the same erotico-mystic theme.⁵

⁵ Some of Raghunātha Dāsa's, verses are given in the *Paḍyāvalī*. Sanātana's verses are quoted with the ascription Śrīmat-prabhoḥ. We



These were the six Gosvāmins to whom belongs the credit of working out and defining, after Caitanya's death, the whole system of tenets and practices peculiar to Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, and determining its doctrinal trend which, however modified and supplemented in later times, dominated throughout its later history. It was also their inspiration which led to the writing by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, who was their disciple, of the most learned standard biography of Caitanya in Bengali ; and it was their approval which gave the stamp of orthodox authority not only to this but also to the earlier and no less important Bengali biography composed by Vṛndāvana-dāsa. The six Gosvāmins lived at Vṛndāvana at about the same period of time, and to them is due the building up of modern Vṛndāvana as the chief intellectual and religious centre of the sect, where its theology, its philosophy, its ritualism and its Rasa-śāstra 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 laid the foundation of its modern glory and sanctity. It was indeed their eminence and influence which gave marked primacy to the Bengal school over other rival schools in the holy city associated with the name of Kṛṣṇa.

have only one verse assigned to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, but see our Bibliographical note on Dākṣiṇāya.

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Not much is known about the details of their lives, but most of their works have survived. Without exception they adopted Sanskrit as the medium of expression, so that in the first stage of the Caitanya movement, Sanskrit works in prose and verse form its most authoritative and original sources. 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 an equal recognition.

Although the range and versatility of their individual literary works are remarkable, the six Gosvāmins 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 which the faith associated with Kṛṣṇa's sports. Rūpa Gosvāmin, a passionate devotee but possessing a trained scholastic mind,



took up for special treatment the emotional analysis of Bhakti as a Rasa, and wrote authoritatively on its peculiar psychology, systematising a rhetorical Bhakti-rasa-śāstra, as well as composing illustrative dramas and poems on Kṛṣṇa-līlā and compiling an anthology of the varied literary expression of the faith. He also supplemented in a more scholastic spirit the theological labours of Sanātana by his *Laghu* or *Samkṣepa-bhāgavatāmṛta*, which purporting by its name to be only a summary of Sanātana's *Brhad-bhāgavatāmṛta*, is really an independent treatise. Rūpa Gosvāmin also indicated a system of romantic Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa associations (Gaṇas), which later on formed the basis of an elaborate hagiology of the cult. Trained by them and deeply read in their learned works, Jīva Gosvāmin possessed a more versatile mind and wrote equally authoritatively 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 mystico-metaphysical dogmatics. In this way the six Gosvāmins covered the whole range of the Vaiṣṇava Śāstra; and with the exception of the much later works (18th century) of Viśvanātha Cakravartin and Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa, they practically created the entire religious and speculative literature of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.



Of these six Gosvāmins, we are for the present concerned chiefly with Rūpa Gosvāmin, about whom and his brother Sanātana we fortunately possess some reliable record. Their nephew Jīva Gosvāmin, at the close of his abridgment of Sanātana's *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* commentary on *Bhāgavata*, gives us the genealogy of the family, as well as a list of their principal works. This list, which can be generally corroborated from other sources, is quoted with approval in the Bengali *Bhakti-ratnākara* which, together with Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* and the *Prema-vilāsa*, supplies additional information about Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva. From these accounts we learn that they were descended originally from Karmāta Brahmins who had migrated and settled in Bengal. It is somewhat curious that the work of the four Gosvāmins, whose ancestors belonged to Karmāta or the South, far excelled in range, depth, quality and magnitude the work of the other two who belonged strictly to Bengal. The previous history of the family of Rūpa and Sanātana is thus given by their nephew Jīva, who was the only son of their untimely deceased third brother Anupama (also called Vallabha). There was a prince of Karmāta, named Sarvajña Jagad-guru, 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 step-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 Navahatta (modern Naihati, according to the *Bhakti-ratnākara*), performed a Yajña and had five sons, of whom Mukunda was the youngest. On account of a quarrel with his relative, Mukunda left Navahatta and went to Vaṅga (East Bengal), settling at Fatoyabad, near Jessore, within the Bākla Candradvīpa Pergunna. Mukunda appears to have had several sons, of whom we are concerned here with three, to whom Caitanya gave the names of Sanātana, Rūpa and Anupama. Anupama's original name is given as Vallabha, but our information is uncertain with regard to the original names of Rūpa and Sanātana.

The eldest Sanātana appears to have learned Sanskrit from Ratnākara Vidyāvācaspati, a scholar of Navadvīpa, who is said to have been a younger brother of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma and whom Sanātana mentions reverentially as his Guru in the opening verses of his *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*. Belonging, as he did, to a learned,



respectable and well-to-do family, Sanātana made his way in the world, became a high official (Mahāmantrin, we are told) at the Muḥammadan 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 when the latter was on his way to Vṛndāvana. Rūpa also appears to have held some high official position at the same court. Although Sanātana and Rūpa had the Muḥammadan names or titles of Dabir Khās and Sāker Malik respectively, before Caitanya gave them new Hindu names, this custom of adopting Muḥammadan names or titles of distinction as a sign of royal favour was not unusual, and there is no satisfactory evidence to establish their alleged conversion into Muḥammadanism. On the contrary, the *Bhaktiratnākara* tells us that they invited a colony of Karmāta Brahmins to settle near Rāmakeli and apparently kept up their inherited social and religious practices, only considering themselves impure because of their contact with Mlecchās. They kept themselves in touch with the Vaiṣṇavas of Navadvīpa, and had from the beginning an obviously Vaiṣṇava disposition. The two early Dūta-Kāvyas which Rūpa appears to have composed before he met Caitanya bear testimony not only to their retention of ancestral faith but also to their early



interest in Kṛṣṇa-līlā. At any rate, their anomalous social position, as well as their innate Vaiṣṇavite proclivities, must have made them spiritually dissatisfied, and they welcomed Caitanya's presence at Rāmkeli as a means of escape and salvation. Not very long afterwards Rūpa left home with his younger brother Anupama and joined Caitanya at Allahabad on the latter's way back from Vṛndāvana. At Benares they were joined later on by Sanātana who was delayed, it is said, by the jealousy of his Muhammadan ruler ; for after Rūpa's defection, the prince was afraid of losing the valued service of Sanātana and had thrown the latter into prison. The story of their Vairāgya is told in a somewhat romantic strain in the Bengali *Prema-vilāsa* ; but there cannot be any doubt about the inward imperious urge which led them to forsake worldly eminence and fortune for the sake of scholarly life of asceticism and spiritual advancement. They requested Caitanya's permission to accompany him to Puri, but were directed to go to Vṛndāvana first.

Having visited Vṛndāvana, Rūpa Gosvāmin left for Puri with his brother Anupama who, however, died on the way in Bengal on the banks of the Ganges. It is said that during his journey to Puri Rūpa conceived the idea of writing some Sanskrit dramas on Kṛṣṇa-līlā, and by the time he reached Puri he had already



composed a part of his drama *Vidagdha-mādhava*. Receiving the approval of Caitanya, who however suggested to him that he should write also on the Mādhurya aspect of the Līlā, Rūpa was inspired with the idea of his *Lalita-mādhava*. Some time later Sanātana also came to Puri, and Caitanya is said to have given to the two brothers detailed instructions regarding the composition of various Śāstric works for the sect. After these short visits they returned to Vṛndāvana and settled there till their death, leading the hard life of an ascetic devotee and carrying on with selfless devotion the laborious work entrusted to them, for which they were eminently fitted by their learning and piety. Caitanya himself is reported to have said that there was not a greater learned man than Sanātana and his brother, and it was probably this qualification which led him to choose them among all his disciples for this special work. Such was their sincerity of devotion that Jīva Gosvāmin tells us that even Kṛṣṇa revealed himself to them on one occasion as a young Gopa bringing milk to quench their thirst. Later on their nephew Jīva Gosvāmin, who was trained at Benares under Madhusūdana Vācaspati, an accomplished grammarian, Smārta and Vedāntist, joined them at Vṛndāvana, where he appears to have been carefully instructed by his uncles in the Bhakti-śāstra and afterwards taken as a



worthy collaborator in their literary efforts for the cause of Caitanyaism.

The Vaiṣṇava treatises composed by Sanātana are not many. They are: (i) the (*Brhad-*) *Bhāgavatāmṛta* with its *Digdarśanī* commentary, (ii) a commentary also called *Digdarśanī* on Gopālabhaṭṭa's *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, which latter work also is sometimes attributed to him and in the composition of which he might have collaborated, (iii) a commentary on the Tenth Skandha of the *Śrīmadbhāgavata* entitled *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*, of which an abridged *Laghu-vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* or simply *Laghu-toṣaṇī* was prepared by Jīva Gosvāmin. All these works are available in print, having been published at Murshidabad by the Radharaman Press, Berhampore (in Bengali character), and (iv) *Tātparyā-dīpikā* commentary on Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* (Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, vii, pp. 1422-23).

Rūpa Gosvāmin's works are more numerous, and almost all of them have been printed in Bengali character by the above Press (as marked by asterisk below; separate editions when available are also mentioned below). They are:

(i-ii) *Haṃsa-dūta* and *Uddhava-sandēśa* . (Kāvya) [very often printed, and available in Devanagari character in Haeberlin's *Anthology* pp. 323 f and in the *Kāvya-saṃgraha* published by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta 1888, pts. ii pp. 441-507 and iii pp. 215-275].

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(iii) **Stava-mālā*, consisting of Stavas, Stotras and Gītas (64 in number) of varying length, composed in different metres, collected together under this title by Jīva Gosvāmin.

(iv) **Vidagdha-mādhava* (Drama) [also published in *Kāvya-mālā* 81, Bombay 1903].

(v) **Lalita-mādhava* (Drama).

(vi) **Dāna-keli-kaumudī* (Bhāṇikā).

(vii-viii) **Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and its supplement **Uj्ज्वाला-nīla-maṇi* (Bhakti-rasa-Śāstra). [The former is also published by Dāmodara Śāstrin at Benares 1931, and the latter in the *Kāvya-mālā* 95, Bombay 1913.]

(ix) *Mathurā-māhātmya*, said to be now included in the *Varāha-purāṇa* (not separately published).

(x) **Padyāvalī* (Anthology).

(xi) **Nāṭaka-candrikā* (Dramaturgy).

(xii) **Samkṣepa-bhāgavatāmṛta* (Theology).

(xiii) **Śrī-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* or *Rādhā-kṛṣṇa gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* (Br̥hat and Laghu).⁶

With regard to the exact dates of Sanātana and Rūpa, 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

⁶ Some other minor works are sometimes ascribed to Rūpa but the genuineness of such attribution is doubtful. For these discussions reference may be made to my larger work mentioned above.



Gosvāmin's two Dūta-kāvyaś mentioned above were probably composed before his conversion, as there is no Namaskriyā or reference in them to Caitanya. The *Padyāvalī*, which is cited by name in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*, *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* and *Nāṭaka-candrikā* was probably also an early compilation. It may, however, have been recast or added to before the composition of these works. This surmise follows from the fact that it contains no Namaskriyā or reference to Caitanya but gives all the eight verses of Caitanya's so-called *Śikṣāṣṭaka* with the subscription Śrī-bhagavataḥ. It does not also give verses from any of Rūpa's dramatic works, which have been very profusely utilised for illustrative verses in his two treatises on the Rāsa-śāstra mentioned above as well as in his *Nāṭaka-candrikā*. The *Padyāvalī* in its turn quotes verses from the following stotras of Rūpa included in his *Stava-mālā*, viz., *Govinda-birudāvalī*, *Vṛndāvana-go-vatsa-cāraṇādi-līlā* and *Mathurāṣṭka*, which must have even composed earlier. Some of Rūpa's other works, however, are expressly dated. His *Dāna-keli-kaumudī*, which professes to have been written at Nandīśvara for the pleasure of some dear friend living on the banks of the Kuṇḍa⁷, appears to bear the earliest date, viz., Śaka

⁷ There is some doubt regarding this date for which reference should be made to our forthcoming work on the subject already mentioned above.



1417=1495 A.D.⁸ If the date is correct, it is clear that this work must have been written long before the author met Caitanya, who himself^e could not have been more than ten years old at that time. It is thus probably one of his earliest works ; and, while his other dramas pay opening homage to Caitanya, the *Dāna-keli-kaumudī* makes no reference to him. Next comes the *Vidagdha-mādhava* which gives us the date Samvat 1589=1533 A.D.⁹ The compilation of his *Lalita-mādhava* is dated¹⁰ in the month of Jyaiṣṭha in Śaka 1459=1537 A.D. The *Nāṭaka-candrikā* which draws upon all these dramatic works for its illustrative verses (as well as upon the *Padyāvalī*) but which makes no reference to the two works on Rasa-sāstra, must have been composed after these dramas were completed.

⁸ gate manu-śate śūke candra-svara-samanvite
nandīsvare nivasatū bhūṇikeyaṃ vinirmitā.

This verse occurs not only in the printed text, but also in Haraprasad Sastri, *Notices* i, no 164 and in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Madras Government Oriental Mss Library*, xxi, p. 8407 (no 12521). The date cannot be explained (as done by the commentary) as Śaka 1471=1549 A.D.; for the *Dāna-keli-kaumudī* is cited in the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta* which is dated in Śaka 1463=1541 A.D.

⁹ nava-sindhura-bāṇendu-saṃkhye samvatsare gate
vidagdha-mādhavaṃ nāma nāṭakaṃ gokule kṛtam.
(v.l. nanda for nava in Madras Catalogue, xxi, p. 8514).

¹⁰ Nandeṣu-vedendu-mite śakābde
śukrasya māsasya tithau caturthyāṃ
dīne dīneśasya hariṇṇaṃ prāṇamya
samāpayam bhadra-vane prabandham.



His *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* appears to have been completed¹¹ in Śaka 1463=1541 A.D., and his *Ujvala-nṛā-maṇi*, which purports to be its supplement, must have been composed later. His next dated work appears to be the *Brhad-rādhā-kṛṣṇa-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* which was completed in the month of Śrāvaṇa (July-August) Śaka 1472=1550 A.D.,¹² while his *Utkalikā-vallārī* stotra (included in the *Stava-mālā*) is dated¹³ in the month of Pauṣa (December-January) in Śaka 1471=1549 A.D. 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 must have begun as early as 1495 A.D.

The verses of the *Padyāvalī* are selected and arranged not so much to illustrate the intricacies of the theology and philosophy of Caitanyaism but to exemplify, by means of the devotional verses of various Vaiṣṇava writers, the general features

11 *rāmāṅga śakra-gaṇite śūke gokulam adhiṣṭhitena*

śrī-bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhur viṭaṅkitaḥ kṣudra-rūpeṇa.

The v.l. *rāmāṅga-śakra-gaṇite* is noticed in R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report* 1883-84 (Bombay 1887), p. 76, which would give Śaka 1493. But the commentator Jīva Gosvāmin in explaining the passage distinctly states *tri-ṣaṣṭhyadhika-caturdaśa-gaṇite*, and further notes the corresponding Saṃvat era as *vikramādityasya tvaṣṭā-navatyadhika-pañcadāśa-ṣaṭi-gaṇite iti jñeyam*. The reading of the two Dacca University Mss (Nos. 2459 and 2483) which we consulted is *rāmāṅga-śakra-gaṇite*, and the explanation of the commentary is given there as above.

12 *śūke dṛg-aśva-śakre nabhasi nabhomāṇi-dine ṣaṣṭhyām
vraja-pati-sadmanī rādhā-kṛṣṇa-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikūdīpi.*

13 *candrāśva-bhuvane śūke pauṣe-gokula-vāsīnū
ityam utkalikā-pūrva-vallārī nirmitā mayā.*



of the attitude of Bhakti as a Rasa or devotional sentiment. It is true that the philosophical or theological dogmas and doctrines of Caitanyaism are intimately connected with the erotico-emotional ideas of its Rasa-sāstra, and the two points of view cannot be strictly separated; but our poet-rhetorician is concerned here chiefly with its emotional conception of Bhakti and its devotional attitude towards Kṛṣṇalīlā, as they find expression in the living poetic experience of antecedent or contemporaneous Vaiṣṇava devotees, great or small. It is hardly necessary for us therefore to enter into the details of the theological or philosophical presupposition of Caitanyaism, for the devotional sincerity of the verses in our Anthology can be appreciated even without considering them from this point of view ; but we may briefly indicate here their general connexion with the Bhakti-Rasa-sāstra, as one of their avowed objects is to illustrate its various implications.

Caitanyaism believes in three stadiums or gradations of one and indivisible Reality, which are designated respectively as the Brahma, the Paramātmān and the Bhagavat. The distinction is not essential but is one of degree only ; and the distinction is possible because different Sādhakas possess different capacities and modes of realisation. The Brahma (neuter), as the philosophical absolute, is nothing but the *nirviśeṣa*



state of the Bhagavat, conceived as the unconditioned, impersonal and undifferentiated thought-substance and corresponding to the Brahma of the Advaita-vādins; but the Bhagavat, as the religious concrete, constitutes the complete manifestation of the godhead as the perfect person in the fullest display of the distinctive divine potencies, features and attributes. The Brahma is unqualified, the Bhagavat is infinitely qualified by an infinity of perfect attributes. In the Brahma all the powers and attributes remain in a potential and undifferentiated state, but the Bhagavat represents the highest being or person in the hierarchy of spiritual manifestation, in whom all the Viśeṣas are infinitely and most perfectly developed. The Bhagavat, therefore, represents the conception of the highest personal god of this theistic school of Vaiṣṇavism; and as he is the Lord in full manifestation (*pūrṇa āvirbhāva*), the Brahma is his incomplete or imperfect manifestation (*asamyag-āvirbhāva*), the latter realisable no doubt by Jñāna but the former accessible only to Bhakti. It must not be supposed that the vision of the one form is real and the other unreal, for both the forms are in essence identical; but the apparent difference arises from the complete or incomplete nature of the vision due to a difference in the mode of worship followed by the particular seeker.



The essence of the Lordship or Bhagavattā consists in the actualisation of the divine Śakti or energy which is intrinsic to the divine person ; and on the degree and quality of the display of this Śakti the distinction of three concepts of the Brahma, the Paramātmā and the Bhagavat depends. The Śakti or divine energy of the Bhagavat is viewed in three respects, but in their totality all the three aspects constitute his self or essence, although in his unthinkable power he actually transcends them. These three aspects are respectively called (i) the Parā (Antaraṅgā), or Svarūpa-śakti, (ii) the Taṭasthā or Jīva-śakti, and (iii) the Bahiraṅgā or Māyā-śakti. The Parā or Svarūpa-śakti, as the name itself implies, is that energy which constitutes the most essential and perfect selfhood of the Bhagavat and is therefore inseparable from him. This energy is also called Antaraṅga or intrinsic, as opposed to the Māyā-śakti which is Bahiraṅga or external and which never affects his true self. To this Māyā-śakti is attributed the sustenance and dissolution of the phenomenal world, which consists chiefly of an aspect of Bahiraṅga Vibhava or extraneous power in the form of the material Prakṛti or Pradhāna. Although unconnected with the essential divine self, this Māyā-śakti is also real, and not merely a power of illusion as the Advaita-vādins think ; the resulting phenomenal world therefore is also



relatively real. As an energy must inhere in a substance, the Bhagavat is as much the substratum of the Māyā-śakti as of the Svarūpa-śakti, but the Māyā-śakti is said to be extraneous to his essence or svarūpa, because this self-determined limitation through the Māyā-śakti does not exist in the highest form of the Bhagavat. The Tāṭasthā or Jīva-śakti, as the name itself implies, is that form of the divine energy which does not fall under either of the above two categories of Antaraṅgā and Bahiraṅgā Śaktis, being distinct from both and yet closely related to both. The Jīva as the individual self is an aspect of this Śakti. This Śakti is called Tāṭasthā or aloof because the Jīva, as an expression of this Śakti, is a part (albeit an infinitesimal part) of the Bhagavat, but the Jīva is also, liable to the influence of the Māyā-śakti which, having power over creation, is the source of bondage and re-birth. Thus, the Jīva cannot come directly under the Svarūpa-śakti which is eternally unaffected by the Māyā-śakti ; but on account of its ultimate affinity with the Bhagavat, the Jīva even in bondage has the inherent capacity of realising itself and becoming a part of the Svarūpa-śakti. Hence, to explain the nature and position of the Jīva it is necessary to presume an intermediate Tāṭasthā Śakti which is connected with but which is distinct from both the Antaraṅgā and Bahiraṅgā Śaktis. The concept of the Paramātman as a

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partial manifestation of the Bhagavat has relation mainly to the Jīva-śakti and the Māyā-śakti of the Lord, and is therefore presupposed for this special purpose. The Parmātman is thus the supreme godhead viewed in relation to Spirit (Jīva) and Nature (Prakṛti); he is endowed with the powers of creation, sustenance and dissolution of the world, as well as of being the inward regulator or Antaryāmin of the individual self. The relation between the Bhagavat and Paramātman, like that between the Bhagavat and the Brahma, is really one of gradation in the hierarchy of manifestations of one and the same Reality, viewed differently with different capacity by the individual seekers. But since the two energies assigned to the Paramātman are regarded as either aloof or external in relation to the intrinsic divine energy, the function of the Paramātman operates only so long as the Jīva is at a lower plane and is blind to the true nature of Reality.

The necessity for postulating these three concepts of the Brahma, the Paramātman and the Bhagavat is not difficult to understand. As a theistic sectarian faith which believes in a personal god, the concept of the Bhagavat as the perfect person is a philosophical necessity and justification; while the Advaita concept of the Nirviśeṣa Brahma as an historical heritage has to be recognised and reconciled, from its own point of view, as a lower manifestation, vouchsafed to the



religiously defective but intellectually keen seeker. The *raison d'être* of the third concept of the Paramātman 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 divine person in later theistic systems, in which the idea is, as here, implicitly recognised. The term Paramātman, as well as the underlying idea of the Paramātman in relation to the Jīvātman, in which also is absorbed the already established idea of the evolution of Prakṛti, is therefore a legacy of older philosophical systems, which is acknowledged also in one of the sources of modern sectarian Vaiṣṇavism, viz. in the Purāṇic speculation. The difficulties, however, of the Advaita doctrine of Māyā and of its monistic and highly idealistic interpretation of the relation of Jīva to Brahma made such a theory unacceptable in their entirety to the dualistic Bengal school. As the Bengal school believed, somewhat in the Sāṃkhya manner, in the relative reality of the world, the Vedāntic theory of its illusory unreality was not consistent with its dualistic position. To obviate these difficulties and to reconcile traditional ideas mentioned above with its own view of a personal god, the supreme deity in the lower form of the Paramātman had to be endowed with two real and eternal Śaktis in relation to the Jīva and the Prakṛti. The workings of



these two Śaktis, however, are 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 Brahma.

Thus, according to the view of the Bengal school, there is in the highest form of the Bhagavat a direct and full display of the Svarūpa-śakti which goes to make up the Svarūpa or the perfect divine self. The other two Śaktis are displayed indirectly through the medium of the partial form of the Paramātman. In other words, these two Śaktis have scope only when the Jīva is in the deluded (*vimohita*) stage, but when it attains the Bhagavat himself, the Jīva is subject only to the Svarūpa-śakti of the Bhagavat, of which, as we shall see presently, Bhakti is a function. The Svarūpa-śakti, again, viewed in its different aspects, is classified into Sandhinī, Samvit and Hlādinī Śaktis which correspond roughly to Sat, Cit and Ānanda of orthodox philosophy. The Sandhinī Śakti is the energy of existence of the self-existent being, which also upholds the existence of the Jīva and the Prakṛti. It is in relation to this Śakti that the Bhagavat is described as the ultimate reality, and the world and the individual as relative reality. By the Samvit Śakti, the self-knowing Bhagavat is both the knowledge and the knower, and makes others possessed of



knowledge. The last Hlādinī Śakti is the Bhagavat's energy of infinite bliss, which also causes in others pure bliss. These Śaktis in their fullest form exist in the Bhagavat, but since the Jīva is an Anu or infinitesimal part of the Bhagavat it has the capacity of realising them but for the obscuration caused by the Māyā-śakti.

All these aspects of the Svarūpa-śakti are regarded as collateral attributes of the Bhagavat, existing inseparably and eternally in him and constituting in their totality and unity his very self. They are yet graded in a peculiar manner. Of the Sandhinī, Samvit and Hlādinī each succeeding Śakti is supposed to include and supersede the preceding, so that the Hlādinī Śakti is the highest and most important, inasmuch as it includes and supersedes the other two. The Bhakti as a function in the Jīva is only an expression of this Hlādinī Śakti by which the Jīva releases itself from the fetters of the extraneous Māyā-śakti in the phenomenal world and realises its contiguity to the Bhagavat. This prominence given to the Hlādinī Śakti thus explains not only the peculiarly emotional character of its attitude of Bhakti or devotion but also the peculiarly emotional standpoint of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism which conceives its deity as essentially composed of bliss and regards the various forms or stages of the devotional attitude in terms of intimate human relationship



considered in its emotional aspects (such as *Dāsyā*, *Sakhya*, *Vātsalya* etc). This highest divine attribute of bliss is the source of his eternal *Līlā* or motiveless sport, which the divine Being enjoys with his Associates (*Parikaras*), who are also his Devotees (*Bhaktas*) and who constitute nothing more than expressions of his *Svarūpa-śakti*; in other words, the *Śaktimat* in his infinite bliss sports with his own *Śaktis*. This is also expressed by the statement that the Lord is *Rasa* or the highest relishable sentiment itself, which attribute is nothing more than an aspect of his *Hlādinī Śakti*. This *Rasa*, which constitutes the *Svarūpa* or essence of the Lord, is taken ultimately to signify the highest and best *Rasa* recognised by the *Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-śāstra* of this school, viz., *Mādhurya* or *Madhura Rasa*, which is another name for the religiously sublimated erotic sentiment (*Śṛṅgāra*), forming the highest and purest transformation of the mighty sex-impulse of human beings. The attitude is a kind of erotic mysticism which seeks to express religious longings in the intimate language of earthly passion, for it conceives divine love as a reflex of the human emotion. The *Śaktis* are accordingly conceived, in terms of emotional human relationship, as his consorts or wives with whom he sports eternally; and this devout yet sensuous attitude entirely humanises the deity and presents him in a lovable human relation to his associates or devotees.



The relation of the Śaktis to the Possessor of the Śaktis is represented, metaphysically, as an inscrutable (*acintya*) relation of non-difference as well as of difference, the whole theory thus receiving the designation of *Acintya-bhedābheda-vāda*, a peculiar point of view which distinguishes the Bengal school from other schools of Vaiṣṇavism. As parts of the divine being, the Śaktis are indeed non-different, but they also possess a real and separate existence, which is indeed relative to that of the Lord but which is nevertheless absolute in itself. The identity as well as the distinction is illustrated by an analogy. The three Śaktis are like the three aspects in which the sun manifests itself, viz., the solar disc (*maṇḍala*), the solar rays (*raśmi*) and the solar reflexion or halo (*bimba*). The *Antaraṅgā* or *Svarūpa-śakti* corresponds to the luminous disc or body of the sun itself, the *Tatasthā* or *Jīva-śakti* is compared to its rays scattered away but ultimately contained in the sun itself as the original source, and the *Bahiraṅgā* or *Māyā-śakti* is likened to the reflexion which is a dazzling illusion emanating from the sun and obscuring it, but existing outside and not forming an integral part of the sun.

As the *Jīva* is regarded as an aspect of the *Jīva-śakti*, the relation between the *Jīva* and the *Paramātman* is the same as that between the *Śakti* and the *Śaktimat* described above. The



Jīva is non-different in essence from the Bhagavat, because it is a part or *Aṃśa*, even if an atomic part, and possesses, even if in infinitesimal amount, the same divine characteristics, of which bliss is the most important ; but since the superlativeness of the attributes and characteristics belongs to the Bhagavat alone and not to the Jīva, there is an inevitable difference, and complete identity can never be predicated. As the capacity for bliss, however, is an inherent attribute of the Jīva, it finds a point of contact with the intrinsic blissful energy of the Bhagavat through the function of Bhakti, which itself is nothing more than an expression of this divine energy. This natural capacity of the Jīva restores its affinity or contiguity to the Svarūpa-śakti of the Bhagavat and counteracts its predisposed averseness which springs from the effects of the external Māyā-śakti. But the Jīva is never, by its very nature, an equal but a subordinate ; and even when freed from the bondage of the Māyā-śakti, the Jīva persists in its real and eternal character as an eternal spiritual atom worshipping the Lord. The state of release, therefore, is only a release from the phenomenal bondage of the Māyā-śakti ; it is not extinction on perception of identity or the merging of the Jīva in the Bhagavat. The emancipated self is no longer the Jīva or a part of the Jīva-śakti but becomes a part of the Svarūpa-śakti as the Lord's Parikara (Associate)



or Bhakta (Devotee) in his paradise. But even in this emancipated state the relation of non-identity in identity (*bhedābheda*) continues, and the emancipated self persists as a devout servant of the Lord. Salvation, therefore, consists in an eternal experience of love in the ecstatic divine sport or *Līlā*. This is a privilege which is not granted to the *Jñānin* or the *Yogin* who attains only the inferior and colourless bliss of *Brahmāsvāda*, but to the Bhakta who makes light of such *Mokṣa* and delights in the bliss of continuous emotional worship or *Bhajanānanda* in the *Bhagavat*.

This *Vaiṣṇava* conception of the inherent *Śaktis* presumes 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 divine attributes and energies. The Lord is, therefore, not *a-mūrta* or un-embodied, but has a blessed form, a *Mūrti* or *Vigraha*, which however is not like the gross or sensuous form of human beings. The limbs and senses of the *Jiva* are due to the *Jiva-śakti* and are therefore phenomenal and material, but the Lord in his *Svarūpa-śakti* possesses a non-phenomenal and spiritual body. The divine person is conceived as identical with the divine essence in the supreme unity of the divine self ; but it is not *nirviśeṣa* or undifferentiated but something real and *sa-viśeṣa*, possessing its own divine attributes. This form is, no doubt, unthinkable, but for purposes of medita-

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tion or devotion it is thinkable. Although this form has sometimes been described in the scriptures as possessing two, four, six or eight hands, yet the Bengal School firmly believes that the two-handed form of the divinity, of which presumably man is the image, is the best and most beautiful for purposes of worship, inasmuch as it exhibits his attributes to the best advantage. If the Bhagavat is sometimes spoken of as assuming the phenomenal attributes of birth, childhood etc., these are not in reality phenomenal but aspects of his intrinsic self. Though the appearance may occur in the phenomenal world, it is not in itself phenomenal but is an expression at will of his essential divine Svarūpa which he always retains. In the same way, the Bhagavat as the perfect person possesses also a transcendental dwelling place, distinctive colour and decoration peculiar to himself as a personal god. No doubt, these are, like his Vighraha, regarded as expressions of his inherent divine self ; nevertheless as a personal god he is represented as having a real, and not merely figurative, abode and sets of Parikaras etc. for the display of his Svarūpa.

The Bengal school identifies the Bhagavat with Kṛṣṇa depicted in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavatā* and presents him as its highest personal god. It maintains that Kṛṣṇa is not an Avatāra or an incarnation of the divine being, partial or complete, but that he is the Bhagavat himself in his perfect



form. The Avatāras or series of incarnated divine forms are regarded as springing from the Paramātmān in whom in their unmanifest form they lie in an indiscrete and germinal state ; but Kṛṣṇa is identical with the Bhagavat himself (*kṛṣṇas tu bhagavān svayam*) in such a way that the phrase does not even mean that the Bhagavat manifested himself as Kṛṣṇa. If he appeared in the phenomenal world, it was not as an Avatāra but in his essential self as the Bhagavat. Nor did he ever enter into a gross body but retained his non-phenomenal form, which is the form known as that of Kṛṣṇa. He never himself undertook the task of removing the burden of the world, which task is proper only to an Avatāra ; but these acts were performed by the partial incarnations which also, as parts in the whole, entered into him and made their simultaneous appearance. Such mundane appearance of the Kṛṣṇa-Bhagavat is regarded as entirely motiveless, and represented as an expression of his infinite attribute of bliss, called his Līlā or sport, for the purpose making his devotees enjoy the sweetness of this bliss. This is also conceived as the central purport of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, so that all the Purāṇas or texts which speak of their own deities as the highest being are rejected as Tāmasika and therefore inferior in authority to the greatest Sāttvika Purāṇa, namely, the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*. Even Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva are



Gauṇa Avatāras of the Paramātmān. In the Kṛṣṇa-Bhagavat there is the fullest display of all the divine Śaktis but what is prominent is the highest expression of the Hlādinī Śakti or the attribute of bliss which absorbs and supercedes all other aspects of the Svarūpa-śakti. The divine being revels in delight and produces delight in others. He fascinates and intoxicates men and himself enjoys this ecstatic bliss ; for the divine nature expresses itself exclusively in this form of perfect bliss and sweetness. As such, Kṛṣṇa, the highest embodiment of the erotic Ānanda or Mādhurya, is superior to such lower expressions of the deity as Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva in whom only the aspect of divine might or Aiśvarya is displayed. As the supreme god Kṛṣṇa-Bhagavat can have no other real and eternal form than the form of man (*narākṛti*), such four-handed forms of the deity as Vāsudeva etc. represent only the lower Aiśvarya aspect. The transcendental Kṛṣṇa-Vigraha in the form and dress of a Gopa existed eternally in unmanifest sport (*Aprakāṭa Līlā*) even before its actual appearance in the Dvāpara Age in manifest sport (*Prakāṭa Līlā*), and it also exists eternally. One can understand that since the highest divinity is conceived as a personal god of love and grace the best form that is attributed to him is that which bears a similarity to that of man ; but there was perhaps a narrower sectarian reason



for distinguishing and establishing the two-handed Kṛṣṇa form as the most essential divine form. The attempt was perhaps 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, the object of worship of the Bengal sect, represents the deity in his real and eternal form.

With regard to the transcendental dwelling places and Parikaras of the Bhagavat, it is maintained that they are none other than those of Kṛṣṇa. His Dhāmas, as also his Parikaras, constitute in reality peculiar expressions of his most intrinsic and highest attribute of bliss, so that when the Bhagavat in his Svarūpa as Kṛṣṇa makes his appearance in the phenomenal world, his Dhāmas, along with his Parikaras, make their simultaneous appearance ; and like the Vighraha of the Bhagavat himself, his Dhāmas and Parikaras do not lose their non-phenomenal character. By his inscrutable power, his highest Paradise, which is set above all the Lokas, also exists on the phenomenal earth, so that the terrestrial Gokula or Vṛndāvana is not essentially different but really identical with the celestial Goloka, and the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa exists in both places with his same Parikaras. Just as the Vighraha of the god is conceived after the image of man, the Bengal School conceives the celestial residence of the deity on the model of the legendary



terrestrial abode of Kṛṣṇa, so that the unearthly Kṛṣṇa-loka is only a sublimated replica of the earthly haunts of Vṛndāvana with its familiar objects and associations. Even the word Goloka is interpreted as equivalent to the word Gokula as the abode of cows and cowherds ; and as Kṛṣṇa in the form and dress of Gopa is the most essential form of the deity, his Parikaras, as his sajātiyas, are also Gopas in both places. But this Kṛṣṇa-loka appears in three aspects in three different places as Vṛndāvana, Mathurā and Dvārakā according to the difference in his Līlā and his Parikaras appearing in each. In other words, the same Dhāma appears in three different aspects, each of which has a speciality according to the difference of appearance in the manifestation of the Lord and his Parikaras, i.e., of the particular Līlā taking place in each. The earthly replica of these three Dhāmas are not mere geographical localities, but being eternally occupied by the Bhagavat they are mystically conceived as non-phenomenal and eternal. In other words, these places are not mere places of worship or pilgrimage where the deity is supposed to remain in a subtle form or in the form of an image, but they are expressly said to be the actual places of personal residence of the deity. It is also laid down that the Parikaras consist of the Yādavas in Dvārakā and Mathurā, and of the Gopa-Gopis in Vṛndāvana. Since they grow out



of the Bhagavat as aspects of his Svarūpa-śakti, their resemblance to the deity consists not only in the matter of divine qualities but also in temperament, dress and diversions ; they are however not equal but subordinate to the Lord, being his eternal servants and worshippers. The acts of Kṛṣṇa-Bhagavat, like birth, child-hood etc. in the Līlā, resemble phenomenal acts, but they are not phenomenal because they are regarded as intrinsic to the divine self at the particular Līlā. The only reason for such a display of the Līlā as has a mundane form is that it causes great bliss to his devotees. It may be noted here that the Bengal School, in pursuance of this theory, maintains that Kṛṣṇa eternally appears as the son of Nanda and Yaśodā, as an aspect of his divine Līlā, without actually entering into the gross body and being born like a phenomenal being ; and 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. As the status of Vasudeva and Devakī as divine Parikaras was lower in respect of their devotion, Kṛṣṇa did not manifest himself to them in his sweet intrinsic form of a Gopa with two hands, but in the lower awe-inspiring form of Vāsudeva with four hands ; but he allowed himself to be taken to the place of Nanda and Yaśodā at Vṛndāvana where he assumed his real form.

If Kṛṣṇa is supposed to sport simultaneously,



and eternally at his three Dhāmas, viz., Vṛndāvana, Mathurā and Dvārakā, how is it that his progression from Vṛndāvana to Mathurā, then to Dvārakā and finally to Goloka, is described in the sacred texts ? This is explained by the supposition that all this is described with reference to Kṛṣṇa's appearance in the Prakāṣa or Manifest Līlā in the phenomenal world, but the Aprakāṣa Līlā which is not revealed to the phenomenal world eternally goes on in three Dhāmas simultaneously. It is difficult to render the word Līlā into English, but since the word connotes the idea of inherent bliss and erotic sweetness (Mādhurya) in the Bhagavat's relation to his own Śaktis and excludes all ideas of conscious effort and ulterior motive in a mood of divine sportiveness, it may be provisionally, if inadequately, rendered by the word 'Sport'. This Līlā, sport or play, is nothing but the manifestation of the ecstatic principle of the divine self ; and the ideal presentation of this is the erotic principle of the Gopī-Līlā, which symbolically figures the realisation of the divine nature in its own divine energies or Śaktis. This Līlā or beatific sport may be Prakāṣa or Manifest and Aprakāṣa or Unmanifest, according as it can or cannot be apprehended by phenomenal beings. Both the Līlās are real, and as a matter of fact one and the same Līlā appears in the twofold way on account of the limitations



of the phenomenal Jiva. This theory is utilised for explaining that what appears as Kṛṣṇa's separation in one form of the Līlā may be union in the other form. Thus, at the termination of the Prakāṣa Līlā at Vṛndāvana it appears as if a separation occurred between Kṛṣṇa and the Gopa-Gopīs, but it really did not occur ; for he at once became united with them in the Aprakāṣa Līlā into which he entered simultaneously. In other words, union is an eternal fact in Kṛṣṇa's Aprakāṣa Līlā which goes on unimpeded in all the Dhāmas, but since it is sometimes hidden and sometimes manifested to the view of phenomenal beings, there are apparent separations and unions in the Prakāṣa Līlā. All this may appear inconceivable to phenomenal beings, but all contradictions, like union and separation, have no essential validity in the perfect being ; they are meant to produce a variety in the nature of the bliss in each manifestation. Thus, Kṛṣṇa's alleged return to Vṛndāvana from Mathurā, which is described in the *Padmapurāṇa* but which is obscure in the *Bhāgavata*, is explained by this theory as occurring in the Aprakāṣa Līlā.

The different Prakāśas or manifestations of Kṛṣṇa are each characterised by the different aspects of the divine self, such as aspects of Aīśvarya (power), Kāruṇya (compassion) and Mādhurya (erotic sweetness and beauty). In the A10.



manifestation at Vṛndāvana, all these aspects are said to be displayed, but, most of all, Mādhurya. Since Mādhurya is an expression of the highest Hlādinī Śakti of the Bhagavat, and since it is prominent in the superlative degree in Kṛṣṇa's sports at Vṛndāvana, the highest and best manifestation of Kṛṣṇa is said to have occurred and still occurs at Vṛndāvana, which is thus the best of the Dhāmas and the true Goloka. As an expression of this Mādhurya Kṛṣṇa remains here eternally in his beautiful adolescent appearance (*kiśora-mūrti*), round which all his sports, both in the Prakāṣa and Aprakāṣa Līlā, centre, for his essential form consists in this manifestation of eternal youth and beauty.

The Svarūpa-śakti of the Bhagavat is called Lakṣmī, who is represented as his divine consort and with whom he sports eternally. The Svarūpa-śakti of Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat in his various Dhāmas and Līlās are given as follows. In the two Dhāmas Mathurā and Dvārakā the general designation of the different aspects of the Śakti is Mahiṣī, given collectively to the sixteen thousand queenly wives of the royal Kṛṣṇa. Of these eight are his Paṭṭa-mahiṣīs or chief queens, and each of them represents symbolically one or other of the aspects of the Svarūpa-śakti, e.g., Satyabhāmā=Bhū-śakti, Yamunā=Kṛpā-śakti etc. Of these, again, Rukmiṇī, the most beloved, is Lakṣmī herself. In Vṛndāvana the appearances



of Kṛṣṇa's Svarūpa-śakti are the Vraja-devīs or Gopīs, who are the special expressions of Kṛṣṇa's highest Hlādinī Śakti, and are therefore generally superior to the Mahiṣīs at Dvārakā and Mathurā. There are gradations, however, among the Gopīs, according to the various degrees of manifestation of the Śakti in them ; and this is symbolised by the difference of their feelings for Kṛṣṇa as well as by the difference of Kṛṣṇa's own manifestation to them. These gradations are represented in the Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra as analogous to the various stages of human relationship conceived in the emotional aspect. Thus, Rādhā as the greatest beloved is said to represent, to the exclusion of other Gopīs, the highest stage of love, called Mahābhāva, and she is said to have obtained Kṛṣṇa in the fullest manner. The superiority of the Gopīs to every other beloved and Bhakta of Kṛṣṇa consists in the fact that in them is pre-eminently displayed the essence of the erotic sentiment or love, which in its turn is the essence of the supreme Hlādinī Śakti. On this account there is the highest realisation of the Bhagavat's bliss in them by which there arises the divine desire to sport with them. Among the Gopīs Rādhā is Lakṣmī herself and represents the highest degree of the supreme love, being identical with Kṛṣṇa's greatest attribute of bliss ; and in this is to be found the symbolical interpretation of Kṛṣṇa's



eternal amorous sports with Rādhā. Rādhā is taken as the highest type of the Bhakta, the highest Parikara, as well as the closest consort of Kṛṣṇa, and thereby she represents the highest attribute of bliss which constitutes the very essence of divine selfhood

The passion of the Gopīs for Kṛṣṇa must not, therefore, be viewed as mere Prākṛta-kāma or sensuous desire. If it is described as a display of conjugal love, this is only natural ; but this must be understood as Aprākṛta or non-phenomenal sport of the divine being with his own Śaktis, although it is similar in form to that of phenomenal human beings. The only exception is that in all these ecstatic sports, the desire of the Gopīs was never for their own pleasure and was meant exclusively for the supreme pleasure of Kṛṣṇa. In other words, the divine self realises itself in its own highest attributes, but the attributes themselves exist only for the divine self. In the phenomenal world the pleasure derived from conjugal love is reckoned as the highest fruition of sensuous pleasure ; it is only natural that Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa should display in his sport with his own Śaktis, viz. the Gopīs, supersensuous pleasure of a similar character, for the Lord's intrinsic self consists of nothing but a spontaneous sport of his own infinite bliss. The sex instinct is thus acknowledged in this theology as one of the mightiest human instincts, which



finds a transfigured counterpart in the highest sportive instinct of the divine being. We are also told that there is no reason to support the view that the Gopīs including Rādhā ever regarded Kṛṣṇa (in human emotional terminology) as their lover or Upapati, for they were his own (Svakiya) and he must be taken as their husband or Pati. Thus, the six Gosvāmins at any rate do not countenance the Parakiyā-vāda which developed at a later period in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.

It has been already indicated that the Jīvas fall into two broad categories from the standpoint of their attitude towards the Bhagavat, viz., those who through the grace of the deity possess, as an intrinsic attribute, an inevitable proneness or Saṃskāra towards the Bhagavat, and those who under the influence of the Māyā-śakti have this proneness obstructed. The Bhakti, of which the general characteristic is disinterested worship, is the function which leads to a conversion towards the Bhagavat by counteracting the imposed aversion. The external Māyā-śakti can be counteracted by the special aspect of the Lord's Svarūpa-śakti, viz., his Hlādinī Śakti or energy of bliss. This bliss, of which an atom also exists in a dormant state in the Jīva considered as Aṃśa of the Bhagavat, can be released as Bhakti, which itself is thus a display of the divine Svarūpa-śakti. The necessity of devotional worship is thus said to



consist in the fact that it is a natural function of the Jīva as a potency of the Bhagavat. It would therefore be insufficient to describe Bhakti merely as a means ; for being the natural function of the Jīva, which brings about his highest and permanent bliss, it is an end in itself ; it is his highest duty (*parama-dharma*), his *summum bonum* (*parama-puruṣārtha*). The consummation of this Dharma or Puruṣārtha consists not in any desire for earthly or heavenly good but in contributing to the supreme pleasure of the deity by service and love. It is therefore characterised as Ahaitukī or Akiñchanā, i.e., it is not prompted by the desire of any other effect either in this world or the next than the pleasure of the Lord. The Bhakti being the greatest good, those scriptures which speak of Bhakti are superior, and those which make no reference to the Līlā of the Lord are to be rejected. Of these again the supreme place of authority is accorded to the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, which is the almost exclusive scripture of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.

The Bhakti as a mode of spiritual realisation occupies the highest place, because it supersedes and includes all the other modes of Jñāna, Yoga or Karma, which become redundant when Bhakti is attained. No doubt, the way of Jñāna leads to the realisation of the Brahma ; the Yoga with its practices is helpful for producing non-



attachment to phenomenal objects ; the way of Karma consisting of obedience to scriptural directions and of dedication to the Bhagavat, is also productive of a proneness to 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 Śuddhā (pure) or Kevalā (exclusive) Bhakti, the one object of which is not to gain anything for oneself but to contribute to the supreme pleasure of the Bhagavat. The pure Jñāna leads to the Brahma and therefore brings incomplete realisation of a merely partial aspect of the Bhagavat ; it cannot immediately bring vision (Darśana) of the Bhagavat, which pure Bhakti alone can do. The Jñāna-miśrā Bhakti may lead to Śuddhā Bhakti; but it is not necessary to resort to the former when the latter alone is sufficiently efficacious. If there is Bhakti, Jñāna will come of itself, for by realising the Bhagavat one necessarily realises his partial aspect of Brahma, which is attainable 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. It is for this reason that Bhakti must be regarded as superior to 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 even in that state. Thus the Vaiṣṇava theology of the Bengal school does not altogether reject the way of Jñāna, as it does not altogether reject Brahma, but regards it as an insufficient method, just in the same way as it accepts Brahma as an imperfect appearance of the Bhagavat; but even the Jñāna-miśrā Bhakti is deprecated in favour of Śuddhā Bhakti.

The Yoga is supposed to lead to a higher stage of realisation than that attainable by Jñāna, for it goes beyond the stage of attainment of Nirviśeṣa Brahma to the realisation of the more Sa-viśeṣa Paramātman, and ultimately (if the Yogin possesses Bhakti) to the highest Bhagavat; for Yoga teaches the suppression of the distractions caused by the Māyā-śakti and the phenomenal world by *chitta-vrtti-nirodha*; and the Jīva thereby regains its pure and tranquil state favourable for Bhagavad-darśana. Hence, the Yoga is called Śānta-Bhakti by the Bengal school and is regarded as a variety of Bhakti. It is however regarded as a mode inferior to Śuddhā Bhakti, because the latter goes a step further and



conceives of the supreme deity as the perfect person in terms of such emotional personal relationship as Dāśya, Sakhya, Vātsalya or Mādhurya. But since all the good results of the Yoga-mārga accrue as a concomitant consequence of pure Bhakti, the way of Yoga becomes redundant where Bhakti is awakened.

The reconciliation of Karma 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 it is maintained that the real objective of the Vedic injunctions regarding these duties is not to produce an attachment to worldly objects but to enable the doer to forsake them ultimately. The final object of Karma is to produce freedom from Karma (Naiṣkarmya), and this can be done, as the *Gītā* teaches, by the attitude of non-attachment (*anāśakti*) to the duties and abandonment of all desire for the fruits of action (*phala-tyāga*). But even such a method is useless unless it consists of the entire dedication of all the acts to the pleasure of the Bhagavat. The way of Karma thus becomes superfluous once this attitude of Bhakti is attained. But this does not mean complete inactivity ; for the acts of devotion, which alone are the supreme kinds of acts and which are other than those prescribed by external rules,

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continue to exist, whereby the highest bliss is obtained. If Karma is not productive of Bhakti it is valueless, just in the same way as Jñāna or Yoga is useless if it does not lead to the Bhagavat; the Karma is useful in so far as it is a step to this ultimate end. These different ways are prescribed for different kinds of people, and each has its use; but when Bhakti comes as the spontaneous expression of divine grace, all these are redundant. As an aspect of Karma, the separate or independent worship of deities other than the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa is forbidden. The attitude of contempt or indifference to other deities is deprecated, but it is held that deities like Śiva, Viṣṇu or Brahmā, who are merely Guṇa-Avatāras of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa, can be worshipped only because they are themselves Bhaktas or partial aspects of the Bhagavat. For those who regard them as independent objects of worship there is the terrible curse of the sage Bhṛgu referred to in the *Bhāgavata* iv, 2, 27-28.

The true type of the devotional feeling, known as the Akaitavā Bhakti, admits of two stages which are respectively designated as the Vaidhī and the Rāgānugā. The Vaidhī is so called because it arises from following the injunction (*vidhī*) of the Śāstra, the term Śāstra in this case meaning the Vaiṣṇava scriptures in general and the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* in particular; while the Rāgānugā is independent of such



external direction and follows the inclination of spontaneous inward feeling of attachment (*rāga*). The *Āṅgas*, or means of the *Vaidhī*, which are given as sixty-four in number, consist of acts and practices of piety, great or small, such as resorting to a spiritual guide (*Guru*) and initiation by him, dwelling in sacred places of pilgrimage, putting on the signs of a *Vaiṣṇava* and following the proper *Vaiṣṇava Ācāra*, associating with saintly persons, prostrate obeisance, walking round and worshipping the image of the deity in accordance with the prescribed rules of worship, repeating or singing the sacred names or formulas, listening to the reading of the *Vaiṣṇava* scriptures, partaking of the remains of the offerings to the deity (*Naivedya* or *Prasāda*), observing the fast days, and so forth. The details of these devotional practices have been elaborately set forth by *Gopāla Bhaṭṭa* in his *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, which compilation is a kind of a complete guide-book to the *Vaidhī Bhakti*. Of these various practices *Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja* (*Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, *Madhya* xxii, 125) distinguishes five as the most important, viz., the society of saintly persons (*Sādhu-saṅga*), the chanting or singing of *Kṛṣṇa's* name (*Nāma-kīrtana*), listening to the reading of the *Bhāgavata* which contains the *Līlā* of the Lord (*Bhāgavata-śravaṇa*), dwelling at *Mathurā* (*Mathurā-vāsa*) and worship of the Lord's image (*Śrī-mūrti-sevā*), i.e., fellowship, song, scripture,



pilgrimage and image-worship. But the elements of the Vaidhī Bhakti are sometimes enumerated, in eleven broad categories, viz., (i) Śaraṇāpatti, or resorting to the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa as the only refuge (ii) Guru-sevā, or devotion to the spiritual guide (iii) Śravaṇa, or the act of listening to the accounts of the blessed form, sport and name of the deity, and not a mere mechanical repetition of set formulas and prayers (vi) Kīrtana, or chanting aloud of the above things, especially the singing of the blessed name, which is said to be the best means of attaining the devotional attitude in this decadent Kali Age (v) Smaraṇa, or the act of remembering and fixing one's thoughts on the name, form and sport of the deity (vi) Pada-sevā, or divine service, such as the act of seeing, touching, walking round, serving or following the procession of the divine image, as well as residence in temples and sacred places, pilgrimage, bathing in holy waters etc. (vii) Arcanā, or the overt act of worship, including various rites to be learnt from the Śāstra or from the Guru, this ceremonial worship being recommended highly to wealthy householders as the best means of spending their wealth (viii) Vandana, or act of homage, consisting of salutation (Namṣkāra) to the deity etc. (ix) Dāśya, or actual service of the deity with the feeling that one is only a very humble servant of the deity, (x) Sakhya, the act of fellowship and (xi) Ātma-



nivedana, or the act of complete self-surrender and self-dedication to divine grace. It is also laid down that the Vaidhī Bhakti may be Ekāṅga or attainable by only one of the above modes (as illustrated in *Padyāvalī*, no. 53) or it may be Anekāṅga or attainable by more than one of these modes (e.g. the case of Ambarīṣā). It should also be noted that the Vaiṣṇava scriptures of the Bengal school attach a special importance to the supreme efficacy of the uttering of the blessed name. They maintain a theory of the real and eternal character of the divine name or names, following from the peculiar theological presumption of the essential identity of the name and the possessor of the name (*nāma-nāminor abhedaḥ*); for the school believes that the divine name itself being supermundane (*apṛākṛta*) has a spiritual significance and potency, and is a kind of Varṇa-Avatāra of the deity.

But passionate souls soon pass beyond outward rule and form to an inner and more esoteric way of realisation based upon the cultivation of inward feelings of devotion. This leads us to the second type or stage, namely, the Rāgānugā Bhakti, by which is meant the feeling of loving devotion which follows the lines of the Rāgātmikā Bhakti eternally displayed by the divine Śaktis (in the form of divine Parikaras) towards the Śaktimat Kṛṣṇa. As its name implies, it consists entirely of Rāga which is defined as the



natural, deep and unimpeded excess of desire or attachment of a subject towards an object of desire or attachment. It indicates in the present case the spontaneous flow of the natural and deep devotion of the dear ones of Kṛṣṇa who stand in particular emotional relationship to the deity as aspects of the eternal divine sport displayed in the divine Dhāmas. As these dear ones of Kṛṣṇa represent the different aspects of the deity's own attribute of bliss, the one and the same Hlādinī Śakti in its infinite potency reflects itself in the form of different Rasas or devotional sentiments in them, and results in different personal relationships (e.g. that of a son, relative, lover, friend, servant etc.) between the deity and his dear ones who are his own embodied energies. Viewed from the standpoint of emotional human relationships, the varieties of sentiments (Rasas) thus reflected in the divine sport become types or stages of the Rāgātmikā Bhakti, on the model of which the Rāgānugā Bhakti of the ordinary devotee proceeds as types or stages of the devotional sentiment. We have seen that the Vaidhī Bhakti need not involve any emotional realisation of this character; it is enough if the religious duties enjoined by Śāstric injunctions 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 by directing them



towards Kṛṣṇa. It is, however, still an elaborate realisation or Sādhana-bhakti involving external effort ; for even if it is independent of mechanical Śāstric rules and depends entirely upon one's own emotional capacity of devotion, it is still engendered not of itself but by imitating the action and effort of those who are Kṛṣṇa's own. The different emotional states are achieved by Smaraṇa or recollection, by a concentrated imaginative process which is supposed to be more effective for a mystic union with the beloved object. As it consists of ardent meditation of Kṛṣṇa and his dear ones in different emotional relationships, the devotee, living either physically or mentally in Vṛndāvana as a Sādhaka or Siddha, follows the ways of the Gopa-Gopīs in order to realise the same state of feeling as they feel, and adopts, according to his capacity or inclination, the particular Bhāva of the particular favourite of Kṛṣṇa, (e.g. the Bhāva of Rādhā, or of her Sakhīs, or of Yaśodā) even to an imitation of her dress (Veśa), sport (Līlā) or temperament (Svabhāva). It is thus an ecstasy of vicarious enjoyment in the sense that the devotee does not seek to establish a direct personal contact with the deity but prepares himself for it by imitating and realising within himself the different aspects 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. By means of his ardent emotion he seeks to visualise and make the whole Līlā of Kṛṣṇa live before him ; but he enters into it imaginatively, and by playing the part of the beloved of Kṛṣṇa he experiences vicariously the passionate feelings which belong to the role and which are vividly pictured in the Vaiṣṇava scriptures.

As an example of such a Sādhaka, Rūpa Gosvāmin himself is often mentioned ; and in Bengal Vaiṣṇava hagiology he is supposed to be an incarnation or appearance of Rūpamañjarī, a Sakhī in Vraja-līlā, whose Bhāva or sentiment Rūpa Gosvāmin is said to have realised. We are told in the *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* of Kavikarṇāpūra (sl. 180-86) that of the various beloved Gopīs of Kṛṣṇa, Rūpamañjarī appeared in Caitanya-līlā as Rūpa Gosvāmin, Lāvānyamañjarī as Sanātana Gosvāmin, Ratīmañjarī as Raghunātha-dāsa, Guṇamañjarī as Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, Rasamañjarī as Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa and Vilāsamañjarī as Jīva Gosvāmin. In this way a scheme of the re-appearance of the Gaṇas of Kṛṣṇa is elaborated, in the work quoted above, as Gaṇas of Caitanya. This conception of the prominent Vaiṣṇavas as the incarnation chiefly of the Gopīs of Vṛndāvana, as well as the general presentation of Bhakti as a type of erotic mysticism, is based probably on the doctrine which regards Kṛṣṇa as the sole male and maintains that the devotee can fully realise



passionate devotion, only when he conceives himself, in the highest stage of the Madhura or erotic Rāsa, as a female taking part in the beatific sports. This is indeed a curious but logical development of the theory of the Rāgānugā Bhakti.

A further maturing of the two types of Sādhana-bhakti (Vaidhī and Rāgānugā) mentioned above leads to what is called Bhāva-bhakti, which arises without any external aid or effort as an intimate personal feeling. This attitude may also develop independently through the grace of the deity. A further direct ripening of the Bhāva-bhakti brings on the highest conceivable type of Bhakti, viz., the Prema-bhakti or Prīti towards Kṛṣṇa as a personal god of love and grace.

Although orthodox Sanskrit Poetics, which concerns itself with the analysis of feelings and sentiments, would not regard this religious emotion (Bhāva) of Bhakti as capable of being developed into a sentiment (Rasa) in poetry and drama, the Vaiṣṇava theory approximates it to this supreme relish of aesthetic enjoyment or Rasa, and considers it as capable of being awakened in the same manner in the heart of the devotee, who takes the place of the literary connoisseur. For the working out of this novel idea of Bhakti as a Rasa, the whole apparatus of orthodox Sanskrit Poetics is freely utilised



and ingeniously applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Vaiṣṇava conception of the sentiment of Bhakti.¹⁴ A new turn was thus given not only to the old Rasa-theory of conventional Poetics but also to the religious emotion underlying the mediaeval Vaiṣṇava faith, which was interpreted anew. Rūpa Gosvāmin himself has given us an elaborate exposition of the subject in his two works, the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and its supplement *Uj्ज्वाला-nīla-maṇi*, which, embodying what may be called the Bhakti-Rasa-śāstra of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, constitute a kind of rhetoric of Bhakti with all its appropriate psychology, conceit and imagery. The mediaeval conception of love is sublimated into a deeply religious sentiment by bringing erotico-religious ideas to bear upon the theme of the literary Rasa, especially the Erotic Rasa (Śṛṅgāra). 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 Bengal conceived the love of Kṛṣṇa as an aspect of Psychology and wrote a Rhetoric of the erotic emotion. The literary Sahrdaya, as the recipient connoisseur, was replaced by the religious Bhakta, the devotee of nice sensibility; while the love of Kṛṣṇa was

¹⁴ An account of the Bhakti-Rasa-śāstra of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, based chiefly on the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and *Uj्ज्वाला-nīla-maṇi* of Rūpa Gosvāmin, has been given by the present writer in *IHQ*, viii (1932), pp. 643-688.



installed as the dominant feeling (Sthāyi-bhāva), which by means of its appropriate Excitant (Vibhāva), Ensuant (Anubhāva) and Auxiliary feelings (Vyabhicāri-bhāvas) could be raised to the supreme relishable condition of impersonal enjoyment in his susceptible mind as the Bhakti-Rasa or devotional sentiment. Our poet-rhetorician Rūpa Gosvāmin, who was also an ardent devotee, was eminently fitted for the peculiar task of outlining such a scheme by adapting the main ideas and technicalities of the literary Rasa to the theme of religious Bhakti as a Rasa. Not content with theoretical analysis, he also undertook the writing of a number of devotional poems and dramas and compiling the present Anthology of verses on Kṛṣṇa-līlā for the special purpose of illustrating his theme.

For a proper understanding of this Vaiṣṇava idea of Bhakti as a Rasa, as expressed in the literary and religious productions of the Bengal school, it would be desirable to appreciate this novel presentation of Bhakti as a psychological entity, as a literary-erotic emotion transmuted into a deep and ineffable devotional sentiment, which is intensely personal as a subjective feeling and which is yet relished as an impersonalised mental condition of disinterested joy. The attitude is a curious mixture of the aesthetic, the erotic and the religious, and the entire scheme as such is a curiously complicated one. We find



here an enthusiasm, natural to the analytic scholastic mind, for elaborate and subtle psychologising, as well as for developing and refining in a new sphere the inherited rhetorical traditions; but the attempt is also inspired very largely by an antecedent and still living poetic experience (Jayadeva and Bilvamaṅgala), which found expression also in the vernacular poetry (Vidyāpati and Caṇḍidāsa), as well as by the simple piety of popular religion, which reflected itself in the passionate and picturesque conceptions of such Purāṇas as the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, the fountain-source of mediaeval Vaiṣṇava Bhakti. But the ideas go further and rest ultimately on the transcendental in personal religious experience of an emotional character, which does not deny the senses but goes beyond their pale in a mood of mystic eroticism. As in its theology and philosophy, so also in its Rasa-śāstra, there is a curious combination not only of mythology and speculation, but also of the natural and the supernatural, of the real and the mystical,—a trait which characterises the entire religious literature of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.

As we have already remarked, the process of the awakening of Bhakti, conceived as a Rasa, moves along the familiar grooves of Alamkāra ideas and expressions. The dominant feeling or Sthāyi-bhāva of Bhakti-Rasa is supposed to be Kṛṣṇa-rati, the feeling of Kṛṣṇa and his dear



ones, which by means of its suitable Vibhāvas etc. is raised to a state of relish (svādyatā) in the mind of the Bhakta, who replaces the literary Sāmājika or Sahṛdaya. The Excitants or Vibhāvas, which make the Sthāyi-bhāva of Kṛṣṇa-rati capable of being relished, are either Substantial (Ālambana) or Enhancing (Uddīpana). The former consist of Kṛṣṇa as the object (Viśaya) of the feeling and the Kṛṣṇa-Bhakta (Gopīs etc.) as the ground (Ādhāra) of the feeling; while the latter include such conditions of time, place and circumstance as serve to foster the feeling, e.g. Kṛṣṇa's qualities (Guṇas), exploits (Cestā), embellishments (Prasādhana) etc. The Ensuant or Anubhāvas, which follow and strengthen the feeling, comprise such outward manifestations as singing (Gīta), dancing (Nṛtya), rolling on the ground (Vilūthita), profusion of sighs (Śvāsa-bhūman) etc. which are proper to the feeling excited. The Auxiliary feelings or Vyabhicāri-bhāvas, which are subsidiary emotions of more or less transitory nature, consist of the thirty-three orthodox Vyabhicāris which have been categorically accepted but given a new application. The Sthāyi-bhāva or the root-feeling of the Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-Rasa, as we have noted above, is taken to be the feeling which concerns Kṛṣṇa himself and which the Bhakta vicariously realises as his own, just as the literary Sahṛdaya relishes the aesthetic



Rasa which concerns the hero in a literary composition. The orthodox nine Sthāyi-bhāvas are evaluated in terms of this idea. Against the nine orthodox Rasas corresponding to or resulting from the nine orthodox Sthāyi-bhāvas, twelve are elaborated in Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra of which however seven (Hāsyā, Vīra, Adbhuta, Karuṇa, Raudra, Bibhatsa and Bhayānaka) are regarded as secondary. The remaining five, which are regarded as primary Rasas, are Śānta (Devotion as Quietism), Prita or Dāsyā (Devotion as Faithfulness), Preyas or Sakhya (Devotion as Friendship), Vātsalya (Devotion as Parent, sentiment) and Madhura or Ujjvala (Devotion as the Erotic sentiment). Of these the last is supposed to be the best and highest sentiment.

These five broad categories of the devotional sentiment constitute the forms or gradations of emotional realisation conceived in terms of intimate human sentiments. This idea of a personal emotional relationship between the deity and his dear ones is indeed a fundamental postulate with the Bengal school, because otherwise the relationship would be reduced to one of colourless identity, which cannot be posited in view of its peculiar theory of difference in non-difference. It is for this reason that the Śānta-Bhakti, which does not involve any such idea of personal relationship, but consists merely of the devotee's consciousness of his complete identity with the



impersonal Brahma, is distinguished as inferior to the other four kinds of Bhakti. As it involves an amount of mental composure and spiritual meditation, it is not rejected entirely as a mode of realisation, but it is meant for those who are desirous of the lower objective of Mukti (and not Bhakti) in the impersonal Brahma. The first stage of real Bhakti, which is above any such motive and which exists entirely for the pleasure of the deity, is Dāsyā or the sentiment of servitude, which conceives the deity as the eternal master and his devotee as his eternal servant. The Hanūmat, famed in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, is taken as a type of such Bhakti. There are also two other states of affectionate relationship, viz, Sakhya or the sentiment of Friendship (e.g. Arjuna), and Vātsalya or the Parent-sentiment (e.g. Nanda-Yaśodā), until the climax is reached in the state of Mādhurya or pure erotic love, symbolised by the intense and exquisite feeling of the Gopīs for Kṛṣṇa. The nature of this passion for Kṛṣṇa, as conceived by the Bengal school, has already been discussed above ; but it is worthy of note that the school maintains that this sentiment of the Gopīs can also be imitated and vicariously realised by the male devotee irrespective of his sex. In this highest stage, the lordship of the deity (Aīśvarya) is said to be completely suppressed and superseded by a sweetly powerful and self-surrendering charm



(Mādhurya) which produces the strongest mutual attraction between the deity and the devotee.

As a corollary from the above theory, it follows that the Parikara or Bhakta of Kṛṣṇa, whose Rāgātmikā or Rāgānugā Bhakti occupies a high place in its scheme of devotion, is as important a person as even the deity himself ; for the Parikara or the Bhakta is regarded as an expression of the divine Svarūpa-śakti in its blissful or Hlādinī aspect, with whom the deity sports eternally in his Dhāmas. In the second part of his *Samkṣepa-bhāgavatāmṛta* Rūpa Gosvāmin dilates on the subject of the Bhakta from the theological point of view, and lays down that to the Vaiṣṇava the adoration of Kṛṣṇa's Bhakta is as indispensable as the adoration of Kṛṣṇa himself. He alone is the greatest Bhakta who is a Bhakta of Kṛṣṇa's Bhakta. Of Kṛṣṇa's Bhaktas, again, there is a gradation according to the quality and character of their devotion. Prahlāda is regarded as the chief among ordinary Bhaktas, but the Pāṇḍavas are greater than Prahlāda. Some of the Yādavas, again, are greater than Pāṇḍavas ; but of the Yādavas Uddhava is the foremost. The Gopis of Vṛndāvana are greater even than Uddhava, who himself desired to possess the sweetness of their love for Kṛṣṇa. Of the Gopis, again, Rādhā is the greatest, which conclusion indicates that there is no greater Bhakta of Kṛṣṇa than



Rādhā who is the essence of his own Hlādinī Śakti.

This conclusion is also established from the point of view of the Rasa-sāstra. Of all the different phases of the Bhakti-Rasa, the erotic Madhura or Śṛṅgāra is regarded as the highest and the best, because the deity's highest attribute of the Hlādinī Śakti is exhibited here to the best advantage. The Madhurā Rati, underlying this Madhura Rasa, is said to be most capable (Samarthā) when, as in the case of the Gopīs, the inclination is entirely for the pleasure of Kṛṣṇa, and it can go up to the highest stage of love called Mahābhāva, appropriate to Rādhā. In the case of the conjugal love of Rukminī and other royal wives of Kṛṣṇa, where the enjoyment is supposed to be as much for Kṛṣṇa as for the wife herself, the feeling is said to be well proportioned (Samañjasā); but it is said to be general (Sādhāraṇī) when, as in the case of the Kujā, the enjoyment is entirely for the person herself. Again, the erotic feeling is said to reach different degrees of intensity according to its quality; and these are successively (i) Prema, the germination of love (ii) Sneha, constant fondness (iii) Māna, affected repulse of endearment due to excess of emotion, giving rise to a variety of amatory feelings (iv) Pranaya, friendly confidence and fellowship, (v) Rāga, erotic transmutation of sorrow into

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joy (vi) Anurāga, love as constant freshness, and lastly (vii) Bhāva or Mahābhāva, which is the supreme realisation of love as found only in the Gopīs and principally in Rādhā.

The Madhura Rasa may be twofold, according as it is Love-in-union (Sambhoga) and Love-in-separation (Vipralambha). The Vipralambha may take various forms : (i) Pūrva-rāga, incipient love, or love upon first sight or first hearing or upon vision in a dream (ii) Māna, resentment as a bar to the realisation of love (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 Sambhoga may be direct, or indirect (e.g. in a dream), and may be of four kinds according to its intensity, viz., Brief (Samkṣipta), Mixed with contrary feelings (Sankīrṇa) e.g. occurring after Māna, Developed (Sampanna) e.g. occurring after a near Pravāsa, and Complete and Excessive (Samṛddhimat) e.g. occurring after distant Pravāsa. The elements of Sambhoga are sight, touch, stealing of the flute, kissing, embracing etc. leading up to sexual union.

We have no room here to enter into the details of the analysis, but the various phases, moods, circumstances and conditions of the erotic sentiment are minutely classified, illustrated and applied to the case of Kṛṣṇa's sport. The



assistants in love-affair, for instance, the *Dūtas* and *Dūtīs*, after the manner of the affairs of the secular hero, are elaborately mentioned and classified. The various types of the hero and the heroine, their amatory and other qualities, the conditions of time, place and other circumstances which evoke and foster love, the various stages of adolescence and youth, the gestures and expressions of the feeling, and other relevant topics in connexion with the erotic sentiment are fully described, analysed and illustrated after the manner of treatment of orthodox

- **Poetics.** We have, for instance, the usual classification of the hero into the faithful whose love is centered in one (*Anukūla*), the gallant whose attention is divided among many (*Dakṣiṇa*), the Sly (*Śaṭha*) and the Saucy (*Dhr̥ṣṭa*); while the heroine, according to the diversity of her condition or situation in relation to the hero, may be the *Abhisārikā* who goes out to meet her lover at assignation, the *Vāsakasajjā* who adorns herself in expectation of the lover, the *Utkanṭhitā* who is disappointed by his non-arrival through some misadventure, the *Vipralabdhā* who is deceived of her expectation by deliberate unfaithfulness, the *Khaṇḍitā* who is outraged by the discovery of marks of unfaithfulness on the person of the lover, the *Kalahāntarītā* who is separated by a quarrel, the *Proṣita-bhartṛkā* who pines for the lover who has gone abroad, and the *Svādhīma-*



bhartṛkā who has the lover under her absolute control. In the *Padyāvalī* all these types are illustrated with reference to Rādhā, by verses cited from different authors ; but for a detailed account of these topics one must refer to Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* which is devoted to a special enquiry and analysis of the Madhura Rasa in relation to Kṛṣṇa and his beloved Gopīs.

It will be clear from what is said above that the mood of erotic mysticism, which seeks to express religious longings in the language of earthly passion, forms one of the basic inspirations of Caitanyaism, in which it is seen in its full bloom. In the older Bhakti works like the *Bhagavad-gītā* the mood of Bhakti is indeed presented as an ethical and mystical passion of an intensely personal character, rather than as an impersonal intellectual conviction adduced by mere knowledge ; but the Bhakti 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 itself in the later Sūtras of Nārada and Śaṇḍilya is made interchangeable with the terms Bhāva, Prīti or Anurakti as expressive of ardent emotion ; but the passionateness of of earlier theistic devotionism was never entirely divorced from intellectual satisfaction or moral earnestness. Though not identical with it, knowledge was still accepted as a



preliminary to the emotion of Bhakti, and action was not entirely excluded. The mediaeval expressions of the passion, however, dispense with Jñāna and Karma in the orthodox sense, and take their stand entirely upon mystical emotional realisation (Rasa). All worship and even salvation are regarded as nothing more than a blissful enjoyment of divine sports involving personal consciousness and relationship, direct or remote, between the enjoyer and the enjoyed. But in the emphasis given to the erotic sentiment involved in the sports of Kṛṣṇa, it 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 Vṛndāvana in which the faithful serve Kṛṣṇa as did the Gopis; and, however figuratively the doctrine may have been interpreted, the erotic emotionalism is essential and prominent. 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 Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa is transformed beyond recognition. The old 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 Vṛndāvanalīlā, no doubt, lies in its appeal for a more emotional religion and its protest against the hard intellectuality of the times ; and the whole theory of Bhakti-Rasa appeals to the exceedingly familiar and authentic intensity of human moods and sentiments. But here we have also a marked development of the dubious erotic possibilities of the theme 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, what is supposed to be the actual passion of the deity, figured as a friend, son, father or master, but chiefly and essentially as a lover ; but the attitude becomes too ardent in tendency, and the emphasis laid upon eroticism lapses into a sensuousness of a refined and subtle type inasmuch as the mystical sensibility in this case is chiefly vicarious. The doctrine, no doubt, attempts to transfigure the mighty sex-impulse into a deeply religious emotion, but the way of realisation betrays an abnormal mental state, which seeks the highest satisfaction in a vicarious enjoyment of the erotic sports of Kṛṣṇa, contemplated not merely in a figurative but also in a vivid literal sense.

This fervent quasi-amorous attitude, in spite of its subtle and elusive juggling with



psychological complexes and theological refinements, inspires not only its Śāstra and professedly devotional works, but it also enlivens its mass of resplendent Sanskrit and Bengali lyrics with the poetic possibilities of its mystical erotic impulse. The last reach of Vaiṣṇava Bhakti, transmuted in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism into Priti or Love, becomes an unfailing and rich source of literary inspiration, as well as of religious emotion ; for it becomes personal in ardour, concrete in expression and sincere in appeal. Along with its theology and philosophy was produced a psychological rhetoric of the passionate condition, which reproduced indeed the classical phraseology, conceits and imagery, but whose erotico-religious application and subtilising of emotional details were novel, intimate and inspiring. Whatever may be the devotional value of this attitude, the literary gain was undoubtedly immense. These aesthetic and emotional conventions were implicitly accepted in the literary effusions, and they were often productive of marvellous results. In spite of the formalism of its psychological analysis, the banality of its rhetoric of ornament and conceits and the pedantry of its metaphysical sentimentalism, there can be no doubt that the inspiration supplied by the erotic emotionalism of the new faith to its prolific literature, especially its Bengali lyric literature, was 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 gave to its literary productions an enduring emotional and poetical value. The wistfulness, amazement and ecstacy of its devotional tendency and the richly romantic idealism of its mystical erotic sensibility lifted the lyric literature of Caitanyaism into a high level of passionate expression, which was endowed by the virtue of these very qualities with as much human as transcendental value.

The verses of the *Padyāvalī*, therefore, 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. It brings together in one context the many nuances of the emotional worship of Kṛṣṇa made current by Caitanyaism, and is therefore an important document of its Bhakti-devoutness; but it is also interesting as bearing witness to a phase of the literary activity of mediaeval Bengal which produced in Sanskrit as well as in Bengali a remarkable lyric literature peculiar to itself. In order to appreciate these effusions of the devout heart one must indeed realise the entire mentality of these devotee-poets, their systems of belief, the earnestness and warmth of their passionate faith, the transport and exaltation of their erotic mysticism. But what appeals most to the general



reader is not their theological subtelties, nor their rhetorical commonplaces, but the tenderness and human interest of their lyrical productions; and, apart from the scholastic or sectarian prepossessions, the honest human passion is here expressed with an exquisite directness of speech. The devotee speaks indeed of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, but under this thin veil the poet speaks of his own feelings, of his own hope and fear, his own joys and sorrows. Though still theoretically vicarious, the erotic and other sentiments spring ultimately from direct personal experiences of the poet.

- Regarded from this point of view, there is no sickly sentimentality or vague reflectiveness in these impassioned utterances; and, however gross or crude their cry of natural passion may, sometimes appear to modern taste, it is impossible to underrate its reality and frankness, the sweet, tender and familiar force of its palpitating humanity. The purely poetic merit of these verses need not be estimated very highly, but their evident ecstatic elevation, expressing itself in a deeply emotional spiritualisation of sensuous forms and ideas, gives them a rich and luscious charm and a sweet ring of sincere passion. It may not have always reached a high level of absolute poetic excellence, but the level it often reaches is striking enough as a symptom of the presence of the true poetic spirit which this emotional religious movement brought in its wake. Some

A14,



of these writers, and especially those who wrote in the vernacular, are indeed poets and not poetical curiosities, even if they are not always great or remarkable poets ; and in their impassioned writings we often come across lines, phrases and stanzas of undoubted charm, which indicates a general diffusion of the poetic spirit, capable of making even inferior songsters beautifully and passionately articulate.

The original inspiration of these devotional poems comes of course from such store-house of romantic Kṛṣṇa-legends as the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, but, barring the Maithili and Bengali songs of Vidyāpati and Caṇḍīdāsa, the highly finished lyrics of Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda*, which formed one of the constant sources of the ecstatic emotions of Caitanya himself, also strengthened its erotico-mystic tendencies. A great influence on this type of writing in Bengal must have also been exerted by the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* of Līlāsuka Bilvamaṅgala, which work Caitanya is said to have discovered during his South Indian pilgrimage, brought back with him and recommended in superlative terms to his disciples. Several commentaries written by Caitanyaite Vaiṣṇavas on the two lyrical works mentioned above still exist, while Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja speaks of the high devotional value of Bilvamaṅgala's work on which he himself wrote a well known commentary. These two works not only inspired



similar lyrics of an erotico-devotional character on Kṛṣṇa-līlā, but they are also cited with great respect in the *Rasa-śāstra* of the Bengal school. In the *Padyāvalī* Rūpa Gosvāmin purposely excludes selections from the poems of Jayadeva and Bilvamaṅgala probably because they were widely known, and confines himself chiefly to the so-called minor or otherwise unknown poets ; but there can be no doubt that both Jayadeva and Bilvamaṅgala exercised a great influence on the emotionalism and emotional literary productions of the Bengal sect.

It will be clear from what is said above that the *Padyāvalī* occupies a unique place in the history of anthological literature in Sanskrit. Its merit lies not so much in the selection of really great poems but in its special object of preserving from oblivion a large number of floating minor poems which have a special interest and quality of their own. Leaving aside Prakrit anthologies, we have several valuable anthologies of Sanskrit verses, some of which are indeed rich collections of lyric and gnomic stanzas of unknown or forgotten poets. Most of these verses reflect a natural and charming quality which one misses in the more elaborate masterpieces of great poets. Of these anthologies the earliest known is probably the incomplete work which has been edited by F. W. Thomas under the title of *Kavindra-vacana-samuccaya*



(1912) from a unique manuscript in Nepalese character of about the 12th century A.D. As none of the 113 poets to whom its extant 525 verses are attributed can be placed with certainty later than 1000 A.D., the anthology itself cannot belong to a later period. Its opening sections on the Buddha and Avalokiteśvara point to the probability of its unknown compiler having been a Buddhist ; but with the exception of these eighteen or nineteen verses of a distinctly Buddhistic leaning, there is nothing Buddhistic about the work, which contains material, arrangement and division of subjects similar to those of most other Sanskrit anthologies. There is a fairly lengthy section or Vrajyā on Hari containing 53 verses, followed by descriptive verses on Spring, Summer and the Rainy Season, but more than two-thirds of the work (350 verses) are devoted to the theme of love and the lover.

The next anthology of importance is the *Subhāṣitāvalī* of the Kāśmīraka Vallabhadeva, which is quoted directly by Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda in 1160 A.D. in his commentary on the *Amara-kośa*, but the present text of which (ed. Peterson, Bombay 1886) contains a large number of later interpolations and therefore cannot be placed earlier than the 15th century.¹⁵ It is a very considerable anthology containing

¹⁵ See *JRAS*, 1927, pp. 471-77.



3527 verses in 101 sections or Paddhatis. The number of works and authors cited, according to Peterson's list, is about 360. It contains stanzas on a large variety of subjects including thoughts on and descriptions of love and other passions, the conduct of life, natural scenery and seasons, worldly wisdom and witty sayings. On this model is also compiled the *Subhāṣita-muktāvalī* or *Sūkti-muktāvalī* of Jahlaṇa, son of Lakṣmīdhara. The work is being printed and will be published shortly in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.¹⁶ R. G. Bhandarkar, who first gave a short account of this anthology in one of his valuable *Reports on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (1887-91), speaks of a shorter and a longer recension of the text. The compiler Jahlaṇa is placed towards the middle of the 13th century, as both Jahlaṇa and his father Lakṣmīdhara flourished in the reign of Kṛṣṇa who came to the throne in 1247 A.D. It is a fairly extensive anthology containing 2790 verses in 133 sections or Paddhatis, and the general plan and arrangement of subjects are similar to those of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*. It contains at the commencement an important section of traditional verses on Sanskrit poets and poetry, which is interesting from the point

¹⁶ Through the courtesy of Dr. B. Bhattacharya, the general editor of the Series, we were able to borrow for a short time the file-copy of the complete printed text.



of view of Sanskrit literary history. According to the list compiled by R. G. Bhandarkar from the two recensions, the number of authors and works cited is 243. Of the same character is the anthology, entitled *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati* (ed. Peterson, Bombay 1888), compiled by Śārṅgadhara, son of Dāmodara, in about 1363 A.D. It contains 4689 verses in 163 sections, and the number of works and authors cited is about 292. Its arrangement and subject-matter closely follow those of the two anthologies mentioned above, and a large number of its verses is also to be found in them.

But more important from our point of view is the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*¹⁷ of Śrīdharadāsa, son of Vatudāsa, which is an extensive anthology compiled in Bengal in the beginning of the thirteenth century, the work having been expressly dated in Samvat 1127=1205 A.D. The work is divided into five parts called Pravāhas, each of which is again subdivided into sections called Vicis. The Pravāhas are entitled respectively Amara- or Deva-pravāha, Śrṅgāra-pravāha, Cātu-pravāha, Apadeśa-pravāha and Uccāvaca-

¹⁷ Two fasciculuses of the work containing 184 pages were edited by Rāmāvatāra Śarmā and published till 1921 in the Bibliotheca Indica Series. The work, however, was known, though imperfectly, from Aufrecht's article on Indian Poets in *ZDMG* xxxvi, 361-83, 509-59. The entire work has now been edited by Rāmāvatāra Śarmā and published with a critical introduction in English by Haradatta Śarmā in the Panjab Sanskrit Series, Lahore 1933.



pravāha ; and they contain respectively 95, 179, 54, 72 and 84 Vicis. Each Vici or section is arranged to contain symmetrically five verses, so that the total number of verses given in this anthology should have been 2380, but as several verses are lost the actual number is 2368. The number of poets and works cited is 485.¹⁸ This anthology, like those mentioned above, gives us some excellent verses of authors who are otherwise unknown and some of whom probably belonged to Bengal. The compiler, who appears to have been patronised by the last Sena kings of Bengal, seems to possess Vaiṣṇavite tendencies and collects a large number of verses on Kṛṣṇa, some of which have been freely reproduced by Rūpa Gosvāmin in the present anthology. Compiled in Bengal within three centuries of our work, it must have been familiar to our author, and there is evidence to show that he utilises much of its material.

The subject-matter, arrangement and method of compilation of the *Padyāvālī*, however, are entirely different. As all the verses are devoted to Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa-līlā, they are arranged in sections according to the different doctrinaire aspects of Kṛṣṇa-bhakti and the different episodes in the erotic career of Kṛṣṇa ; and the whole arrangement conforms generally to the rhetorical classification of the Vaiṣṇava Rasa-

¹⁸ Winternitz (*Geschichte d. ind. Lit.* iii, p. 157) gives the number as 446, which is repeated by Keith (*Hist. Sansk. Lit.* p. 222).



śāstra, to which it may be regarded as an illustrative compendium. But Rūpa Gosvāmin does not confine himself in his citations entirely to Vaiṣṇava authors. He cites verses from older well-known authors like Subandhu, Bhavabhūti, Amaru, Rudraṭa or Kṣemendra, who were apparently non-vaiṣṇava authors or authors who wrote on non-vaiṣṇava themes. But one of his peculiar devices, which we have discussed below in our Bibliographical Notes, is to *vaiṣṇavise* older verses which were originally non-vaiṣṇava by making free textual changes or by placing such verses in a Vaiṣṇavite context. Thus, in verse no. 6 the word *daivāya* is deliberately altered into *kṛṣṇāya* ; in no. 19 *rāma-nāma* into *kṛṣṇa-nāma* ; in nos. 190 and 356 *rāmā* and *bālā* into *rādhā* ; in no. 219 *sundara* into *mādhava* in nos. 302 and 313 *kānta* into *kṛṣṇa* ; in no. 284 *śaurī* and *lakṣmī* into *kṛṣṇa* and *rādhā* respectively. These and other instances of deliberate alteration in the phrasing of older verses of Amaru, Rudraṭa and others will show that the devout Vaiṣṇava compiler had no hesitation in modifying and making such non-sectarian verses applicable to a sectarian purpose. In the case of minor and comparatively recent authors, who are in most cases unknown, we have no data to judge how far their verses have been faithfully reproduced. Some of these authors may have been contemporaneous, and



some are known also as undoubtedly Vaiṣṇava writers. It seems, however, that Rūpa Gosvāmin did neither confine himself to Bengal, nor even to his own times, but selected his materials widely from both old and new authors, irrespective of their Vaiṣṇava leaning, according as it was convenient to the particular devout purpose he had in view in his compilation of 386 verses from over 125 poets. We have made an attempt in our bibliographical notes to collect together all available informations about these authors and their works, while verses occurring in older anthologies, *Alaṃkāra* or *Kāvya* texts and contemporary Vaiṣṇava works have been traced to such sources as far as possible.

The present edition of the text of the *Padyāvalī* has been prepared on the basis of sixteen manuscripts obtained from various sources, a description of which is given below in a separate note. The work is said to have been printed several times in Bengal and in Vṛndāvana, but we had access only to two editions of the text, published respectively from Calcutta and Murshidabad. A description of these printed texts has also been given in the same note. Both these publications appear to have been based upon very imperfect materials, and none of them can strictly be called a critical edition of this important work. It is therefore hardly necessary to make an apology for undertaking A15.



a fresh edition based upon ampler materials and furnished with such critical apparatus as is necessary for critical study. It will appear from the description of manuscripts given below that, with the exception of two manuscripts belonging to the Poona Deccan College collection, all the others are Bengal manuscripts written in Bengali script and follow the Bengal tradition of the text which, as might be expected, is found to be the more reliable tradition by a comparative examination of the manuscripts. There is, however, no question of different recensions of the text; for the text-tradition, after making due allowances for local or scribal differences, is fairly uniform. We have relied principally upon the manuscripts DA (Dacca University collection) and VSPA (Vaṅṛya Sāhitya Paṛiṣad collection), which are our two oldest, if not in every respect the best, manuscripts of the text; but since even these two do not always agree in their readings and do not always appear to have preserved the text correctly, the assistance of the other manuscripts was also indispensable. We have not, however, always accepted the readings given by the majority of manuscripts, for sometimes even the majority follow an obviously faulty tradition and perpetuate it by blind repetition. Each reading has been, as far as possible, judged on its own merit, but in each case the alternative readings



given in the different manuscripts have been carefully noted. Even though sixteen manuscripts and two printed texts furnish ample materials, such materials are also sometimes confusing by their quantity and diversity; and the task of critically selecting the proper readings has not been an easy one. It is not pretended that we have always been able to select the most appropriate readings for the text that we have prepared, but the differences of readings noted in each case will enable the critical reader to judge for himself, if he so chooses. It may, however, be noted that since the Bengal text-tradition, in spite of inevitable errors, differences and interpolations, is fairly uniform, nothing would have been gained by the collation of further fresh manuscripts of the same type, especially as we have taken care to consult a fairly large number of manuscripts obtained from a variety of sources. The greatest difficulty, however, was felt with regard to the attribution of verses to their authors, which is hardly uniform in a great number of cases. Very few verses are left unassigned, but where they are assigned even the best of the manuscripts do not sometimes agree in assigning them to a particular author. The attribution of verses in an anthology is notoriously careless, but this defect becomes confusing when a variety of attribution is found in different manuscripts of the same text.



The task of collating sixteen manuscripts and two printed texts had been a slow and laborious process, but very material assistance was rendered in this task by our former pupil and research-student, Miss Mrinal Dasgupta M.A., who also offered her help in the preparation of the indices. To her as well as to those friends and pupils who have helped us in various ways it is a pleasure to acknowledge our indebtedness. It is also a pleasure to thank those who have rendered assistance in lending or obtaining the manuscripts of the text for us. Their names have been separately mentioned in our note on the description of manuscripts, but we renew our acknowledgment here to each of them. We must particularly mention in this connexion Dr. F. W. Thomas, Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, who evinced a personal interest on learning that we have undertaken an edition of the present text and helped us in securing the Tübingen and the India Office manuscripts ; Professor Romesh Chandra Majumdar who borrowed for us the Bengal Asiatic Society manuscripts ; Professor S. K. Belvalkar for a loan of the Bhandarkar Institute manuscripts ; Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarty for lending us the *Samskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣad* manuscript and one of the printed editions of the text ; Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji for assistance in securing on loan the *Vaṅṁya*



Sāhitya Pariṣad manuscripts ; and, lastly, our former colleague and friend, Professor Radhagovinda Basak, who was then Secretary to the Dacca University Manuscripts Committee, for a loan of the Dacca University manuscripts as well as for assistance in various other ways. It is a pleasure and privilege to associate the names of these distinguished scholars with this modest work and convey our sincere thanks to them for the interest they have taken in it. Thanks are also due to our friend and colleague, Dr. Prabodh Chandra Lahiri, for going over a major part of the printed formes of the text and checking a few errors of the pen and print. For the printing, credit is due to our former pupil, Mr. Suresh Chandra Das M.A., proprietor of the Abinas Press ; but in spite of all care some misprints and errors could not be avoided. Where these have been detected, they have been included in the list of Additions and Corrections which the reader is requested to consult before going through the work.

University of Dacca

July 1, 1934.

S. K. De



উদয়ন — চৈত্র, ১৩৪০



শ্রীকান্ত শর্মা দত্ত



**DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS AND
EDITIONS OF THE TEXT ON WHICH
THE PRESENT EDITION IS
BASED**



Description of Manuscripts

Dacca University Manuscripts

DA = Dacca University Paper Manuscript no. 2354, without commentary. Complete: Folio 1—25. Size $4\frac{3}{4}'' \times 12\frac{3}{4}''$; white country made paper. As a rule there are 11 lines on a page excepting the last page containing 7 lines. On fol. 1 some miscellaneous verses are scribbled with notes. The colophon reads: इति रूपसमाहृता पद्यावली समाप्ता. After this there is an unconnected erotic verse: इह जगति रतीशप्रक्रिया कौतुकिन्यः कति कति न निशीथे सुध्रुवः सञ्चरन्ति। मम तु विधिहताया जायमानस्मितायाः सहचरि परिपन्थी हन्त दन्तांशुरेषः ॥ The number of verses is given just before the colophon as अत्र श्लोकाः ८५० ॥ but the verses are not consecutively numbered, nor does the statement give the actual number. Marginal glosses are very few. The appearance of the Ms is fairly old, some folios being slightly worm-eaten and frayed by damp at the edges. The Bengali script probably belongs to the end of the 17th or early part of the 18th century A. D., if not to a still earlier date. Fairly correct and carefully written. It is the oldest manuscript of the work in the Dacca University collection, and perhaps one



of the oldest and most important of the manuscripts used for this edition. Presented to the Library by Pandit Rākḥālānanda Śāstri of Śrīkhaṇḍa, Burdwan.

DB=Dacca University Paper Manuscript no. 2420, without commentary. Complete : Fol. 1—52a. Size $5\frac{3}{4}'' \times 11''$; yellow country made paper ; 8 lines on a page. The headings and names of authors as well as marginal glosses are written in red ink. Generally correct, and written neatly with care in large, clear and bold Bengali script with plenty of margin. The colophon reads : समाप्तं श्रीपद्यावली ॥ लिपिरियं श्रीवृन्दावन-दासस्य ॥ स्वाक्षरमिदं श्रीकुञ्जविहारीमित्रस्य ॥ The appearance of the MS is not old ; it probably belongs to the 19th century. The verses are numbered, and the last verse is counted as 397. The occasional marginal glosses are more numerous than in any other manuscript. The Ms ends at fol. 52a, but on fol. 52b there are some verses addressed to Gaṅgā written apparently by a different hand ; probably it constitutes the beginning of another work, a stotra to Gaṅgā. Presented to the Library by Nava Gopāla Gosvāmin of Gaurāṅga-pāḍā, Katwa, Burdwan.



DC=Dacca University Paper Manuscript no. 2474, without commentary. Complete : Folio 1-16a. Size $6\frac{1}{4}'' \times 13\frac{3}{4}''$; white country made paper ; 19 to 20 lines on a page, excepting the last page containing 13 lines. The colophon reads : इति श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामिसमाहृता पद्यावली समाप्ता ॥ समाप्तेयं पद्यावली ॥ The numbering of verses is irregular. The appearance of the MS is not old ; the Bengali script is modern, probably not earlier than the 19th century. Very few marginal notes or glosses. Not very correct. Generally agrees with DB. Presented to the Library by Pandit Caitanya Carana Cattoṇḍhāya and Pandit Nityānanda Gosvāmin of Gaurāṅga-vāḍi, Katwa, Burdwan.

DD=Dacca University Paper Manuscript no. 3528, without commentary. Complete: Folio 1—28 ; size $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 12\frac{1}{4}''$; white country made paper ; 11 lines on a page, excepting the last page which contains 4 lines. The last verse is numbered as 385. The colophon reads : इति पद्यावली परिसमाप्ता ॥ केचित् कर्मपरा भवन्तु कृतिनो ज्ञानैकतानाः परेऽन्ये योगभ्यसनग्रहास्तदपरे भक्तिप्रधानास्तथा । अस्माकं हरिराधिकारतिग्रहं वृन्दावनान्तर्वनं ज्ञेयं ध्येयमिति प्रशस्यमभितः काम्यं निषेव्यं सदा ॥ असम्मुखा-लोकनमाभिमुख्यं निषेध एवानुमितिप्रकारः । प्रत्युत्तरं मुद्रनमेव वाचां



नवाङ्गनानां नव एव पन्थाः ॥ The Bengali script is good and clear but not old; the Ms is probably not earlier than the 19th century. Hardly any marginal gloss. The writing is apparently in a different hand and on a different paper on fol. 13a and 13b (beginning from *śl.* 164 to the end of *śl.* 177 and first two *pādas* of *śl.* 178), and again from fol. 17a to the end of the work. Fairly correct, the Ms generally agreeing with DA. Presented to the Library by Piyāri Carāṇa Rāya of Jalsuka, Sylhet, Administrator of Bāddānagar estate, Dacca. Place of find — Bāddānagar, Baḍa-Akhḍā, Dacca.

DE=Dacca University Paper Manuscript no. 3487, without commentary. Incomplete and fragmentary, consisting of folio 7 (from *०रङ्गिसङ्गाहते* in *śl.* 57 to *दिनादौ मुरारे नि०* in *śl.* 70) and folios 16—37a (beginning with *सञ्जयकवि-शेखरस्य* in *śl.* 167 to the end of the work). Size 4½"×11"; white country made paper. As a rule 9 lines on a page, except the last page (fol. 37a) which contains 8 lines. The verses are numbered, the number of the last verse being 385. The Ms is not old, probably belongs to the end of the 18th century. The Bengali script is neat, large and clear,



and the text is fairly correct. Very few corrections or glosses, but some explanations here and there of words and phrases are written on the margin. The colophon reads : इति पद्यावली परिसमाप्ता ॥ after which comes the two unconnected verses केचित् कर्मपरा भवन्तु and असम्मुखालोकनमाभिमुख्यम् as in DD. This Ms agrees generally with DD and occasionally with DB. Presented as above (DD).

DF=Dacca University Paper MS no. 3940, without commentary. Incomplete and fragmentary, found as stray leaves in the Bāddānagar collection of the University Mss (see above under DD). It consists of continuous folios 22 (beginning with कोऽमलां तव तनु' in *śl.* 108) to 52 only (ending with अदलितनलिनी-दलैव in *śl.* 318). Size $2\frac{1}{2}'' \times 16\frac{1}{4}''$; 4 lines on a page, but from fol. 44a there are five lines on a page; brownish country made paper. Appearance not old, the Bengali script being modern, probably not earlier than the 19th century. The verses are numbered, and the number of the last verse of the last folio 52 is 309. But very bad and careless writing; incorrect, and hardly any corrections made on the margin; no gloss. Some verses are dropped from the second *pāda* of *śl.* 182 (q.v.) to the end of *śl.* 200, although the pagination



is continuous; but the verse-numbering here, indicates the dropping. Presented as above (DD, DE).

Manuscripts from Deccan College, Poona (now deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona)

PA = Deccan College Paper Manuscript no. 147 of 1875-76, without commentary. Complete; neat modern Devanagari script, probably a modern copy of an older Ms. Size 6" x 14"; Folio 1-22 (though actually given as 23), ending on 22a; 12 lines on a page excepting the last page which contains 7 lines. The colophon reads: इति श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामि-विरचिता पद्यावली सम्पूर्णा ॥ The verses are not numbered. Carefully and fairly correctly written, but there are apparently conjectural fillings up of probable lacunae in the older Ms from which the present Ms was copied. Barring these emendations, which are, however, interesting, the Ms is important. It generally agrees with DB and DC and occasionally with DA and DD; but the sequence of verses is often differently given, and West Indian readings of older well known verses are often to be found. On these grounds it is probable that the Ms is derived from an archetype



somewhat modified from those of the other Bengal Mss. No marginal gloss. Its place of find is given as Kashmir in S. R. Bhandarkar's *Catalogue* of Deccan College Manuscripts (Bombay 1888), p. 80.

PB=Deccan College Paper Manuscript no. 67 of 1873-74, without commentary. Complete : Folio 1-30 ; 11 lines on a page ; modern white paper ; size $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 11\frac{1}{2}''$; in modern Devanagari script. On the descriptive label attached to the cloth which encases the Ms, it is noted that the Ms "comes from Bikaner", and in S. R. Bhandarkar's *Catalogue* (p. 57) the place of find of this MS is noted as Bikaner.¹ Copied in Samvat 1931=1874 A.D.; probably a copy made for Bühler who was responsible for the collection of 1873-74. But the copy is neither correct nor carefully made. The verses are not numbered. The original Ms probably contained many lacunae, and these have been conjecturally filled up or emended in this copy, apparently by a different hand (these we have noted as

¹ This was one of the Mss which was apparently utilised by Pischel in writing his monograph on the court-poets of Lakṣmaṇasena (*Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena*, p. 10).



“corrected readings” in our critical notes); but the emendations etc are not always happy. No marginal gloss. Most of the headings of the sections are omitted or briefly noted. Many verses found in the Bengal Mss are omitted, new additional verses are given and the sequence of verses is often divergent. It does not agree in these respects also with PA. These characteristics make it probable that this Ms is derived from a different archetype, which however does not keep strictly to the tradition of the Bengal Ms noted above. This codex, however appears to be connected with VSPB [see below]. After our verse no. 387 there are the following additional verses and scribal notes:

श्रीमन्मदनगोपालचरणद्वन्द्वसन्निधौ । पद्यावली विलिखिता केनचिद्
द्विजबन्धुना ॥ प्रीणातु भगवान् कृष्णो राधिकारमणो विभुः ।
सीदत्यालपशुस्त्रीषु (? सीदद्वालपशुस्त्रीको ?) येनाद्रिप्रवरो धृतः ॥
श्रीमच्छ्रीकृष्णचैतन्यचन्द्रे सर्वेषां रतिरस्तु ॥ श्रीरामकृष्ण जय ॥
ग्रन्थाः ८०० लिपीकृतं मूलचंद व्यास संवत् १६३१ मि० चैत्र
सुद ६ ॥ अंकितं शंकितं पदं बुद्धिभातं धृतं हृतं । प्रतिपुस्तकां
नैव खण्डितं शोधने स्थितं । शोधिता पत्रलालनन्दनाभ्यां ॥

These two Mss (PA and PB) were obtained on loan through the courtesy of the Superintendent of Manuscripts, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.



Bikaner State Library Manuscript

With regard to the Bikaner State Library Ms no. 547 described on p. 258 of Rajendralala Mitra's *Catalogue of Bikaner Manuscripts*, an application was made to secure it from the Bikaner State Library. Through the courtesy of the Superintendent of the Manuscript Department of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, information was received in reply from the Chief Secretary to the Prime Minister of the Bikaner State (Letter no. 31 of 1931, dated January 3, 1931) that "although the Manuscript in question is entered in the printed Catalogue of Mr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, it is not entered in the hand-written list of the books of our Library", and that "notwithstanding a search the book is not traceable." Is it possible that this manuscript is the same as the codex PB above, which was derived from Bikaner, and which somehow found its way into the Deccan College Collection ?

India Office Library Manuscript

IO=India Office Library Paper Manuscript
no. 823a=Eggeling's *Catalogue*, no. 4034
(pt. vii, p. 1534), received through the

A17.



courtesy of Prof. F. W. Thomas of Oxford. The manuscript has been described at length by Eggeling, *op. cit.* Yellowish brown country made paper usual in Colebrooke Mss. Complete : Folio 1—38a ; 6 lines on a page ; without commentary ; size $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 12\frac{1}{2}''$ (bound). Probably copied from an older Ms for Colebrooke, and the usual indication रघुमणि (see our edition of the *Kīcaka-vadha*, Introd. p. xx) occurs on the title-page, implying probably that the Ms was copied or acquired through Colebrooke's Pandit Raghumaṇi. The scribe, however, does not appear to be conversant either with Sanskrit or with the older Bengali script, and copies blindly, often blunderingly. The corrections are few and there is no marginal gloss. The modern Bengali script of the copy is neither neat or good. The text is very incorrect ; dropping of *anuvāras* and *visargas*, wrong spelling, wrong reading of letters or words etc. are frequent on almost every page. The attribution of the verses to authors is often omitted or given wrongly. On the whole, not a very useful Ms. It is probably copied from the same original as ASC (see below). The colophon reads: समाप्तेयं पद्यावली ॥ रामनाथविदुषो श्रीहरिः ॥ कालाम्बो-
निधिकालचन्द्रगणिते शाके च (Śaka 1646=1724 A.D.)
सिंहे रवौ पञ्चम्यां शशिजे शुभेऽहि समये पक्षे सिते स्वातिषु ।



नत्वा श्रीगुरुपादपद्मयुगलं व्यालेखि पद्यावली श्रीलश्रीयुत श्याम-
सुन्दरप्रभोर्गोस्वामिनः पुस्तिका ॥ The date must have
belonged to the original Ms of Pandit Rāma-
nātha. Counts 389 verses, but the actual
number (omitting repetitions etc) is 386.

Tübingen University Library Manuscript

TB=Tübingen University Paper Manuscript,
described by Roth in his *Verzeichniss
indischer Handschriften der Königlichen
Universitätsbibliothek zu Tübingen*,
Tübingen 1865, no. 234, p. 12. Received on
loan through the courtesy of Prof. F. W.
Thomas. Complete ; without commentary.
Folio 1-35a ; white country made paper ; 8
lines on a page ; size $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 12\frac{1}{4}''$ (bound). The
Bengali script is neat, bold and large, but the
Ms not older probably than the 18th century.
Fairly correct and carefully written. Some
marginal glosses, consisting usually of
meanings of difficult words and phrases.
Generally agrees with DA. The total
number of verses is counted as 382. The
colophon reads : इति श्रीपद्यावली समाप्ता ॥ राधाधर-
सुधाधारधरायाधरसश्रिये । गोपालपुरराजाय नमः पीताम्बराय ते ॥
This Ms also was utilised by Pischel in
writing his monograph noted above.



*Manuscript from the Saṃskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣad,
Calcutta*

SSP = Saṃskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣad Manuscript no. 85, without commentary. Complete: Folio 1-41a; reddish brown country made paper; size $3\frac{1}{4}'' \times 13\frac{3}{4}''$; 6 lines on a page, the last page (fol. 41a) containing 5 lines. Neat, clear modern Bengali script; not older than the 19th century. Total number of verses counted as 388. The colophon reads :
 इति पद्यावली समाप्ता ॥ श्रीश्रीराधाकृष्णाभ्यां नमः ॥ ओं नमो
 भगवते वासुदेवाय नमः ॥ ओं नमो रामचन्द्राय नमः ॥ श्रीहरिः ॥
 Fairly correct, barring obvious slips and incorrect spellings. Agrees generally with DD. No marginal gloss. On the right hand corner of the margin of fol. 24b and again of fol. 27b there are written respectively the figures १२१२१० and १४११११. The manuscript was received on loan through the courtesy of Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarty.

Manuscripts from the Asiatic Society of Bengal

ASA = Asiatic Society of Bengal Paper Manuscript no. III. F. 177, mentioned in the *Catalogue of Printed Books and Manuscripts belonging to the Oriental Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, compiled by



Kuñjavihāri Nyāyabhūṣaṇa, Calcutta 1899-1901. Without commentary. Complete : Folio 1-41, ending at 41b. Size 5"×12"; 8 lines on a page. Both its Bengali script and its white paper are modern, the latter containing distinct water-marks. The Ms appears to be a modern copy made probably in the beginning or middle of the 19th century. The script is neat, clear and bold. No marginal gloss. Counts 385 verses but reads two additional verses after the counting. After our verse no. 387 it ends :
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ श्रीचैतन्यनित्यानन्दचरणौ शरणं मम ।
 स्यातां समस्तवैगुण्यध्वंसिनौ जन्मजन्मनि ॥ इति पद्यावली
 समाप्ता ॥ लसदुज्ज्वलरस० (see our text, p. 178 f.n.) ॥
 राधाधरसुधाधार० (see as above) ॥ श्रीतीराचन्द्रदेवशर्मणः
 पुस्तकमिदं स्वाक्षरञ्चेति ॥ Agrees generally with SSP.

ASB=Asiatic Society of Bengal Paper Manuscript no. III. F. 180, mentioned in the Catalogue as above. Without commentary. No marginal gloss. Complete : Folio 1-59, ending at 59b. Size 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ "×12 $\frac{1}{4}$ "; 5 lines on a page, excepting the last page which contains two lines. The script and paper are modern ; of the same date probably as ASA. Counts 385 verses. Ends : इति



पद्यावली पूर्त्तिमगात् ॥ श्रीश्रीकृष्णचैतन्यचन्द्राय नमः ॥ श्रीराधा-
गोविन्ददेवो जयति ॥ Agrees generally with DC
and occasionally with DD and PA ; but
appears to have some value being allied
to VSPA (see below).

ASC=Asiatic Society of Bengal Paper Manuscript no. II. A. 12, mentioned in the Catalogue as above. Written and bound in book-size (8" x 12"); yellow country-made paper ; modern Bengali script ; pages 1-38, ending at 38a. Without commentary. Agrees very closely with IO in the earlier portions of the text, probably copied from the same original. Very incorrectly and indifferently copied, dropping words, letters, vowel-signs, anusvāra and visarga, besides giving obviously corrupt readings (it was not worth while to note these readings in our critical notes). Towards the end, many of the verses are left unassigned. The verses are not regularly numbered. The Ms is not of much value. The Ms begins with the beginning of a commentary on the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* of Līlāśuka Bilvamaṅgala on pages 1-2 ; but on line 17 of page 2, the *Padyāvalī* abruptly commences with ॐमिदमाकृत्य हरिणा (verse no. 17 of our text). But the earlier omitted



verses (1-16), as well as verses 17-29 (repeated over again), are supplied at the end at pp. 35-38; but here also much extraneous matter creeps in mysteriously after verse no. 29. On p. 34, after our verse no. 385 (यदुवंशावतंसाय), two unconnected verses come in; and after our verse no. 381 (किं पादान्ते लुठसि) metrical definitions of different Nāyikās are given without any connexion. Ends with our verse no. 387. The colophon reads: इति श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामिसमाहृता पद्यावली समाप्ता ॥

These three manuscripts from the Asiatic Society of Bengal are modern copies, which are of little value, and one of them (ASC) is a hopelessly incorrect and badly written copy. They have not therefore proved very useful; and yet to obtain them on loan from the Society had not been an easy matter. Repeated applications were made on behalf of the editor by the Dacca University authorities for a loan of these three manuscripts to the University library, where they would have been collated; but no reply was received to any of these applications. After six months' fruitless correspondence, the editor was asked by the Vice-chancellor to see Mr. Van Mannen, Secretary to



the Society, personally at Calcutta on behalf of the University. It has to be recorded with deep regret that in the interview which followed, a rather brusque declaration was made by the Secretary that the Society was "not a public institution" and that the Mss in question could not be lent even to a public institution like Dacca University, which was willing to take every responsibility with regard to their safe custody and return. One is not sure if this is the view of the authorities of the Society, but it would have certainly smoothed matters a great deal if a little more courtesy, which is desirable in such cases, had been shown by replying to the applications, as well as during the interview. Baffled in this way, the editor approached his friend Professor R. C. Majumdar, who was a member of the Society and who favoured him by personally borrowing the Mss for his use. The editor here makes sincere acknowledgments to Professor Majumdar ; but he cannot refrain from remarking that, even admitting that the Society was not a public institution, it is difficult to believe that this oldest oriental society founded by Sir William Jones was not intended for the benefit of workers in



the field of oriental scholarship ; for such direct refusal of assistance to scholars other than its members, which the editor unfortunately experienced, can hardly be regarded as consistent with the object of any great oriental society.

*Manuscripts from the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad,
Calcutta*

VSPA=Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad Paper Manuscript no. 1092. Without commentary. Complete : Folio 1-27a. Size $5'' \times 13\frac{3}{4}''$; 12 lines on a page, but sometimes 10 (fol. 1b) or 11 (fol. 2a) are also found. Occasional marginal glosses. Appearance old and very worn, the last folio being partly damaged and worn out on the edges. Its Bengali script is old ; the writing is fairly clear and bold but faded in some places. It is a fairly correct and valuable manuscript ; and, along with DA noticed above, it is one of the oldest and most important manuscripts collated for this edition. It agrees generally with DB-DC group, but occasionally with TB. Ends : इति पद्यावली समाप्ता ॥ पक्षशरसहखे च शाके मल्लमहीपतेः । रविवारे सिताष्टम्यां ग्रन्थोऽयं पूर्णतां गतः ॥ This apparently

A18.



gives the date of the copying of the Ms in 952 (?) Malla Era=1646 A.D. Donor of the Ms: Pañchānana Bhaṭṭācārya.

VSPB=Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad Paper Manuscript no. 1091. Without commentary. Complete: Folio 1-37a. Size $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10\frac{3}{4}''$; 10 lines on a page. A modern copy written on European paper in fine bold modern Bengali script. Not very correct. No gloss and no signs that the Ms was ever studied. The headings and sections are written in red ink. It agrees very often with PB. After our verse no. 387, it reads: श्रीमन्मदनगोपालचरणद्वन्द्वसन्निधौ । पद्यावली विरचिता केन-चिद् द्विजबन्धुना ॥ (see PB) श्रीश्रीवृन्दाटवीश्वराभ्यां नमः ॥ इति श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामिना विरचिता पद्यावली समाप्ता ॥ शकाब्दाः १७७२ ॥ सन १२५७ साल ॥ (=1850 A.D.) सौरचैत्रमासस्य सप्तमदिवसे बुधवारे द्वितीयायां तिथौ समाप्तश्चायं ग्रन्थः ॥ श्रीकालिदासवसुदासस्य स्वाक्षरमिदं पुस्तकञ्च ॥ Donor of the Ms: Basanta Rañjana Rāya Vidvadvallabha.

Both these Mss from the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad were obtained through the courtesy of Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji.



Among the sixteen manuscripts collated for this edition, the six Dacca University Mss can be roughly distinguished into two groups, the Mss in each of which agree in most particulars and should be traced to a common source: viz., (i) DA, DD, DE and (ii) DB, DC, DF. The source of the first group may be designated X and that of the second Y, each of which again appears to go back to a common archetype. Of the remaining Mss the following appear to be more closely allied and may be grouped together: (a) SSP and ASA, with which the printed text of AKG generally agrees (b) IO and ASC (c) VSPA and ASB, and (d) PB and VSPB ; but none of the individual Mss of each of these groups can be taken as copies of the same original or replicas of each other. The codex TB appears to belong generally to the source X, but it occasionally agrees also with the source Y ; while PA, which stands somewhat apart, may be connected generally with the source Y. Beyond this general classification, direct affiliation is difficult on account of strange discordances, scribal eclecticism and obvious contamination of readings. But it would appear that



of the four groups (a), (b), (c) and (d) indicated above, the groups (a) and (b) belong to the source X, while (c) and (d) generally agree with the Mss. belonging to the source Y. The printed edition PT appears to be eclectic, but it agrees more with the source X than with the source Y.



Previous Editions of the Text

PT = Edited in Bengali character with the Sanskrit commentary of Vīracandra Gosvāmin, entitled *Rasika-raṅgadā*, and with a Bengali translation of the text by Rāma Nārāyaṇa Vidyāratna and Rāsavihārī Sāṅkhyatīratha. Murshidabad, Printed at the Radharaman Press, Berhampore. B.S. 1318 = 1911 A.D., pp. 372+v. Total number of verses, 392. [A previous edition of the same published in B.S. 1291 = 1884 A.D., pp. 372].

The commentary of Vīracandra printed in this edition (referred to by the abbreviation Comm) is not particularly valuable, being the work of a very recent author. From its opening and concluding verses we learn that the commentator was the son of Kīśorīmohana Gosvāmin and descendant of Nityānanda. He was a native of the village of Māḍo, near Mānkar, in Burdwan ; and the more well-known Raghunandana Gosvāmin, author of the Bengali poems, *Rāma-rasāyana* and *Rādhā-mādhavodaya*¹ was his step-brother. Vīracandra was the

¹ See S. K. De, *Bengali Literature in Nineteenth Century*, Calcutta 1919, p. 428.



author of several Vaiṣṇava works in Sanskrit and in Bengali, among which his Sanskrit commentary (entitled *Śabdārthabodhikā*) on Jīva Gosvāmin's *Gopāla-campū* has already been printed by Rāsavihārī Sāṅkhyatīrtha (Murshidabad 1910). The concluding verse of this commentary gives some details about Viracandra's history. His genealogy from Nityānanda is given thus: Nityānanda > Virabhadra > Gopijana-vallabha > Rāmagovinda > Viśvambhara > Rāmeśvara > Nṛsimha > Baladeva > Kiśorī-mohana > Viracandra. The commentary on the *Gopāla-campū* is stated to have been completed in Śaka 1800=1878 A.D. (युगमशून्याष्टशुभ्रांशुमिते शाके)

Besides standard Vaiṣṇava works of the Bengal school, the present commentary on the *Padyāvalī* cites *Kuvalayānanda*, *Medinī-kośa*, *Hārāvalī* (lexicon) and even the very modern lexicographical compilation *Śabda-kalpadruma*. Apart from the importation of Vaiṣṇava theology, the interpretations are useful and illuminating, but in no way valuable. In one case, however, the commentator positively fails to interpret the passage in question (no. 284, l. 3), where unable to explain the word *anantā* (really meaning 'not bowing') as applied to Kṛṣṇa, he resorts to the trick



of fancifully explaining away the word.¹

It is not necessary to speak in detail about this edition of the text which, even if sufficient for the purpose for which it was meant, can hardly be called a critical edition. It is obviously based upon insufficient manuscript material, but there is no indication of the character and extent of such material utilised. No variant readings have been given. In some places whole lines have been carelessly dropped in printing, and not enough care has been taken even in matters of spelling etc. The readings are sometimes not correct, nor even warranted by the available manuscripts ; and the reading of the text does not always correspond to that of the accompanying commentary.² It adopts continuous numbering of verses as well as separate numbering of the sections (as found in some Mss). We have dropped this separate numbering by sections, which is not uniformly given in all Mss, and have adopted continuous numbering of verses for greater facility of reference.

¹ The Bengali translation correctly renders the word. Cf. *Kaṇḍa-vacana* no. 20 and notes thereon.

² In many cases the commentary gives readings entirely different from those of the printed text. The commentator appears also to have access to more than one Ms of the text, and occasionally notices variant readings. These have been given in our critical notes.



We could not procure any Ms of the commentary, for all our sixteen Mss contain no commentary. The editing of this late commentary, however, would not have served any useful purpose. No other commentary on the *Padyāvalī* is known.

AKG = Edited in Bengali character by Atula Kṛṣṇa Goṣvāmī. The copy lent to us by our friend Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarty is unfortunately without any title-page, and therefore the date and place of publication could not be ascertained. But Mr. Chakravarty later on supplied a full description of the Sanskrit title-page of this edition, which is as follows :
 श्रीश्रीकृष्णचैतन्यो जयति । श्रीश्रीपद्यावली । श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामिना
 समाहृता । श्रीमन्नित्यानन्दप्रभुवंश्येन श्रीअतुलकृष्णगोस्वामिना
 सम्पादिता । १३ संख्यक आनन्दनिवागानलेनस्थितात्
 गौडीयवैष्णवसम्मिलनीकार्यालयतः सम्पादकेनैव प्रकाशिता च ।
 श्रीफाल्गुनीपूर्णिमा ; श्रीचैतन्याब्दाः ४३१ (= 1916 A.D.),
 pp. 120. It contains the text only and no commentary. The names of the individual authors are given before, and not after (as in the Mss), the verses assigned to them. Verses which appeared doubtful or interpolated to the editor are apparently enclosed in brackets. No



variant readings are noted, nor are the sources of the text indicated anywhere. It is not a critical edition, but the printing is done here more carefully and correctly than in the edition noticed above. There are 388 verses consecutively numbered, excluding the preliminary and concluding verses of the compiler.



THE TEXT



॥ श्रीः ॥

श्रीश्रीराधाकृष्णाभ्यां नमः ॥

पद्यावली विरचिता रसिकैर्मुकुन्द-
सम्बन्धवन्धुरपदा प्रमदोर्मिसिन्धुः ।
रम्या समस्ततमसां दमनी क्रमेण
संगृह्यते कृतिकदम्बककौतुकाय ॥१॥

5

प्रारम्भे मङ्गलाचरणम्

नमो नलिननेत्राय वेणुवाद्यविनोदिने ।
राधाधरसुधापानशालिने वनमालिने ॥२॥

कस्यचित् ॥ 10

1. Only one श्री in DA, ASC ; श्रीश्रीराधारमणाय नमः DB ;
श्रीगुरवे नमः DD ; श्रीकृष्णाय नमः SSP, VSPA ; श्रीगान्धर्वा-
गिरिधराभ्यां नमः TB ; नमः श्रीकृष्णाय IO ; ओं श्रीगणेशाय
नमः PA, PB (without ओं) ; श्रीश्रीकृष्णः ASA.
5. समस्ततमसो PB ; दलनी PA.
7. ग्रन्थारम्भे ASB, PT ; ग्रन्थप्रारम्भे AKG ; only मङ्गलं PB ;
the whole heading omitted in DC, PA, SSP ;
मङ्गलाचरणानि IO, ASC.
10. The verse is unassigned in Comm.



भक्तिप्रह्वविलोकनप्रणयिनी नीलोत्पलस्पर्धिनी
 ध्यानालम्बनतां समाधिनिरतैर्नीतिहितप्राप्तये ।
 लावण्यैकमहानिधी रसिकतां राधादृशोस्तन्वती
 युष्माकं कुरुतां भवार्तिशमनं नेत्रे तनुर्वा हरेः ॥३॥

सारङ्गस्य ॥ 5

ये गोवर्धनमूलकर्मरसव्यादष्टवर्हाङ्गदा
 ये वृन्दावनकुक्षिषु व्रजवधुनीलोपधानानि च ।
 ये चाभ्यङ्गसुगन्धयः कुवल्यापीडस्य दानाम्भसा
 ते वो मङ्गलमादिशन्तु सततं कंसद्विषो बाहवः ॥४॥

शुभाङ्गस्य ॥ 10

1. PT reads before this verse: अथ भक्तानां प्रति आशीर्वादः । Cited in *KVS* 31 (unassigned) = *Sbhv* 43 (भागवतामृतदत्तस्य) = *SRBh* p. 16, no. 32 (भागवतामृतदत्तस्य) ; anonymously in various works on *Alaṃkāra*, e.g. *Kāvya-prakāśa* ad ix, 7 = *Vāgbhaṭa's Alaṃkāra-tilaka* p. 50 = *Alaṃkāra-śekhara* p. 159 = *Sāhitya-k.* ad xi, 8 = *Rasa-gaṅgādharā* p. 774 = *Hemacandra* p. 228 etc. Also cited in *Jahlaṇa's Śūkti-Muktāvalī* as अमृतदत्तस्य ।
3. लावण्यस्य महा० *KVS*, *Sbhv* ; लावण्यैकमुधा० TB ; लक्ष्मीदृशो in all anthologies and *Alaṃkāra*-texts (excepting *Sāhitya-k.*)
4. भवार्तिहरणं *Sbhv* ; शमनी *Hemacandra* ; भयार्तिशमनं PA.
5. शारङ्गस्य TB, IO, ASC ; वाङ्गस्य (or राङ्गस्य) SSP.
6. Cited in *SKM* p. 76 (i, 293) as शुभाङ्गस्य । मूलकर्षणरस० PA ; व्यादिगवर्हा० AKG, व्याजुष्टवर्हा० TB, व्यायुष्टवर्हा० IO ; बह्वृच्छदा *SKM*.
8. योगेऽभ्यङ्ग० SSP.
9. मङ्गलमाचरन्तु AKG.
10. शुभाङ्गस्य DB, DC, DD, TB, ASB, VSPB, Comm ; शुभङ्करस्य VSPA.



सायं व्यावर्तमानाखिलसुरभिकुलाह्वानसङ्केतनामा-
न्याभीरीवृन्दचेतोहठहरणकलासिद्धमन्त्राक्षराणि ।
सौभाग्यं वः समन्तादधतु मधुभिदः केलिगोपालमूर्तः
सानन्दाकृष्टवृन्दावनरसिकमृगश्रेणयो वेणुनादाः ॥५॥

हरस्य ॥

5

अथ श्रीकृष्णस्य महिमा

अम्भोधिः स्थलतां स्थलं जलधितां धुल्लेलवः शैलतां
शैलो मृत्कणतां तृणं कुलिशतां वज्रं तृणक्षीणताम् ।
वह्निः शीतलतां हिमं दहनतामायाति यस्येच्छया
लीलादुर्ललिताद्भुतव्यसनिने कृष्णाय तस्मै नमः ॥६॥

10

कस्यचित् ॥

1. Cited in *SKM*, p. 73 (उमापतिधरस्य) । व्यावर्त्यमाना० PB, Comm.
2. ०हठकरणा० PT, AKG. 4. स्वानन्दा० TB.
6. अथ omitted DA, DB, DC, PA, ASB, VSPA ; श्रीकृष्ण-महिमा AKG, IO, ASC, VSPB ; whole heading omitted PB.
7. Cited in *ŚP* 445 (unassigned)=*Sbhv* 3152 (unassigned)=*SRbh* p. 98, no 118 (क्षेमेन्द्रस्य) ।
8. तृणक्षीणताम् *ŚP*, *Sbhv* ; तृणप्रायताम् *SRbh*, PA.
10. हेलादुर्ललिता० PA ; ०ललिताद्भुतव्यसनिने SSP ; दैवाय for कृष्णाय *ŚP*, *Sbhv*, *SRbh* ; तुभ्यं for तस्मै TB.
11. श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामिनां PB ; कस्यचित् । श्रीक्रमगोस्वामिनां VSPB.



वात्सल्यादभयप्रदानसमयादार्तार्तिनिर्वापणा-
 दौदार्यादघशोषणादगणितश्रेयःपदप्रापणात् ।
 सेव्यः श्रीपतिरेव सर्वजगतामेते यतः साक्षिणः
 प्रह्लादश्च विभीषणश्च करिराट् पाञ्चाल्यहल्या ध्रुवः ॥७॥
 कस्यचित् ॥ 5

अथ भजनमाहात्म्यम्

व्याधस्याचरणं ध्रुवस्य च वयो विद्या गजेन्द्रस्य का
 कुब्जायाः किमु नाम रूपमधिकं किं तत् सुदाम्नो धनम् ।
 वंशः को विदुरस्य यादवपतेरुग्रस्य किं पौरुषं
 भक्त्या तुष्यति केवलं न च गुणैर्भक्तिप्रियो माधवः ॥८॥ 10
 दाक्षिणात्यस्य ॥

अनुचितमुचितं वा कर्म कोऽयं विभागो
 भगवति परमास्तां भक्तियोगो द्रढीयान् ।

3. जगत्साक्षिणः PB.
6. अथ omitted DA, DD ; श्रीकृष्णस्य भजनं PT ; the whole heading omitted ASC ; only भजनं PB.
7. Cited in *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* anonymously, p. 1334 (ed. Berhampore).
8. कमनीयरूपं PB ; किं वा सुदान्नो IO, ASB ; तत् किं सुदान्नो DC, TB, VSPA.
10. न तु गुणैः DC, PA, TB, VSPA ; भक्तप्रियो DA, PB.
11. कस्यचिदाक्षिणात्यस्य IO, ASB ; only कस्यचित् PB, AKG ; दाक्षिणात्यस्य कस्यचित् VSPB.
13. भवति परमास्तां PB.



किरति विषमहीन्द्रः सान्द्रपीयूषमिन्दु-
द्वयमपि स महेशो निर्विशेषं विभर्ति ॥६॥

श्रीविष्णुपुरीपादानाम् ॥

यदि मधुमथन त्वङ्घ्रिं सेवां
हृदि विदधाति जहाति वा विवेकी ।
तदखिलमपि दुष्कृतं त्रिलोके
कृतमकृतं न-कृतं कृतं च सर्वम् ॥१०॥

5

तेषामेव ॥

काषायान्न च भोजनादिनियमान्नो वा वने वासतो
व्याख्यानादथ वा मुनिव्रतभराचित्तोद्भवः क्षीयते ।
किं तु स्फीतकलिन्दशैलतनयातीरेषु विक्रीडतो
गोविन्दस्य पदारविन्दभजनारम्भस्य लेशादपि ॥११॥
कस्यचित् ॥

10

3. श्री omitted IO, ASB ; ०पुरीश्रीपादानां DA, DD, TB, IO, ASB, VSPA ; only श्रीविष्णुपुरी PB.
5. वाविवेकी Comm, DD, IO ; वा dropped in ASC.
6. दुष्कृतं corrected into यत्नतः PA.
7. For न-कृतं, PA reads छकृतं, but some Mss read न कृतं separately ; these two words dropped SSP, ASC ; IO reads the line as कृतमकृतं वा न कृतं कृतं सर्वम् ।
8. Unassigned PB.
9. रागतो for वासतो IO.
10. ०व्रतभवाचित्तो DA, PB ; ०व्रतधरा DB.
12. लेशाद्यथा PB. 13. कस्यचित् । श्रीपण्डितगोस्वामिनः VSPB.



अलमलमियमेव प्राणिनां पातकानां
 निरसनविषये या कृष्ण कृष्णेति वाणी ।
 यदि भवति मुकुन्दे भक्तिरानन्दसान्द्रा
 विलुठति चरणाब्जे मोक्षसाम्राज्यलक्ष्मीः ॥१२॥

सर्वज्ञस्य ॥

5

अथ प्रेम्णः सौभाग्यम्

नानोपचारकृतपूजनमार्तबन्धोः
 प्रेम्णैव भक्तहृदयं सुखविद्रुतं स्यात् ।
 यावत् क्षुदस्ति जठरे जरठा पिपासा
 तावत् सुखाय भवतो ननु भक्ष्यपेये ॥१३॥

10

श्रीरामानन्दरायस्य ॥

कृष्णभक्तिरसभाविता मतिः
 क्रीयतां यदि कुतोऽपि लभ्यते ।
 तत्र मूल्यमपि लौल्यमेकलं
 जन्मकोटिसुकृतैर्न लभ्यते ॥१४॥

15

कस्यचित् ॥

1. This line is read as third *pāda* of the verse in PT.
5. Unassigned SSP, ASA.
6. अथ omitted DB ; the whole heading omitted in PB.
7. ०पूजनमात्मबन्धोः SSP.
8. तत्त for भक्त SSP ; प्रेमैव भक्तहृदये सुखविद्रु तस्य PA.
9. क्षुधास्ति जठरे जठरे PA.
10. न तु भक्ष्य० PB.
11. श्रीरायरामानन्दस्य DB, DC, VSPA ; श्रीरामानन्दस्य DD, ASC, PT ; रामानन्दराजस्य PB.
12. ०रसवासिता DD, SSP.
13. कुतो न PA ; ०पि dropped DC.
14. तत्र मौल्यमपि PB, AKG.
16. Unassigned IO, ASC.



ज्ञानमस्ति तुलितं च तुलायां
 प्रेम नैव तुलितं तु तुलायाम् ।
 सिद्धिरेव तुलितात्र तुलायां
 कृष्णनाम तुलितं न तुलायाम् ॥१५॥

श्रीधरस्वामिपादानाम् ॥

5

अथ नाममाहात्म्यम्

अंहः संहरदखिलं सकृदुदयादेव सकललोकस्य ।
 तरणिरिव तिमिरजलधिं जयति जगन्मङ्गलं हरेर्नाम ॥१६॥
 श्रीलक्ष्मीधराणाम् ॥

चतुर्णां वेदानां हृदयमिदमाकृत्य हरिणा 10
 चतुर्भिर्यद्वर्णैः स्फुटमघटि नारायणपदम् ।
 तदेतद्गायन्तो वयमनिशमात्मानमधुना
 पुनीमो जानीमो न हरिपरितोषाय किमपि ॥१७॥
 कस्यचित् ॥

1. तु for च PA, SSP, ASA.
3. तुलिता तु DD. This line occurs as the second *pāda* in SSP.
5. श्रीधरस्वामिनां PB, AKG, ASC.
6. अथ omitted DD, VSPA, VSPB ; the whole heading missing PB, ASC.
7. From Lakṣmīdhara's *Bhagavan-nāma-kaumudī* (ed. Benares), p. 1 = Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Antya iii, 180 (anonymously). अंघः for अंहः SSP, ASA ; सकृदुदयादेव PB ; सकृदुदयादिव VSPB.
8. तरणिवितरणिजलधिं PB.
9. श्री omitted DD, PB ; श्रीधराणां PT, Comm.
10. विधिना for हरिणा PB (DC notes this reading on the margin).



योगश्च त्र्युपपत्तिर्जनवनध्यानाध्वसम्भावित-
 स्वराज्यं प्रतिपद्य निर्भयममी मुक्ता भवन्तु द्विजाः ।
 अस्माकं तु कदम्बकुञ्जकुहरप्रोन्मीलदिन्दीवर-
 श्यामश्यामलधामनाम जुषतां जन्मास्तु लक्षावधि ॥१८॥
 श्रीमदीश्वरपुरीषादानम् ॥ 5

कल्याणानां निधानं कलिमलमथनं पावनं पावनानां
 पाथेयं यन्मुमुक्षोः सपदि परपदप्राप्तये प्रोच्यमानम् ।
 विश्रामस्थानमेकं कविवरवचसां जीवनं सज्जनानां
 बीजं धर्मद्रुमस्य प्रभवतु भवतां भूतये कृष्णनाम ॥१९॥

कस्यचित् ॥ 10

वेषन्ते दुरितानि मोहमहिमा सम्मोहमालम्बते
 सातङ्कं नखरञ्जनीं कलयति श्रीचित्रगुप्तः कृती ।

1. °सम्भावितः DC, PT, VSPB ; सम्भावितं DD, SSP, ASA, ASB. 2. प्रतिपाद्य ASB, PT, VSPB.
4. श्रेणीश्यामल° DD, PA, PB ; श्यामलनामधाम DA, PA, PB, VSPB.
5. °पुरीश्रीपादानां DA, DD, TB, VSPA, VSPB ; un-assigned PB.
6. Occurs in *Mahānāṭaka* (Dāmodara i, 1=Madhusūdana i, 8). The v.l. noted from the various Mss of the drama are : निदानं, °प्राप्तये प्रस्थितस्य, धर्मद्रुमाणां and the invariable रामनाम ।
6. निदानं DB, DC, IO, Comm, ASB, ASC (both reading in two places respectively, at fol. 2 and fol. 37), VSPA, VSPB. 7. °प्राप्तये प्रस्थितस्य DA, DB, PA.
9. कर्मद्रुमस्य DB ; रामनाम PA, PB.
12. मषिरञ्जनीं PB ; कलयते DA, DB, DC, TB, IO, ASC, (fol. 2 but कलयति on fol. 37).



सानन्दं मधुपर्कसम्भृतिविधौ वेधाः करोत्युद्यमं
वक्तुं नास्ति तवेश्वराभिलषिते ब्रूमः किमन्यत् परम् ॥२०॥
कस्यचित् ॥

कः परेतनगरीपुरन्दरः

को भवेदथ तदीयकिङ्करः ।

5

कृष्णनाम जगदेकमङ्गलं

कण्ठपीठमुररीकरोति चेत् ॥२१॥

आनन्दाचार्यस्य ॥

चेतोदर्पणमार्जनं भवमहादावाग्निनिर्वापणं

श्रेयःकैरवचन्द्रिकावितरणं विद्यावधूजीवनम् ।

10

आनन्दाभ्युधिवर्धनं प्रतिपदं पूर्णामृतास्वादनं

सर्वात्मरूपनं परं विजयते श्रीकृष्णसङ्कीर्तनम् ॥२२॥

श्रीभगवतः ॥

1. °सम्भृतविधौ DD ; °सम्भृतविधोः PT but °विधौ in Comm ;
घाता for वेधाः DB ; स्वयं सज्जते for करोत्युद्यमं IO, ASC
(fol. 3, but not in fol. 37).
2. नाम for नास्ति DA ; भवेश्वरा° AKG.
3. आनन्दाचार्यस्य VSPA.
8. श्रीआनन्दा° SSP, ASA ; कस्यचित् VSPA.
11. प्रेमाभृतास्वादनं SSP, ASA.
13. Cited in Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Antya,
xx, 12, as Caitanya's. श्रीश्री° DA, DB, DC, PT,
VSPA, VSPB ; श्रीमद्भागवते ASB ; ASC reads (fol.
37 but not in fol. 3 where श्रीभगवतः only) श्रीभगवतः
श्रीकृष्णचैतन्यदेवस्य ।

A2.



ब्रह्माण्डानां कोटिसंख्याधिकाना-

मैश्वर्यं यच्चैतना वा यदंशः ।

आविर्भूतं तन्महः कृष्णनाम

तन्मे साध्यं साधनं जीवनं च ॥२३॥

केषाञ्चित् ॥

5

विष्णोर्नामैव पुंसः शमलमपहरत् पुण्यमुत्पादयच्च

ब्रह्मादिस्थानभोगाद्विरतिमथ गुरुश्रीपदद्वन्द्वभक्तिम् ।

तत्त्वज्ञानं च विष्णोरिह मृतिजननभ्रान्तिबीजं च दग्धा

सम्पूर्णानन्दबोधे महति च पुरुषं स्थापयित्वा निवृत्तम् ॥२४॥

श्रीभगवद्‌व्यासपादानाम् ॥

10

नामचिन्तामणिः कृष्णश्चैतन्यरसविग्रहः ।

पूर्णः शुद्धो नित्यमुक्तोऽभिन्नत्वान्नामनामिनोः ॥२५॥

तेषामेव ॥

2. या for वा PA, PB.
6. पुंसां for पुंसः PT only.
7. गुरोः श्रीपद० PA, IO, ASC, AKG, PT ; गुरोः श्रीपदाम्भोज० DD.
8. मृतिजननं DD, PB, TB, IO, ASC.
9. महसि for महति PA ; पुरुषे DA, DD, TB, IO, ASC.
10. श्रीभगवद् omitted DC ; श्रीमद्भगवद्‌व्यास० VSPA.
11. Cited in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* (ed. Berhampore), p. 143 (यथा पात्रे) = *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* p. 1292 (anonymously).
13. एषामेव DA, DB, VSPA.



मधुरमधुरमेतन्मङ्गलं मङ्गलानां
सकलनिगमवल्लीसत्फलं चित्स्वरूपम् ।
सकृदपि परिगीतं श्रद्धया हेलया वा
भृगुवर नरमात्रं तारयेत् कृष्णनाम ॥२६॥
अमीषामेव ॥

5

स्वर्गार्थीया व्यवसिति रसौ दीनयत्येव लोकान्
मोक्षापेक्षा जनयति जनं केवलं क्लेशभाजम् ।
योगोद्योगः परमविरसस्तादृशैः किं प्रयासैः
सर्वं त्यक्त्वा मम तु रसना कृष्ण कृष्णेति रौतु ॥२७॥
कस्यचित् ॥

10

सदा सर्वत्रास्ते ननु विमलमाद्यं तव पदं
तथाप्येकं स्तोकं न हि भवतरोः पत्रमभिनत् ।
क्षणं जिह्वाग्रस्थं तव तु भगवन्नाम निखिलं

1. Cited in *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* p. 1273 (प्रभासखण्डे),
= *Tattva-sandarbhā*, p. 12, ed. Nitya-svarūpa
(प्रभासखण्डे).
5. तेषामेव DC, PB, Comm.
8. योगाभ्यासः परम० DC, DB, SSP, IO, ASA, VSPA, PT,
Comm ; तादृशे किं DA ; परमविरसैस्तादृशैः VSPB.
9. यदि तु रसना PB, VSPB ; रौति PB, VSPB.
11. विमलानद्यं PT only ; महः for पदं PB.
13. जिह्वाग्रस्थं DB, DC, PB, SSP, ASA, ASB, ASC (fol. 37,
but not in fol. 3), PT ; भवतु DB, DC, IO, ASA, ASC,
VSPA ; तव तु for तव तु, PT ; जिह्वाग्र संभवतु VSPB.



समूल ससारं कषति कतरत् सेव्यमनयोः ॥२८॥

श्रीधरस्वामिपादानाम् ॥

आकृष्टिः कृतचेतसां सुमहतामुच्चाटनं चांहसा-

माचण्डालममूकलोकसुलभो वश्यश्च मोक्षश्रियः ।

नो दीक्षां न च दक्षिणां न च पुरश्चर्यां मनागीक्षते 5

मन्त्रोऽयं रसनास्पृगेव फलति श्रीकृष्णनामात्मकः ॥२९॥

श्रीलक्ष्मीधराणाम् ॥

विचेयानि विचार्याणि विचिन्त्यानि पुनः पुनः ।

1. दहति for कषति PB ; किरति VSPB.
2. श्रीधरस्वामिनां DA, DB, DC, PB; VSPA, Comm ;
स्वामिश्रीपादानां DD ; श्रीस्वामिपादानां SSP, ASA ; un-
assigned ASC (in fol. 37, but not in fol. 3).
3. आकृष्टीकृत° AKG, PT, Comm. The verse is from
Bhagavan-nāma kaumudī (ed. Benares) p. 133 =
Subhāṣita-hārāvalī of Hari Kavi (लक्ष्मीधरस्य fol.
18a) = Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* Madhya
xv, 110 (anonymously). 4. मोक्षाश्रयः Comm.
5. दीक्षां न च सत्क्रियां DC, ASB, Comm, PT.
6. श्रीरामनामात्मकः *Bhagavan-nāma*°, VSPA, VSPB, ASC,
IO, PB (DA writes the word राम just above the
word कृष्ण).
7. श्री omitted DD, IO, AKG, ASC.
8. विचेयानि विचिन्त्यानि विचार्याणि VSPB.



कृपणस्य धनानीव त्वन्नामानि भवन्तु नः ॥३०॥

भवानन्दस्य ॥

नाम्नामकारि बहुधा निजसर्वशक्ति-

स्तत्रार्पिता नियमितः स्मरणे न कालः ।

एतादृशी तव कृपा भगवन्ममापि

5

दुर्देवमीदृशमिहाजनि नानुरागः ॥३१॥

श्रीभगवतः ॥

1. तन्नामानि DD, AKG.
2. कस्यचित् DA, DD, IO, SSP, PA, ASA, ASB, ASC ;
कस्यचित् । श्रीभवानन्दस्य VSPB.
3. Cited in *Sbhv* 3481 as मधुसूदनस्य = Kṛṣṇadāsa's
Caitanya-caritāmṛta, Antya xx, 16, as Caitanya's.
बहुता for बहुधा PA, PB, SSP, ASA, AKG, *Sbhv*.
The grammatical construction of the sentence as
given in the text is peculiar ; but the reading बहुता
is not supported by the best Mss and is obviously
an emendation. The commentator appears to
be conscious of the difficulty and explains :
नाम्नां बहुधा (बहुता ?) बहुप्रकारोऽकारि, कस्मिन् कस्मिन् कस्याभि-
रुचिर्जायतामित्येतदर्थः । यद्वा, नित्यसिद्धानां नाम्नां कस्यासम्भवादेवं
वा व्याख्येयम्—भवता नाम्नां बहुधा प्रकाशोऽभूत्, कृष्णधातोरर्थान्तर-
वृत्तित्वेनाकर्मकत्वादतो भावे प्रत्ययः ॥
4. स्तत्रार्पिता विरचितः स्मरणे VSPB.
5. भगवंस्तथापि *Sbhv* ; कृपा मम चेन्मुकुन्द DD.
6. ०मीदृशमहो जनिनानुरागः PB.
7. श्रीश्री० DB, IO, TB, ASC, PT, VSPA, VSPB.



अथ नामकीर्तनम्

तृणादपि सुनीचेन तरोरपि सहिष्णुना ।

अमानिना मानदेन कीर्तनीयः सदा हरिः ॥३२॥

श्रीभगवतः ॥

श्रीरामेति जनार्दनेति जगतां नाथेति नारायणे-

5

त्यानन्देति दयापरेति कमलाकान्तेति कृष्णेति च ।

श्रीमन्नाममहामृताब्धिखहरीकलोलमग्नं मुहु-

र्मुह्यन्तं गलदश्रुनेत्रमवशं मां नाथ नित्यं कुरु ॥३३॥

श्रीलक्ष्मीधराणाम् ॥

1. अथ omitted DD, which reads कृष्णानामसङ्कीर्तनं ; अथ कृष्णानामसङ्कीर्तनं IO, ASC ; अथ श्रीकृष्णानामसङ्कीर्तनं PA, SSP ; अथ नामसङ्कीर्तनं TB, AKG, ASB, VSPB, VSPA ; अथ श्रीकृष्णानाममाहात्म्यं ASA ; the heading entirely omitted PB.
2. Cited in Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Antya, xx, 21 as Caitanya's ; cited in *Bhakti-sandarbhā* p. 619 with यथोपदिष्टं कलियुगपावनावतारेण श्रीभगवता ।— च नीचेन DA, PA, PB ; तरोरिव DB, DC, VSPB, ASB, AKG, PT ; तितिक्षुणा for सहिष्णुना DA, DB, PA, VSPA.
4. श्रीश्री० DB, DC, TB, PT, VSPA, VSPB ; तस्यैव PB.
5. Occurs in *Bhagavat-nāma-k.* p. 58, 134 = *Subhāṣita-hārāvali*, fol. 12, 236. (लक्ष्मीधरस्य) ।
9. श्री omitted DD.



श्राकान्त कृष्ण करुणामय कञ्जनाभ
कैवल्यवल्लभ मुकुन्द मुरान्तकेति ।
नामावलीं विमलमौक्तिकहारलक्ष्मी-
लावण्यवञ्चनकरीं करवाणि कण्ठे ॥३४॥
तेषामेव ॥

5

कृष्ण राम मुकुन्द वामन वासुदेव जगद्गुरो
मत्स्य कच्छप नारसिंह वराह राघव पाहि माम् ।
देवदानवनारदादिमुनीन्द्रवन्द्य दयानिधे
देवकीमुत देहि मे तव पादभक्तिमन्त्रचञ्चलाम् ॥३५॥
कस्यचित् ॥

10

हे गोपालक हे कृपाजलनिधे हे सिन्धुकन्यापते
हे कंसान्तक हे गजेन्द्रकरुणापारीण हे माधव ।
हे रामानुज हे जगन्नाथगुरो हे पुण्डरीकाक्ष मां
हे गोपीजननाथ पालय परं जानामि न त्वां विना ॥३६॥
श्रीवैष्णवस्य ॥

15

1. Occurs in *Bhagavan-nāma-k.*, p. 31.
3. °विरलमौक्तिक° ASA ; °हारलक्ष्मी° *Bhagavan-nāma*°.
4. लावण्यवञ्चनवतीं *ibid* ; करवाम कण्ठे DB, DC, PT, Comm, VSPA.
5. तस्यैव SSP, ASA.
6. Cited anonymously in *Hari-bhakti-v.* pp. 808-9.
This verse is omitted PA.
7. रत्न for पाहि DD.
14. जानामि न त्वत्परम् PB.
15. श्रीवत्सस्य PA.



श्रीनारायण पुण्डरीकनयन श्रीराम सीतापते
 गोविन्दाच्युत नन्दनन्दन मुकुन्दानन्द दामोदर ।
 विष्णो राघव वासुदेव नृहरे देवेन्द्रचूडामणे
 संसारार्णवकर्णधारक हरे श्रीकृष्ण तुभ्यं नमः ॥३७॥
 तस्यैव ॥ 5

भाण्डीरेश शिखण्डमण्डन वर श्रीखण्डलिप्राङ्ग हे
 वृन्दारण्यपुरन्दर स्फुरदमन्देन्दीवरश्यामल ।
 कालिन्दीप्रिय नन्दनन्दन परानन्दारविन्देक्षण
 श्रोगोविन्द मुकुन्द सुन्दरतनो मां दीनमानन्दय ॥३८॥
 श्रीगोपालभट्टानाम् ॥ 10

2. मुकुन्दानन्दन PT ; PB reads instead हरे गोपाल ; मुकुन्दानन्त VSPB.
4. ँकर्णधार कुहरे Comm (कुहरे explained as कुं पापं हरतीति तथाभूत).
5. कस्यचित् PT only ; श्रीवैष्णवस्य Comm. ; unassigned DC ; DD adds अष्टादश before तस्यैव (referring to the 18 names in the verse).
6. हे भाण्डीरेश शिखण्डमण्डन PT only ; शिखण्डमण्डनवर DC, PA, VSPB. DB and DC read immediately before this verse :

मुकुन्द विष्णो जगदीश शौरे
 प्रभो हरे माधव दीननाथ ।
 अनाथनाथाच्युत वासुदेव

भवान्विपारं कुरु मामनाथम् ॥ श्रीकृष्णदेवशर्मणः ॥

DC omitting the name of the author.

10. ०भट्टस्य PA ; ०भट्टपादानां DB, SSP, ASA, VSPA ; श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामिनां PB ; समाहर्तुः IO, ASC, DD (adding द्वादश before it).



अथ श्रीकृष्णकथामाहात्म्यम्

श्रुतमप्यौपनिषदं दूरे हरिकथामृतात् ।
यत्र सन्ति द्रवच्चित्तकम्पाश्रुपुलकोद्गमाः ॥३६॥
श्रीभगवद्‌व्यासपादानाम् ॥

नैव दिव्यसुखभोगमर्थये 5
नापवर्गमपि नाथ कामये ।
यान्तु कर्गविवरं दिने दिने
कृष्णकेलिचरितामृतानि मे ॥४०॥
कविरत्नस्य ॥

अहो अहोभिर्न कलेर्विदूयते 10
सुधामुधारामधुरं पदे पदे ।
दिने दिने चन्दनचन्द्रशीतलं
यशो यशोदातनयस्य गीयते ॥४१॥
तस्यैव ॥

1. अथ omitted DD ; श्रीकृष्णस्य DA, DB, VSPA ; कृष्णस्य DC ; कथामहिमा DB ; श्रीकथामाहात्म्यं VSPB ; the whole heading omitted PB.
 2. Cited in *Bhakti-sandarbha* p. 477 with गीतं कलियुग-पावनावतारेण श्रीभगवता ।—अ तमप्युपनिषदं DD.
 3. ०पुलकादयः PT only.
 4. ०पादा० omitted AKG ; श्री omitted PB.
 6. नाम for नाथ PA, PB.
 8. ०केलिचरितानि मे IO, SSP, ASA, ASC.
 9. कविराजस्य PB.
 11. सुधामुधारामधुरं DD.
- A3.



नन्दनन्दनकैशोरलीलामृतमहाम्बुधौ ।

निमग्नानां किमस्माकं निर्वाणलवणाग्भसा ॥४२॥

यादवेन्द्रपुरीपादानाम् ॥

त्वत्कथामृतपाथोधौ विहरन्तो महामुदः ।

कुर्वन्ति कृतिनः केचिच्चतुर्वर्गं तृणोपमम् ॥४३॥

5

श्रीधरस्वामिपादानाम् ॥

तत्रैव गङ्गा यमुना च तत्र

गोदावरी तत्र सरस्वती च ।

सर्वाणि तीर्थानि वसन्ति तत्र

यत्राच्युतोदारकथाप्रसङ्गः ॥४४॥

10

कस्यचित् ॥

या भुक्तिलक्ष्मीर्भुवि कामुकानां

या मुक्तिलक्ष्मीर्हृदि योगभाजाम् ।

1. ०महार्णवे IO, ASC ; महोदधौ DD.
3. श्रीयादवेन्द्र० SSP, ASA, VSPB ; ०पुरीणां DA, DB, DC, TB, AKG, VSPA, PT ; ०पुरीश्रीपादानां PA, IO, ASC, AKG ; यादवेन्द्रश्रीपादानां PB.
4. Cited in *Bhakṭi-rasāmṛta-sindhu*, p. 27 (तथा भावार्थदीपिकायाम्). This verse is omitted in PB.
6. ०स्वामिनः PA ; ०स्वामिनां DA, DB, DC, Comm ; श्रीस्वामिपादानां SSP, ASA ; unassigned DD.
7. For a similar verse see *Padma-Purāṇa* (ed. Ānandāśrama), uttara-khaṇḍa, vi, ch. 73, śl. 11.
8. सिन्धुः PA ; सिन्धु PB.
12. या मुक्ति० SSP ; या भक्ति० ASB ; कामुकानां corrected into भावुकानां ASA. ASB drops all words from भुवि to मुक्तिलक्ष्मी०.



यानन्दलक्ष्मी रसिकेन्द्रमौलेः

सा कापि लीलावतु माधवस्य ॥४५॥

श्रीशङ्करस्य ॥

अथ ध्यानम्

फुल्लेन्दीवरकान्तिमिन्दुवदनं बर्हावतंसप्रियं 5
श्रीवत्साङ्गमुदारकौस्तुभधरं पीताम्बरं सुन्दरम् ।
गोपीनां नयनोत्पलार्चिततनुं गोमेपसङ्गावृतं
गोविन्दं कलवेणुवादनपरं दिव्याङ्गभूषं भजे ॥४६॥
शारदाकारस्य ॥

अंसाराम्बितवामकुण्डलधरं मन्दोन्नतभ्रूलतं 10
किञ्चित्कुञ्चितकोमलाधरपुटं साचिप्रसारेक्षणम् ।

3. श्री० omitted SSP, AKG ; श्रीशङ्कराचार्यस्य PB, VSPB ; unassigned IO, ASC.
4. अथ omitted DD, PA, which read श्रीकृष्णध्यानम् ; अथ श्रीकृष्णध्यानम् SSP, IO, ASA, ASC, AKG.
5. Cited anonymously in *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, i, p. 190. वरमिन्दुकान्तिवदनं PB.
9. The name prefixed by श्री० DA, DB, DC, TB, VSPA, PT ; the name spelt as शारदाकारस्य DB, TB, ASC, IO, VSPA ; श्रीसारदारकस्य DC ; शारदकारस्य AKG ; unassigned PB.
10. Cited in *SRbh* p. 26, no. 182 (anonymously).
11. प्रसारीक्षणम् PB, *SRbh*.



आलोलङ्गुलिपल्लवैर्मुरलिकामापूरयन्तं मुदा
मूले कल्पतरोस्त्रिभङ्गललितं ध्यायेज्जगन्मोहनम् ॥४७॥

कस्यचित् ॥

अधरे विनिहितवंशं चम्पककुसुमेन कल्पितोत्तंसम् ।
विनतं दधानमंसं वामं सततं नमामि जितकंसम् ॥४८॥ 5
पुरुषोत्तमदेवस्य ॥

व्यत्यस्तपादकमलं ललितत्रिभङ्गी-
सौभाग्यमंसविरलीकृतकेशपाशम् ।
पिच्छावतंसमुररीकृतवंशनाल-

मव्याजमोहनमुपैमि कृपाविशेषम् ॥ ४९ ॥ 10
कस्यचित् ॥

3. श्रीनारदस्य DB, DC, SSP, ASA, VSPA ; पुरुषोत्तमदेवस्य Comm ; unassigned DD.
4. विकल्पितोत्तंसं AKG ; विरचितोत्तंसं DD, ASB, ASC, PA, IO, VSPB ; कल्पितोत्तंसं PT.
5. विनतालकपिहितमंसं सततं नमामि PA ; वामं dropped ASB ; बालं नमामि सततं AKG.
6. श्री० prefixed to the name SSP, TB, ASA ; कस्यचित् Comm.
7. PT and Comm read this verse before no. 48.
विन्यस्तपाद० PA ; बलित० PB, ललितं DC ; त्रिभङ्ग० DC, ASA.
9. पिच्छा० ASA, VSPB. 10. ०मोहनमुपैति VSPB.
11. तस्यैव (i. e. पुरुषोत्तमदेवस्य) AKG ; श्रीनारदस्य PT, Comm.



अथ भक्तवात्सल्यम्

अतन्द्रितचमूपतिप्रहितहस्तमस्वीकृत-

प्रणीतमणिपादुकं किमिति विस्मितान्तःपुरम् ।

अवाहनपरिष्कृत्यं पतगराजमारोहतः

करिप्रवरवृंहिते भगवत्स्वरायै नमः ॥५०॥

5

दाक्षिणात्यस्य ॥

1. DB and DC read before this an additional verse :

बर्हापीडाभिरामं मृगमदतिलकं कुन्तला[v.l. कुण्डला]क्रान्तगण्डं

कञ्जाक्षं कम्बुकण्ठं स्मितस्रग्भगमुखं स्वाधरे न्यस्तवेणुम् ।

श्यामं शान्तं त्रिभङ्गं रविकरवसनं भूषितं वैजयन्त्या

धन्दे वृन्दावनस्थं युवतिशतवृत्तं ब्रह्म गोपालवेशम् ॥ कस्यचित् ॥

1. अथ omitted PA, DD ; श्रीकृष्णस्य भक्त० PA, IO, SSP, ASA, VSPB, AKG ; कृष्णस्य भक्त० ASC ; भजनवात्सल्यम् PT ; भजनमाहात्म्यं DD ; the whole heading omitted PB.
2. Cited anonymously in *SRBh* p. 15. no. 24. DD reads अतर्कित० but corrects it into अतन्द्रित० ; अनाहत० *SRBh* ; अतन्त्रित० PT, ASA, ASB.
3. प्रणीतमपि पादुकं PB ; विस्मृतान्तःपुरं PT, AKG, Comm. ASC drops all words from ०हस्त० to ०वृंहिते ।
4. अवाहनपरिच्छदं PT ; अवाहनपरिच्छायां PB
5. करिप्रकर० PT.
6. श्री prefixed to the name PA.



द्रौपदीत्राणे तद्वाक्यम्

तमसि रविरिवोद्यन्मज्जतामप्लवानां
 प्लव इव तृषितानां स्वादुवर्षीव मेघः ।
 निधिरिव निधनानां तीव्रदुःखामयानां
 भिषगिव कुशलं नो दातुमायाति शौरिः ॥५१॥ 5
 श्रीमद्भासपादानाम् ॥

अथ भक्तानां माहात्म्यम्

प्रह्लादनारदपराशरपुण्डरीक-

व्यासाम्बरीषशुकशौनकभीष्मदाल्भ्यान् ।

1. तद् omitted AKG ; the whole heading omitted PB, ASB. After this heading IO, ASB, ASC read या त्वरा द्रौपदीत्राणे etc. (no. 63) with तस्यैव (i. e. दक्षिणात्यस्य), although the verse is again read later on in its proper place.
3. तृषितानां बर्हिषां वर्षमेघः PA.
5. दातुमायातु DD.
6. श्रीव्यास० DA, DB, VSPA, VSPB, ASB, TB, PT ; व्यासपादानां PB ; unassigned DC.
7. अथ omitted DB, DD, PB ; तद्भक्तानां PT, Comm, AKG ; विभक्तानां DC ; the whole heading omitted PB.



रुक्माङ्गदोद्धवविभीषणफाल्गुनादीन्
पुण्यानिमान् परमभागवतान्नमामि ॥५२॥

दाक्षिणात्यस्य ॥

श्रीविष्णोः श्रवणे परीक्षिदवभद् वैयासकिः कीर्तने
प्रह्लादः स्मरणे पदाब्जभजने लक्ष्मीः पृथुः पूजने । 5
अक्रूरस्त्वभिवन्दने कपिपतिर्दास्येऽथ सख्येऽर्जुनः
सर्वस्वात्मनिवेदने बलिरभूत् कृष्णाप्तिरेषा परम् ॥५३॥
कस्यचित् ॥

तेभ्यो नमोऽस्तु भववारिधिजीर्णपङ्क-
सम्मग्नमोक्षणविचक्षणपादुकेभ्यः । 10

3. श्रीवैष्णवस्य DB, DC, PB, VSPA, PT, Comm ;
दाक्षिणात्यश्रीवैष्णवस्य DD, PA, VSPB ; दाक्षिणात्यस्य
श्रीवैष्णवस्य IO, ASC.
4. Cited in *Bhakti-rasāmṛta*° p. 160 (यथा ग्रन्थान्तरे) =
Bhakti-sandarbhā p. 541 (उदाहृतानि चैतानि प्राचीनैः)
= Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Madhya xxii,
131 (anonymously). The grammatical construc-
tion with अभवत् in the first line and अभूत् in the
last is peculiar.
5. तदङ्घ्रिभजने DB, DC, SSP, ASA, ASB, PA, PB, PT,
AKG, VSPA, VSPB.
6. दास्ये च PA.
7. बलिरभूद् भक्तः कथं वार्यते PB ; परा for परम् PA, DD,
SSP, IO, ASA, ASC, VSPB.
9. Cited in *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, p. 1292 (anonymously).
10. संलग्नमोक्षण° PT, AKG.



कृष्णेति वर्णयुगलश्रवणेन येषा-

मानन्दद्युर्भवति नर्तितरोमवृन्दः ॥५४॥

औत्कलस्य ॥

हरिस्मृत्याह्लादस्तिमितमनसो यस्य कृतिनः

सरोमाश्वः कायो नयनमपि सानन्दसलिलम् ।

5

तमेवाचन्द्रार्कं वह पुरुषधौरेयमवने

किमन्यैस्ते भारैर्यमसदनगत्यागतिपरैः ॥५५॥

सर्वानन्दस्य ॥

तद्भक्तः सरितां पतिं चुलुकवत् खद्योतवद्भास्करं

मेहं पश्यति लोष्टवत् किमपरं भूमेः पतिं भृत्यवत् । 10

चिन्तारत्नचयं शिलाशकलवत् कल्पद्रुमं काष्ठवत्

संसारं तृणराशिवत् किमपरं देहं निजं भागवत् ॥५६॥

सर्वज्ञस्य ॥

मीमांसारजसा मलीमसदृशां तावन्न धीरीश्वरे

गर्वोद्वर्ककुतर्ककर्कशधियां दूरेऽपि वार्ता हरेः ।

17

2. नृत्यति रोमवृन्दम् PT, Comm ; नर्तितरोमवृन्दम् PB.
3. कस्यचित् DD.
4. हरिस्मृत्यालापः DC ; स्तिमितमनसा DC, ASB.
7. किमन्यैस्ते भारो PA ; किमन्यैस्तैर्भारैः DB, DC, DD, ASA, ASB, SSP, AKG, PT, VSPB.
9. चुलुकवत् DD, PA, SSP, ASA ; चलुकवत् DC.
12. तृणराशिवद् रत्निवहं देहं निजं भागवत् PB.
15. गर्वोद्वर्गः AKG.



जानन्तोऽपि न जानते श्रुतिसुखं श्रीरङ्गिसङ्गादृते
सुस्वादुं परिवेषयन्त्यपि रसं गुर्वी न दर्वी स्पृशेत् ॥५७॥

श्रीमाधवसरस्वतीनाम् ॥

ज्ञानावलम्बकाः केचित् केचित् कर्मावलम्बकाः ।

वयं तु हरिदासानां पादत्राणावलम्बकाः ॥५८॥

5

कस्यचित् ॥

अथ तेषां दैन्योक्तिः

नामानि प्रणयेन ते सुकृतिनां तन्वन्ति तुण्डोत्सवं
धामानि प्रथयन्ति हन्त जलदश्यामानि नेत्राञ्जनम् ।

1. श्रीरङ्ग० DA, PA. The Ms DE (fol. 7a) begins from रङ्गिसङ्गादृते ।
2. सुस्वादुं DC, PB, TB ; परिवेषयन्त्यपि ASA, TB, VSPA, VSPB ; परिवेषयन्त्यपि DC ; परिवेष्टयन्त्यपि DB, PA.
3. श्री omitted DA ; श्रीमाधवसरस्वतीश्रीपादानां IO, ASC, AKG ; श्रीमाधवपुरीश्रीपादानां PA ; श्रीस्वामिपादानां SSP, ASA ; श्रीचरणाः PB ; सरस्वतीपादानां VSPB.
4. गुणावलम्बकाः केचित् IO.
5. अथ omitted DA, DB, DC, PA ; भक्तानां for तेषां PA, IO, ASC, AKG, VSPB.
6. PA writes here the first line नामानि प्रणयेन etc. up to तुण्डोत्स० and then strikes it off. The next verse after this heading in PA is धन्यानां हृदि भासतां (no. 75) and the ones following it up to no. 91 ; the verses no. 59 to 75 being placed after no. 90 (q. v.).
7. Occurs in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Stava-mālā* (ed. Berhampore), p. 389 (गोविन्दविरुदावली) ।—प्रणयेन तेषु कृतिनां PB, ASB.

A4.



सामानि श्रुतिशङ्कुलीं मुरलिकाजातान्यलङ्कुर्वते
कामानिर्वृतचेतसामिह विभो नाशापि नः शोभते ॥५६॥

संसाराम्भसि सम्भृतभ्रमभरे गम्भीरतापत्रय-
ग्राहेणाभिगृहीतमुग्रगतिना क्रोशन्तमन्तर्भयात् ।
दीप्रेणाद्य सुदर्शनेन विबुधक्लान्तिच्छिदाकारिणा
चिन्तासन्ततिरुद्धमुद्धर हरे मच्चित्तदन्तीश्वरम् ॥६०॥

5

विवृतविविधबाधे भ्रान्तिवेगादगाधे
बलवति भवपूरे मज्जतो मे विदूरे ।

1. शङ्कुलीं DA, DB, IO ; शङ्कुलिं TB, शङ्कुलीं DC.
2. नाशापि corrected into नामापि PA.
3. This, as well as the following verse (no. 61), occurs in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Stava-mālā* (गोविन्द-बिरुदावली) at pp. 365 and 388 respectively. संसाराम्भसि दुस्तरौर्मिगहने *Stava-m.* ; ०भ्रमभरैर्गम्भीर० PA ; ०तापत्रयी- IO, ASB, ASC.
4. कुम्भीरेण० for ग्राहेणाभि० *Stava-m.* ; ०ग्राहेणापि गृहीत० SSP, ASA, ASB, Comm ; ०मग्रगतिना IO, ASC.
5. दीपेनाथ PB ; दीप्रेनाद्य IO, AKG ; विविधक्लान्ति० DB, IO, TB, ASC.
6. ०सन्ततिवद्ध० DC. ASA and SSP read after this verse (no. 60) an additional verse (unassigned) :
आर्तस्य मे प्रणमतो जगदन्तरात्मन्
पश्यन्न पश्यसि विभो न शृणोषि शृण्वन् ।
दुर्दैवकुम्भजनुषा ननु साम्प्रतं मे
पीतस्तदीयकरुणावरुणालयोऽपि ॥
7. भ्रान्तिपूरा० IO, ASC.



अशरणगणवन्धो हा कृपाकौमुदीन्दो

सकृदकृतविलम्बं देहि हस्तावलम्बम् ॥६१॥

एते समाहर्तुः ॥

नृत्यन् वायुविघूर्णितैः स्वविषटैर्गान्नलीनां रुतै-

मुञ्चन्नश्च मरन्दबिन्दुभिरलं रोमाञ्चवानङ्कुरैः ।

5

माकन्दोऽपि मुकुन्द मूर्छति तव स्मृत्या नु वृन्दावने

ब्रूहि प्राणसमान चेतसि कथं नामापि नायाति ते ॥६२॥

श्रीमदीश्वरपुरीश्रीपादानाम् ॥

या द्रौपदीपरित्राणे या गजेन्द्रस्य मोक्षणे ।

3. श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामिनां PB, VSPB ; एते omitted DC, PB, IO, ASC ; एतानि DA, DD, DE, ASA, ASB, SSP ; समाहर्तुरेतानि AKG.
4. नृत्यद्वायुं PB ; छविटपैः PT only ; ०लीनां शतैः PA.
5. मधूदबिन्दुं PB.
6. स्मृत्वा DD, DE, PB, VSPA, VSPB ; तु for नु PA.
7. मे for ते DA, ASB.
8. श्रीमद् omitted PA, PB, IO, AKG ; ०पुरीपादानां DB, DC, ASA, ASB, PA.
9. This verse is read after no. 50 in IO, ASB and ASC, but repeated also here, ASB satisfying itself with noting simply : द्रौपदीत्यादि । या त्वरा इति ॥ At the first citation, the first line is read in IO and ASC as : या त्वरा द्रौपदीत्राणे या त्वरा गजमोक्षणे ; but the second citation reads : या द्रौपदीपरित्राणे या त्वरा गजमोक्षणे । In the first citation the verse is assigned by all the three manuscripts as तस्यैव (i.e. पुरुषोत्तमदेवस्य) ; in the second, as औत्कलस्य by IO and ASC.
9. या त्वरा द्रौपदीत्राणे या त्वरा गजमोक्षणे DB, DE and IO, ASA, ASC (first citation only, see above note).



दिनादौ मुरारे निशादौ मुरारे
 दिनार्धे मुरारे निशार्धे मुरारे ।
 दिनान्ते मुरारे निशान्ते मुरारे
 त्वमेको गतिर्नस्त्वमेको गतिर्नः ॥७०॥

दाक्षिणायस्य ॥

5

अयि नन्दतनूज किङ्करं
 पतितं मां विषमे भवाम्बुधौ ।
 कृपया तव पादपङ्कज-
 स्थितधूलीसदृशं विभावय ॥७१॥

श्रीभगवतः ॥

10

1. PB drops निशादौ मुरारे ।
2. दिनादौ for दिनार्धे and निशादौ for निशार्धे again in PA. The manuscript DE ends at fol. 7b with मुरारे नि० ; it begins again no. 169 (fol. 16a), below.
5. श्रीगुरुवरणानां Comm.
6. Cited as Caitanya's in Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Antya xx, 32.—देव हे for किङ्करं PA.
7. विषये for विषमे PT and Comm.
- 8-9. पादपङ्कजयोरिह धूली० DA.
9. अतधूली० PA ; विचिन्तय IO, TB, ASC, ASB (corrected from विभावय), AKG.
10. श्रीश्री० DB, DC, ASC, TB, VSPA, VSPB, PT ; कस्यचित् Comm.



अथ तेषां निष्ठा

न वयं कवयो न तार्किका
न च वेदान्तनितान्तपारगाः ।
न च वादिनिवारकाः परं
कपटाभीरकिशोरकिङ्कराः ॥७२॥

5

श्रीसार्वभौमभट्टाचार्याणाम् ॥

परिवदतु जनो यथा तथायं
ननु मुखरो न वयं विचारयांमः ।
हरिरस्मदिरामदातिमत्ता
भुवि विलुठाम नटाम निर्विशाम ॥७३॥

10

तेषामेव ॥

1. अथ भक्तानां निष्ठा IO, ASC ; अथ तेषां भक्तानां निष्ठा VSPB ;
अथ भक्तनिष्ठा PA ; the whole heading omitted
PA, ASB.
6. श्री omitted IO, ASC ; ०भट्टाचार्यस्य PB, Comm.
7. Cited in *Bhakti-rasāmṛta*^o p. 395 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्).
यथा तथा वा PA.
8. वत for ननु PA.
9. ०मत्तो DA, PB, IO, ASC, VSPB.
10. पर्यटाम for निर्विशाम PA ; विलुठामि नटामि निर्विशामि DA,
PB, IO, ASC, VSPB ; विलुठामो नटामो निर्विशामः
DC, DD.
11. तस्यैव PB, SSP, ASA ; कस्यचित् PT, Comm, AKG.



नाहं विप्रो न च नरपतिर्नापि वैश्यो न शूद्रो
 नो वा वर्णी न च गृहपतिर्नो वनस्थो यतिर्वा ।
 किन्तु प्रोद्यन्निखिलपरमानन्दपूर्णांमृताब्धे-
 र्गापीभर्तुः पदकमलयोर्दासदासानुदासः ॥७४॥

कस्यचित् ॥

5

धन्यानां हृदि भासतां गिरिवरप्रत्यप्रकुञ्जौकसां
 सत्यानन्दरसं विकारविभवव्यावृत्तमन्तर्महः ।
 अस्माकं किल वल्लवीरतिरसो वृन्दाटवीलालसो
 गोपः कोऽपि महेन्द्रनीलरुचिरश्चित्ते मुहुः क्रीडतु ॥७५॥

श्रीमदीश्वरपुरीपादानाम् ॥

10

रसं प्रशंसन्तु कवित्वनिष्ठा

ब्रह्मामृतं वेदशिरोनिविष्टाः ।

1. This verse is placed by PT and Comm before no. 72 above. Cited in Jayānanda's *Caitanya-maṅgal* (ed. Vaṅgiya Sahitya Pariṣad, Calcutta 1905) p. 85 (corrupt).
4. दासदासस्य दासः DB, DD, SSP, ASA, VSPA.
5. श्रीभगवतः IO, ASB, ASC ; श्रीश्रीभगवतः DC.
7. ०विभवव्यावर्त० DA, DC, PB, PT, Comm ; व्यावृत्त SSP ; व्यावर्त्य AKG ; कावर्तु (corrupt) DB. ०बहिः for ०र्महः PB.
10. श्रीमद् omitted PA, PB, IO, ASB, ASC ; ०श्रीपादानां DA, DD, PB, IO, ASC, VSPA, VSPB ; श्रीमदीश्वर-श्रीपादानां DC ; unassigned SSP, ASA.



वयं तु गुञ्जाकलितावतंसं

गृहीतवंशं कमपि श्रयामः ॥७६॥

श्रीयादवेन्द्रपुरीपादानाम् ॥

ध्यानातीतं किमपि परमं ये तु जानन्ति तत्त्वं

तेषामास्तां हृदयकुहरे शुद्धचिन्मात्र आत्मा ।

5

अस्माकं तु प्रकृतिमधुरः स्मेरवत्कारविन्दो

मेघश्यामः कनकपरिधिः पङ्कजाक्षोऽयमात्मा ॥७७॥

कविरत्नस्य ॥

जातु प्रार्थयते न पार्थिवपदं नैन्द्रे पदे मोदते

सन्धत्ते न च योगसिद्धिषु धियं मोक्षं न चाकाङ्क्षति । 10

कालिन्दीवनसीमनि स्थिरतडिन्मेघद्युतौ केवलं

शुद्धे ब्रह्मणि वल्लवीभुजलताबद्धे मनो धावति ॥७८॥

तस्यैव ॥

1. गुञ्जाकलिका० DB. 2. स्मरामः for श्रयामः PB.
3. श्री omitted DA, DC, IO, ASC ; ०श्रीपादानां DA, PB, IO, ASC, VSPB ; श्रीयादवेन्द्रपुरीणां DB, DD, TB, VSPA ; श्रीमदीश्वरपुरीपादानां SSP ; माधवेन्द्रपुरीश्रीपादानां AKG ; unassigned ASA, ASB.
4. Cited in *Bhakti-rasāmṛta*⁰, p. 640 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्).
6. ०मधुरस्मेर० DA, PA, AKG, PT, Comm.
7. पङ्कजाक्षो ममास्तु PB. 8. कस्यचित् ASB.
9. This verse is omitted in PB.
10. मोक्षं च नाकाङ्क्षति DD, PA, IO, SSP, ASA, ASC, AKG.
11. कालिन्दीतटसीमनि VSPB.
13. तेषामेव PA ; कविरत्नस्य IO,

A5,



सन्ध्यावन्दन भद्रमस्तु भवते भोः स्नान तुभ्यं नमो
 भो देवा पितरश्च तर्पणविधौ नाहं क्षमः क्षम्यताम् ।
 यत्र कापि निषद्य यादवकुलोत्तंसस्य कंसद्विषः
 स्मारं स्मारमघं हरामि तदलं मन्ये किमन्येन मे ॥७६॥

श्रीमाधवेन्द्रपुरीपादानाम् ॥

5:

देवकीतनयसेवकीभवन
 यो भवानि स भवानि किं ततः ।
 उत्पथे कचन सत्पथेऽपि वा
 मानसं व्रजतु दैवदेशितम् ॥८०॥

कस्यचित् ॥

10

1. Cited anonymously in *SRB*, p. 387, no. 108.—
 भवतो DC, DD, ASB, PT, Comm, VSPA.
5. श्रीपादानां DA, DD, TB, VSPA, VSPB ; श्रीमाधवपुरी-
 श्रीपादानां IO, PA, ASC ; यादवेन्द्रपुरीपादानां PB. After
 this verse DB, DC, VSPB, PT and Comm read
 (AKG also giving it but regarding it apparently
 as interpolated) :

ज्ञानं म्लानमभूत् क्रिया न च क्रिया [कृतिः AKG] सन्ध्या च बन्ध्याभव-
 द्वेदः खेदमवाप शास्त्रपटली सम्पूटितान्तःस्फुटा ।

धर्मो मर्महतो ह्यधर्मनिचयः प्रायः क्षयं प्राप्तवान्

चित्तं चुम्बति [चिन्ते संविश VSPB] यादवेन्द्रचरणाम्भोजे

ममाहर्निशम् ॥

कस्यचित् (unassigned DC, AKG).

7. भवामि in both places DD, PB, SSP, ASA, ASC,
 IO (the word dropped second time along with स),
 AKG, VSPB.
8. सत्पथेऽथ वा DA.
9. ०देशिते PA.



मुग्धं मां निगदन्तु नीतिनिपुणा भ्रान्तं मुहुर्वैदिका
मन्दं बान्धवसञ्चया जडधियं मुक्तादराः सोदराः ।
उन्मत्तं धनिनो विवेकचतुराः कामं महादाम्भिकं
मोक्तुं न क्षमते मनागपि मनो गोविन्दपादस्पृहाम् ॥८१॥
माधवस्य ॥ 5

श्याममेव परं रूपं पुरी मधुपुरी परा ।
वयः कैशोरकं ध्येयमाद्य एव परो रसः ॥८२॥
श्रीरघुपत्युपाध्यायस्य ॥

पुरतः स्फुरतु विमुक्तिश्चिरमिह राज्यं करोतु वैराज्यम् ।
पशुपालबालकपतेः सेवामेवाभिवाञ्छामि ॥८३॥ 10
सुरोत्तमाचार्यस्य ॥

1. निगदन्ति वेदनिपुणा VSPB, मोहनिपुणा DD.
4. °पादस्पृहाः TB.
5. श्री prefixed to the name DB, PA, VSPB, AKG ; श्रीमद्रूपगोस्वामिनां PB ; कस्यचित् IO, ASC.
6. Cited and ascribed to Raghupati Upādhyāya in Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Madhya xix, 101-105. वरा for परा DC, DD, TB, ASB, AKG, VSPA, PT ; परं PA ; the word dropped PB.
7. वयः corrected into परं PA ; ध्येयं वाद्य PA,
8. श्री omitted DB, DC, DD, ASB, VSPA, VSPB ; श्रीरघुपाध्यायस्य IO, ASC ; रघुपाध्यायस्य PA, ASB ; रूपोपाध्यायस्य PB.
10. शिशुपाल° PT ; पशुपालकपतेः DA ; °वाञ्छामः PA.
11. पुरुषोत्तमाचार्यस्य DC, PT, Comm.



क्षौणीपतित्वमथवैकमकिञ्चनत्वं
 नित्यं ददासि बहुमानमथापमानम् ।
 वैकुण्ठवासमथ वा नरके निवासं
 हा वासुदेव मम नास्ति गतिस्त्वदन्या ॥८४॥
 श्रीगर्भकवीन्द्रस्य ॥ 5

दिशतु स्वाराज्यं वा वितरतु तापत्रयं वापि ।
 सुखितं दुःखितमपि मां न विमुञ्चतु केशवः स्वामी ॥८५॥
 कविराजमिश्रस्य ॥

तेषामेव सौत्सुक्यप्रार्थना

नन्दनन्दनपदारविन्दयोः

10

स्यन्दमानमकरन्दविन्दवः ।

1. क्षौणीपति PA, PB, AKG, VSPB.
4. हे for हा ASB, PT (both readings), Comm ;
 कृष्णचन्द्र for वाछदेव DB, DD, TB, IO, SSP, ASC,
 VSPB, ASA (corrected into वाछदेव) ; प्राणनाथ for
 वाछदेव ASB ; श्रीवाछदेव VSPA.
5. श्री omitted AKG ; ०कवीन्द्राणां IO, ASC ; only
 कवीन्द्राणां PA.
7. न सुञ्चतु DB, TB, VSPB, PT ; केशवस्वामी DB, DD,
 PB, SSP, IO, ASA, ASB, ASC, PT.
8. The name prefixed by श्री IO, ASC, AKG ;
 unassigned in DC, PB.
9. अथ तेषां सौत्सुक्यं DD ; अथ भक्तानामौत्सुक्यं AKG ;
 भक्तानां सौत्सुक्यं DB, SSP, VSPB ; अथ भक्तानां
 सौत्सुक्यं ASA ; तेषामेव भक्तानां सौत्सुक्यं IO, ASC ;
 अथ तेषामेवोत्सुक्यं PT ; अथ तेषामेव सौत्सुक्यं Comm ;
 whole heading omitted PA, PB.



सिन्धवः परमसौख्यसम्पदां
नन्दयन्तु हृदयं ममानिशम् ॥८६॥

श्रीकराचार्याणाम् ॥

इह वत्सान् समाचारयदिह नः स्वामी जगौ वंशोम् ।
इति सास्त्रं गदतो मे यमुनातीरे दिनं यायात् ॥८७॥ 5

श्रीरघुपत्युपाध्यायस्य ॥

अनुशीलितकुञ्जवाटिकायां
जघनालङ्कृतपीतशाटिकायाम् ।
मुरलीकलकूजिते रतायां
मम चेतोऽस्तु कदम्बदेवतायाम् ॥८८॥ 10
गोविन्दस्य ॥

आरक्तदीर्घनयनो नयनाभिरामः
कन्दर्पकोटिललितं वपुरादधानः ।

3. श्रीकराचार्यस्य PT ; श्रीशङ्कराचार्यस्य DA ; श्रीशङ्कराचार्याणाम् DC, PA (omitting श्री) ; unassigned PB.
4. समाचार्य० DA, DB, SSP, IO, ASA, ASC, VSPB ; समाचर्य० DC ; समाह्वया० PT ; वंशं PB.
6. श्री omitted DD, SSP, ASA, Comm ; रघुपत्युपाध्यायानां AKG ; रघूपध्यायस्य IO, ASC.
8. जघनालम्बित० PA, AKG.
9. मुरलीकृतकूजिते PA ; कलकूजितरतायां PT ; कलकूजितेर्नतायां VSPB.
11. श्री prefixed to the name SSP, ASA, ASB.



भूयात् स मेऽद्य हृदयाम्बुरुहाधिवर्ती
वृन्दावीनगरनागरचक्रवर्ती ॥८६॥

भवानन्दस्य ॥

लावण्यामृतवन्या मधुरिमलहरीपरीपाकः ।

कारुण्यानां हृदयं कपटकिशोरः परिस्फुरतु ॥८७॥ 5

श्रीसार्वभौमभट्टाचार्याणाम् ॥

भवन्तु तानि जन्मानि यत्र ते मुरलीकलः ।

कर्णपेयत्वमायाति किं मे निर्वाणवार्तया ॥८८॥

तेषामेव ॥

आस्वाद्यं प्रमदारदच्छद इव श्रव्यं नवं जल्पितं 10

बालाया इव दृश्यमुत्तमवधूलावण्यलक्ष्मीरिव ।

1. भूयात् समेत्य DB, DC, ASB, VSPA, VSPB, PT, Comm.
PB drops all words from भूयात् to भवानन्दस्य ।
3. भवानन्दरायस्य Comm ; कस्यचित् PA.
5. हृदये IO, ASB, ASC, Comm.
6. श्री omitted DB, DC, ASB, VSPA, PT, Comm ;
सार्वभौमस्य PB ; unassigned PA.
6. PA reads after no. 90 the verses no. 59 to 75.
Then it omits all verses from no. 91 to no. 107
and goes on directly to no. 108. See note under
no. 59 above. The verses no. 91 to 107 are read
after no. 121 (q. v.).
7. तत्र for तानि PT only ; मुरलीरवाः PA.
8. कर्णपेयत्वमायान्ति PA.
9. तस्यैव PB.
10. आच्छाद्य VSPB.
11. बालानामिव PA.



प्रोद्धोष्यं चिरविप्रयुक्तवनितासन्देशवाणीव मे
नैवेद्यं चरितं च रूपमनिशं श्रीकृष्ण नामास्तु ते ॥६२॥
केषाञ्चित् ॥

नयनं गलदम्बुधारया
वदनं गद्गदरुद्धया गिरा 5
पुलकैर्निचितं वपुः कदा
तव नामग्रहणे भविष्यति ॥६३॥

न धनं न जनं न सुन्दरीं
कवितां वा जगदीश कामये ।
मम जन्मनि जन्मनीश्वरे 10
भवताद्भक्तिरहैतुकी त्वयि ॥६४॥
एतौ श्रीभगवतः ॥

गोवर्धनप्रस्थनवाम्बुवाहः
कलिन्दकन्यातवनीलपद्मम् ।

2. हे कृष्ण Comm ; मे for ते PB, SSP, ASA.
3. Unassigned DA.
4. Cited in Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Antya xx 36 as Caitanya's. गलदम्बुधारया DC, IO, TB, ASB, ASC, AKG, PT, Comm.
5. वचनं for वदनं PB.
7. ASB writes after this verse : श्रीभगवतः ।
8. Cited in Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Antya xx 29, as Caitanya's.
12. एतौ द्वौ श्री० PT only ; श्रीश्री० DA, DB, TB, VSPA, VSPB, PT ; एतौ omitted PB, IO, ASC ; तस्यैव ASB.



वृन्दावनोदारतमालशाखी

तापत्रयस्याभिभवं करोतु ॥६५॥

गौडीयस्य ॥

अनङ्गरसचातुरीचपलचारुवेलाञ्चल-

अलन्मकरकुण्डलस्फुरितकान्तगण्डस्थलः ।

5

व्रजोल्लसितनागरीनिकररासलास्योत्सुकः

स मे सपदि मानसे स्फुरतु कोऽपि गोपालकः ॥६६॥

श्रीमाधवेन्द्रपुरीपादानाम् ॥

अथ तेषामुत्कण्ठा

श्रुतयः पलालकल्पाः किमिह वयं साम्प्रतं चिनुमः । 10

अह्रियत पुरैव नयनैराभीरीभिः परं ब्रह्म ॥६७॥

श्रीरघुपत्युपाध्यायस्य ॥

2. करोति PA.
3. गौडीयस्य कस्यचित् DB, VSPB ; only कस्यचित् PA, PB, IO, ASC.
4. ०चारुनेत्राञ्चल- DC, DD, SSP, ASA, ASB, AKG. The Comm notices this reading also.
5. ०स्फुरितकान्त० DC.
8. ०श्रीपादानां DA, DB, DC ; श्रीमाधवपुरीश्रीपादानां IO, TB, ASB, ASC, VSPA ; माधवेन्द्रश्रीपादाः पुरी PB ; माधवेन्द्रपुरी PA.
9. अथ omitted PA ; भक्तानामुत्कण्ठा PA, IO, ASC, VSPB, AKG ; the whole heading omitted PB.
10. प्रवालकल्पाः DD ; विचिनुमः PB. 11. परैव नयने० PA.
12. रघुपत्युपाध्यायः PB ; श्रीरघुपाध्यायस्य DC ; श्रीरघोः PA ; unassigned DB, IO, TB, ASC.



कम्प्रति कथयितुमीशे सम्प्रति को वा प्रतीतिमायातु ।

गोपतितनयाकुञ्जे गोपवधूदीविटं ब्रह्म ॥६८॥

तस्यैव ॥

ज्ञातं काणभुजं मतं परिचितैवान्वीक्षिकी शिक्षिता

मीमांसा विदितैव सांख्यसरणिर्योगे वितीर्णा मतिः । 5

वेदान्ताः परिशीलिताः सरभसं किं तु स्फुरन्माधुरी-

धारा काचन नन्दसूनुमुरली मञ्चित्तमाकर्षति ॥६९॥

श्रीसार्वभौमभट्टाचार्याणाम् ॥

अमरीमुखसीधुमाधुरीणां

लहरी काचन चातुरी कलानाम् । 10

तरलीकुरुते मनो मदीयं

मुरलीनादपरम्परा मुरारेः ॥१००॥

तेषामेव ॥

1. Cited and ascribed to Raghupati Upādhāya in Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Madhya xix, 98. This verse is omitted in DA, PA, PB, SSP, ASA, ASB, VSPA, VSPB.—मां प्रति को वा Comm, which also notices the reading सम्प्रति ; प्रतीतिमायाति PT only.

2. तनयातीरे IO, TB, ASC.

3. तस्यापि DD ; तेषामेव DC ; रघूपाध्यायस्य DB ; श्रीरघूपाध्यायस्य IO, ASC ; श्रीरघुपत्युपाध्यायस्य TB ; रघुपत्युपाध्यायस्य PT ; कस्यचित् Comm.

5. च तीर्णा मतिः DD, SSP, ASA, ASB, PT ; विशीर्णा IO, ASC.

8. श्री omitted PB, IO, ASC ; भट्टाचार्यस्य PB,

13. तस्यैव PB, PT,

A6.



अपहरति मनो मे कोऽप्ययं कृष्णचौरः
 प्रणतदुरितचौरः पूतनाप्राणचौरः ।
 वलयवसनचौरो बालगोपीजनानां
 नयनहृदयचौरः पश्यतां सज्जनानाम् ॥१०१॥
 कस्यचित् ॥

5

अलं त्रिदिववार्तया किमिति सार्वभौमश्रिया
 विदूरतरवर्तिनी भवतु मोक्षलक्ष्मीरपि ।
 कलिन्दगिरिनन्दिनीतटनिकुञ्जपुञ्जोदरे
 मनो हरति केवलं नवतमालनीलं महः ॥१०२॥
 हरिदासस्य ॥

10

अवलोकितमनुमोदितमालिङ्गितमङ्गनाभिरनुरागैः ।
 अधिवृन्दावनकुञ्जं मरकतपुञ्जं नमस्यामः ॥१०३॥
 सर्वविद्याविनोदानाम् ॥

कदा द्रक्ष्यामि नन्दस्य बालकं नीपमालकम् ।

पालकं सर्वसत्त्वानां लसत्तिलकमालकम् ॥१०४॥
 श्रीमाधवेन्द्रपुरीपादानाम् ॥

15

2. ०दुरितनिघ्नः IO (added on upper margin).
3. ०गोपीगणानां PB.
6. किमिह सार्व० PA ; किमपि VSPB.
10. श्री prefixed to the name ASB ; unassigned PB.
11. Cited anonymously in *SRBh*, p. 23, no. 107.
13. माधवपुरीश्रीपादाः PB wrongly, probably through its omitting no. 104.
14. This verse is omitted in PB.
15. ०श्रीपादानां DA, DB, TB ; ०पुरीणां DD, ASB, VSPA ; माधवपुरीश्रीपादानां PA ; श्रीमाधवपुरीश्रीपादानां IO, ASC.



कदा वृन्दारण्ये मिहिरदुहितुः सङ्गमहिते
मुहुर्भ्रामं भ्रामं चरितलहरीं गोकुलपतेः ।
लपन्नुच्चैरुच्चैर्नयनपयसां वेणिभिरहं
करिष्ये सोत्कण्ठो निविडमवसेकं विटपिनाम् ॥१०५॥

दुरारोहे लक्ष्मीवति भगवतीनामपि पदं 5
दधाना धम्मिल्ले नटति कठिने योपनिषदाम् ।
रुतिर्वशीजन्मा धृतमधुरिमा सा मधुरिपो-
रकस्मादस्माकं श्रुतिशिखरमारोक्ष्यति कदा ॥१०६॥
समाहर्तुंरेतौ ॥

उत्फुल्लतापिञ्जलमनोरमश्री- 10
मातुः स्तनन्यस्तमुखारविन्दः ।

1. Occurs in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Stava-mālā* p. 415 (वृन्दावनगोवत्सवारणादिलीला) ।—सङ्गमहिते PA ; दुहितुस्तीर-महिते DA.
2. चरितमसकृद् IO, ASA, ASC.
4. निविडमभिषेकं DC, IO, TB (apparently corrected into ०मवसेकं) ASB, ASC, VSPA ; निविडमुपसेकं AKG.
6. न स्फुटति for नटति PB.
7. नुतिर्वशी० PB ; रतिर्वशी SSP, PT.
8. शिखरमारोहति PB, TB.
9. एतौ समाहर्तुः IO, ASC ; एतौ omitted ASB ; श्रीरूपस्येतौ VSPB.
10. This verse is omitted in PB.



सञ्चालयन् पादसरोरुहाग्रं

कृष्णः कदा यास्यति दृक्पथं मे ॥१०७॥

कस्यचित् ॥

रोहिणीरमणमण्डलद्युति-

द्रोहिणीं वदनकान्तिसन्ततिम् ।

5

कृष्ण नूतनतमालकोमलां

कोऽमलां तव तनुं च विस्मरेत् ॥१०८॥

कस्यचित् ॥

बर्हापीडं मौलौ विश्रद्धंशीनादामातन्वन्

नानाकल्पश्रीसम्पन्नो गोपस्त्रीभिः संवीतः ।

10

नेत्रानन्दं कुर्वन् कृष्ण त्वं चेदस्मान् वीक्षेथाः

सर्वे कामाः सम्पद्ये रत्नस्माकं हृद्यासीनाः ॥१०९॥

सर्वभट्टस्य ॥

2. कदायास्यति AKG.
3. Unassigned VSPA.
4. This verse is omitted in PB.
5. द्रोहिणीवदनं DA, DB, DC, PA, AKG, Comm.
7. Here Manuscript DF begins (fol. 22a).—तनुं न PA.
9. ०नादानातन्वानो PT only.
11. सर्वानन्दभट्टस्य DB, DC, VSPB ; सर्वानन्दस्य ASB ; सावभौमभट्टस्य AKG, PT, Comm ; श्रीसावभौमभट्टानां SSP, ASA ; सावभौमभट्टाचार्यस्य DD ; unassigned DF ; सर्वाभीष्टस्य VSPA.



अथ मोक्षानादरः

भक्तिः सेवा भगवतो मुक्तिस्तत्पदलङ्घनम् ।

को मूढो दासतां प्राप्य प्राभवं पदमिच्छति ॥११०॥

शिवमौनिनाम् ॥

भवन्त्यच्छिदे तस्यै स्पृहयामि न मुक्तये ।

5

भवान् प्रभुरहं दास इति यत्र विलुप्यते ॥१११॥

श्रीहनुमतः ॥

1. मोक्षानादरता DF, TB, IO, AŞC ; मोक्षायामनादरः VSPA ; the whole heading omitted PB.
2. The second line of this verse is cited in *Bhakti-sandarbha* (p. 551) with तदुक्तं श्रीहनुमता ।— भक्तिर्भगवतः सेवा SSP.
4. The MSS read variously : शिवमौलिनां, शिरमौलिनां, शिवमौनिनां, शिरमौनिनां. The difficulty of making out the exact form of the name lies in the usual confusion, due to similarity of appearance, of the letters न and ल, as well as र and व, in old Bengali manuscripts. शिवमौनिनां is the form given by some of our best manuscripts (DA, DB, DC, IO, SSP, VSPA, VSPB). TB and Comm read शिरोमौलीनाम् ।
5. तस्मै for तस्य DC, DD, SSP, PA, PB, ASA, ASB ; ASC is corrupt on this point. The *Bhakti-rasāmṛta* cites (p. 58) this verse with अतएव प्रसिद्धं श्रीहनुमद्वाक्यम् ।



हन्त चित्रीयते मित्र स्मृत्वा तान् मम मानसम् ।
विवेकिनोऽपि ये कुर्युस्तृष्णामात्यन्तिके लये ॥११२॥
केषाञ्चित् ॥

का त्वं मुक्तिरुपागतास्मि भवती कस्मादकस्मादिह
श्रीकृष्णस्मरणेन देव भवतो दासीपदं प्रापिता । 5
दूरे तिष्ठ मनागनागसि कथं कुर्यादनार्यं मयि
त्वद्गन्धान्नजिज्जनामचन्दनरसालेपस्य लोपो भवेत् ॥११३॥
कस्यचित् ॥

अथ श्रीभगवद्धर्मतत्त्वम्

अर्च्ये विष्णौ शिलाधीर्गुरुषु नरमतिर्वैष्णवे जातिबुद्धि- 10
विष्णोर्वा वैष्णवानां कलिमलमथने पादतीर्थेऽम्बुबुद्धिः ।

1. PB omits this verse.—तन्मम मानसं DB, DC, DF, PA, ASB.
2. कस्यचित् DF, ASB, ASC, IO, AKG ; unassigned VSPB.
3. This verse is omitted in PB, VSPA, VSPB. मुक्तिरुपागतास्ति DA ; मुक्तिरुपागतासि IO, TB, ASC ; कस्माद् dropped DF, ASB ; ASC drops all words from भवती to मनागनागसि । 5. भवता DF.
4. दूरे तिष्ठतरामनागसि DB, DC, ASA, SSP.
5. त्वद्गानान्नजि० DA, DD, SSP, ASA, PT ; त्वद्गानान्नजि० PA ; त्वद्गानान्न निज० AKG, Comm ; त्वद्गानान्नजि० ASB.
6. केषाञ्चित् SSP, ASA.
7. अथ omitted PA, IO, ASC, VSPA, VSPB ; श्री omitted DF, TB ; ०धर्ममहिमा DE, IO, ASB, ASC, AKG, VSPB ; श्रीश्री० VSPA ; the whole heading omitted PB.
8. अर्च्ये for अर्च्ये IO, ASC.



श्रीविष्णोर्नाम्नि मन्त्रे सकलकलुषहे शब्दसामान्यबुद्धि-
विष्णौ सर्वेश्वरेशे तदितरसमधीर्यस्य वा नारकी सः ॥११४॥

दाक्षिणात्यस्य ॥

हत्यां हन्ति यदङ्घ्रि सङ्गतुलसी स्तेयं च तोयं पदे
नैवेद्यं बहुमद्यपानदुरितं गुर्वङ्गनासङ्गजम् ।

5

श्रीशाधीनमतिः स्थितिर्हरिजनैस्तत्सङ्गजं किस्विपं
शालग्रामशिलानृसिंहमहिमा कोऽप्येष लोकोत्तरः ॥११५॥
आगमस्य ॥

अथ नैवेद्यापर्णे विज्ञप्तिः

द्विजस्त्रीणां भक्ते मृदुनि विदुरान्ने व्रजगवां 10
दधिक्षीरे सख्युः स्फुटचिपिटमुष्टौ मुररिपो ।

1. श्रीविष्णोर्नाममन्त्रे PA ; पुरुषकलुषहे DD, PB, SSP, ASA ; कलिकलुषहे PA.
3. श्री prefixed to the name DC ; केषाञ्चित् DF, PB, SSP, IO, ASA, ASB, ASC ; केषाञ्चिद् दाक्षिणात्यस्य VSPB.
4. Cited anonymously in *Haribhakti-vilāsa*, i, p. 495 ; *Bhakti-sandarbhā* (ed. Śyāmlāl Gosvāmin, Calcutta 1890, p. 499.—तोयं पदोर् AKG.
5. Corrected into नैवेद्यं हृदिमध्यगं च दुरितं PB.
7. सालिग्रामं PA.
8. कस्यचित् IO ; केषाञ्चित् PB, SSP, ASA, ASB, ASC ; unassigned DF ; केषाञ्चिद् आगमस्य VSPB.
9. अथ omitted TB, VSPA, VSPB ; नैवेद्यसमर्पणो DF, PA, SSP, IO, TB, ASA, ASB, ASC, VSPA ; ०समर्पण-विज्ञप्तिः AKG ; नैवेद्यस्पर्शने VSPB ; विधिः for विज्ञप्तिः PA ; the whole heading omitted PB.
10. ०स्त्रीशालग्रामे मृदुनि DA ; व्रजगवो DF, SSP, IO, ASC, VSPB,
11. ०चिपटं PA, IO,



यशोदायाः स्तन्ये ब्रजयुवतिदत्ते मधुनि ते
 यथासीदामोदस्तमयमुपहारेऽपि कुरुताम् ॥११६॥
 रामानुजस्य ॥

या प्रीतिर्विदुरार्पिते मुररिपो कुन्त्यर्पिते यादृशी
 या गोवर्धनमूर्ध्नि या च पृथुके स्तन्ये यशोदार्पिते । 5
 भारद्वाजसमर्पिते शवरिकादत्तेऽधरे योषितां
 या वा ते मुनिभाविनीविनिहितेऽन्नेऽत्रापि तामर्पय ॥११७॥
 कस्यचित् ॥

क्षीरे श्यामल्यार्पिते कमलया विश्राणिते फाणिते
 दत्ते लड्डु नि भद्रया मधुरसे सोमाभया लम्बिते । 10
 तुष्टिर्या भवतस्ततः शतगुणां राधानिदेशान्मया
 न्यस्तेऽस्मिन् पुरतस्त्वमर्पय हरे रम्योपहारे रतिम् ॥११८॥
 समाहर्तुः ॥

2. ०मोदस्तदयमुप० DC, IO ; ०मोदस्तमु मधुप० PA ; ०मोदस्तमि-
 ममुप० PT ; ०मुपहारोऽपि DB, DC, DD, SSP, IO,
 ASA, ASB, ASC, VSPB, ०मुपहारोऽप्यकुरुताम् PB.
3. श्री prefixed to the name DA, DC, AKG, Comm ;
 कस्यचित् DD, SSP, IO, ASA, ASB, ASC.
6. This line is missing in PT.
7. मुनिभामिनी० PA, AKG ; विनिहिते नेत्रेऽपि PB.
8. ग्रन्थकृतः Comm only.
9. This verse is omitted PB. 10. लम्बिते PA, TB.
11. शतगुणं TB, PA, PT, AKG, VSPA.
12. वन्योपहारे DC. 13. श्रीरूपस्य PA.
13. DC reads after no. 118 the following additional
 verse :



अथ श्रामथुरामहिमा

हे मातर्मथुरे त्वमेव नियतं धन्यासि भूमीतले
 निर्व्याजं नतयः शतं सविधयस्तुभ्यं सदा सन्तु नः ।
 हित्वा हन्त नितान्तमद्भुतगुणं वैकुण्ठमुत्कण्ठया
 त्वय्यम्भोजविलोचनः स भगवान् येनावतीर्णो हरिः ॥११६॥ 5
 कस्यचित् ॥

अत्रासीत् किल नन्दसद्यः शकटस्यात्राभवद्भञ्जनं
 बन्धच्छेदकरोऽपि दामभिरभूद् बद्धोऽत्र दामोदरः ।
 इत्थं माथुरवृद्धवक्तृविगलत्पीयूषधारां पिब-
 न्नानन्दाश्च धरः कदा मधुपुरीं धन्यश्चरिष्याम्यहम् ॥१२०॥ 10
 कविशेखरस्य ॥

अथ मथुरायानतिः ॥

राजद्वराभयकरां वरकुण्डलाढ्या-
 मुत्सङ्गमण्डनविहारिशिखण्डचूडाम् ।
 चित्राम्बरं च दधती शरदभ्रशुभ्रां

ध्वस्ताश्रितक्रमभरां मथुरां नमामि ॥ (unassigned)

1. अथ omitted DB, DC, VSPA, PA ; श्री omitted DB, DF, VSPB, PT ; the whole heading omitted PB. The order of verses in AKG, after this heading, is as follows : no. 122, 123, 119, 120, 121, 124.
 2. भूमितले DD, PT, Comm ; भूमेस्तले PA, PB.
 3. नयतः PT. 5. नीलाम्भोज० IO.
 7. Cited in *Bhakti-rasāmṛta* p. 203 (यथा पद्यावल्याम्)
 9. पीयूषधारां *Bhakti-r.* ; पीयूषधाराः DF, VSPB, Comm ; विगलन्माध्वीकधारां DB.
 10. आनन्दाश्च वहन् PA, PB.
 11. भुवनस्य DF, IO, ASB, ASC, ; unassigned PB.
- A7.



यत्राखिलादिगुरुस्त्रुजसम्भवोऽपि
 स्तम्बात्मना जनुरनु स्पृहयाम्बभूव ।
 चक्रध्वजाङ्कुशलसत्पदराजिरम्या
 सा राजतेऽद्य मथुरा हरिराजधानी ॥१२१॥
 कस्यचित् ॥ 5

बीजं मुक्तिरोरनर्थपटलीनिस्तारकं तारकं
 धाम प्रेमरसस्य वाञ्छितधुरासम्पारकं पारकम् ।
 एतद्यत्र निवासिनामुदयते चिच्छक्तिवृत्तिद्वयं
 मथ्नातु व्यसनानि माथुरपुरी सा वः श्रियं च क्रियात् ॥१२२॥
 समाहर्तुः ॥ 10

वितरति मुरमर्दनः प्रमुस्ते
 न हि भजमानजनाय यं कदापि ।

1. यत्राङ्गिरादिगुरुः DC.
2. चक्रध्वजाङ्कुशपदाम्बुजरेणुरम्या VSPB, PB (corrected reading on the margin).
3. मथुरा हरिः DA, DD, ASA.
4. श्रीसार्वभौमभट्टाचार्याणां PA ; unassigned PB, ASA. PA reads after this verse nos. 91 to 107 and then goes on with no. 122. See note under no. 90.
5. Occurs in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Stava-mālā* p. 715 (मथुराष्टक). This verse is omitted in PB.
6. वाञ्छितधुरां DB, DC, IO, ASB, ASC, PA ; सम्पादकं DC, VSPA, Comm ; तारकं and पारकं dropped in IO and DB.
7. Unassigned here (but see below under no. 123) PA.
8. This verse is omitted PB, सुरवर्धनः IO, ASC.



वितरसि वत भक्तियोगमेतं
तव मधुरे महिमा गिरामभूमिः ॥१२३॥
तस्यैव ॥

श्रवणे मधुरा नयने मधुरा
वदने मधुरा हृदये मधुरा । 5
पुरतो मधुरा परतो मधुरा
मधुरा मधुरा मधुरा मधुरा ॥१२४॥
श्रीगोविन्दमिश्राणाम् ॥

अथ वृन्दाटवीवन्दनम्

त्वं भज हिरण्यगर्भं त्वमपि हरं त्वं च तत्परं ब्रह्म । 10

2. मधुरे AKG, PA, VSPB. 3. श्रीरूपस्येतौ PA.
 4. मधुरा instead of मधुरा used throughout the verse in ASB, PA, PB, AKG, VSPB, PT ; IO reads मधुरा after श्रवणे and वदने, but मधुरा in other places.
 6. परतो मधुरा पुरतो मधुरा SSP, ASA.
 8. श्री omitted PB, IO, ASC, PT, Comm.
 9. श्रीवृन्दाटवी० SSP, ASA. This heading omitted DC, PA, PB, ASB, AKG, VSPA, VSPB.
 10. This verse omitted DC, PA, PB, VSPA, VSPB, AKG ; but AKG places the heading and this verse after no. 134, after which it reads the following verse (marking it doubtful by enclosing brackets) and assigning both (i.e. 125 and the additional verse) as एतौ कस्यचित् :
- कथमपि तव वृन्दाणाय माहात्म्यवृन्दं
न हि कथयितुमुच्चैरीश्वरोऽप्यीश्वरः स्यात् ।
अपि च तृणफलानां यस्य लुब्धो रसाय
प्रभुरमृतभुजामप्याश्रयद् वत्सभावम् ॥
10. त्वमिह for त्वमपि DB, DF, IO, ASC ; तत् omitted DF, IO, ASC ; तत्परं TB.



विनिहितकृष्णानन्दामहं तु वृन्दाटवीं वन्दे ॥१२५॥

कस्यचित् ॥

श्रीनन्दप्रणामः

श्रुतिमितरे स्मृतिमपरे भारतमन्ये भजन्तु भवभीताः ।

अहमिह नन्दं वन्दे यस्याल्लिन्दे परं ब्रह्म ॥१२६॥

5

श्रीरघुपत्युपाध्यायस्य ॥

बन्धूकारुणवसनं सुन्दरकुचं मुकुन्दहृतनयनम् ।

नन्दं तुन्दिलवपुषं चन्दनगौरत्विषं वन्दे ॥१२७॥

समाहर्तुः ॥

1. Unassigned IO, ASC.
3. अथ नन्द० DB, DF, PT ; the whole heading omitted PB ; अथ श्रीवृन्दप्रणामः IO, ASC.
4. Ascribed to Raghupati Upādhyāya in Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Madhya xix, 96.—श्रुतिमपरे DB, DD, IO, ASB, ASC, AKG, PT ; स्मृतिमितरे DA, DC, DD, TB, ASA, SSP, VSPA, AKG, PT ; स्मृतिमपरे dropped in VSPB. This verse is cited anonymously in *SRBh* p. 23, no, 113.
5. अहमपि नन्दं PA.
6. श्री omitted DC, DF, PT ; श्रीरघुपाध्यायस्य IO, ASB, ASC ; unassigned VSPB.
7. This verse omitted PB ; मुकुन्दहृतनयनं AKG, Comm, VSPA, VSPB.
8. तुन्दिलपुरुषं DF.
9. समाहर्तुरतौ (!) DC ; श्रीरूपस्य PA ; unassigned DB.

