

# श्रीश्रीकृष्णलीलास्तवः

Śrī Kṛṣṇa-līlā-stavaḥ  
In Praise of Kṛṣṇa's Sport  
Version 0.1

## श्रीसनातनगोस्वामिविरचितः

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**Part I**

**Introduction**



# Chapter 1

## Background of the Author

Sanātana Gosvāmin (1465?-1555 CE), the author of this text, was one of the foremost disciples of the Bengali saint Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya (1486-1533 CE). He was a central figure in the learned circle of Caitanya's followers known as the Six Gosvāmin of Vrindaban. Moreover, the *Śrī Kṛṣṇa-līlā-stava* (In Praise of Kṛṣṇa's Sport) is quite likely Sanātana's first post-conversion work.<sup>1</sup> Before discussing what we know about the life and work of Sanātana Gosvāmin, it is worth looking briefly at the religious movement inspired by Caitanya that was its context. For the most part the sources for our knowledge of Caitanya's life are also the sources for our knowledge of Sanātana's life.

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<sup>1</sup>The editor of one of the two printed editions of the text, Purīdāsa, describes it as Sanātana's first work in his brief Sanskrit introduction to the edition. He does not, however, give any evidence in support of this statement. His reasoning is probably based on the idea that the text appears to have been written while Caitanya was still alive. This possibility will be discussed later in this introduction. There may have been an earlier work of Sanātana's, however, written before he became a disciple of Caitanya. There is a manuscript of a commentary, called the *Tātparyā-dīpikā* (*Lamp on Meaning*) on Kālidāsa's *Megha-dūta* (*Cloud Messenger*) in the name of Sanātana Śarma in the India Office Library. This may be the work of Sanātana Gosvāmin, but it is not certain. From the introductory verse, one can see that the author was a devotee of Kṛṣṇa, but there is no mention of Caitanya. The opening verse is as follows:

उपनीतं नवनीतं करतलमभितो ब्रजगृहिणीभिरदन् ।  
माधुकवृत्तिर्यतिरिव करपात्री नन्दजो जयति ॥  
प्राचां व्याख्याः समालोच्य श्रीसनातनशर्मणा ।  
तन्यते मेघदूतस्य टीका तात्पर्यदीपिका ॥

"The Son of Nanda rules, eating butter brought by the housewives of Vraja out of his hands like some mendicant who lives by begging from door to door with only his hands for a bowl. Consulting the commentaries of the ancients, Sanātana Śarma writes a commentary called the *Tātparyā-dīpikā* on the *Megha-dūta*."

## Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya Mahāprabhu

Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya Mahāprabhu, or, to his followers, simply Mahāprabhu (Great Master), was the founder and spreader of a new form of the ancient Indic religion of Vaiṣṇavism (the worship of the god Viṣṇu) that regarded Kṛṣṇa, instead of Viṣṇu, as the highest personal expression of Godhead. According to this point of view, the person Kṛṣṇa is the supreme being, higher than Viṣṇu of the ancient Vaiṣṇavism and the impersonal Brahman of non-dualistic Vedānta. Moreover, that person Kṛṣṇa is believed to be the source of all that is beautiful and good, and thus he is the most attractive and good person one can ever hope to know. All the beauty that is found in this world is but a dim, clouded reflection, a distortion of Kṛṣṇa's own beauty. In fact, the name Kṛṣṇa is sometimes connected, by Caitanyite commentators, with the Sanskrit root  $\sqrt{kṛṣ}$  which means to draw or attract.<sup>2</sup> Thus, divine attraction or love (*preman*) becomes the natural currency of the interaction between the supreme person Kṛṣṇa and his creatures. We his creatures, technically called *jīva* (living beings), are, according to the teaching, particles of one of his energies, the marginal energy (*taṭastha-śakti*). Kṛṣṇa is sometimes compared with the sun and we the photons radiating from the sun. Thus, we share in his nature, but on a very modest scale.<sup>3</sup> In our pursuit of the beautiful, the attractive, the pleasing, we are in actuality searching for connection with Kṛṣṇa without realizing it.

The members of the Caitanya tradition believe that approximately five thousand years ago Kṛṣṇa briefly drew back the curtain of his *māyā* (deluding power) and revealed who he is and how he is loved. This occurred in the vicinity of the ancient town of Mathurā in the modern-day state of Uttar Pradesh in north India. The kernel of Kṛṣṇa's self-revelation, however, occurred in a little pastoral community located in the area of Vraja near Mathurā. Several ways of loving Kṛṣṇa were revealed there in his various relationships with the members of that community. Among them, however, the Caitanya tradition accepted the erotic form of loving attraction, like that felt by the young cowherding women (*gopī*) of Vraja, as the highest and purest form. The cowherding women knew Kṛṣṇa as a beautiful youth and, after hearing the sounds of his flute, gave up everything to be with him in the groves of the forest of Vṛndāvana at night. The tradition regards the religious ecstasies of Mahāprabhu as revelatory of the nature and

<sup>2</sup>The primary source of this explanation of Kṛṣṇa's name is Jīva Gosvāmin's commentary on the *Brahma-saṁhitā* (The Hymns of Brahman). Citing the *Gautamīya Tantra* in his remarks on the first verse, he says that *kṛṣ* means being or existence (*bhū*) and *ṇa* means pleasure (*nirvṛti*). The oneness of the two mean the supreme being, Kṛṣṇa. (कृषिर्भूवाचकः णश्च निर्वृतिवाचकः । तयोरेकं परं ब्रह्म कृष्ण इत्यभिधीयते ॥) Later he says: Kṛṣṇa is the bliss possessing the power to attract all. (सर्वाकर्षणशक्तिविशिष्ट आनन्दः कृष्णः )

<sup>3</sup>Jīva again on Bs. 5.26.



intense feelings of the love of those cowherding girls for Kṛṣṇa. In addition, the new Vaiṣṇava tradition proclaimed the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, whose Tenth Canto describes in detail the divinely playful and loving acts of Kṛṣṇa, to be the highest scriptural authority, higher than even the Vedas and Upaniṣads, because, as the *Purāṇa* itself says, it is the ripened fruit of those scriptures.<sup>4</sup> Sanātana's book, as a commentary/epitome of the first forty-five chapters of the Tenth Canto of the *Bhāgavata* takes us right into the heart of Kṛṣṇa's self-revelation as it was viewed from the perspective of Mahāprabhu's followers in the 16th century. Older forms of Vaiṣṇavism were held in respect, nevertheless, and their insights and practices were incorporated insofar as possible into the new form, but they were made secondary to the new dispensation initiated by Mahāprabhu.

Though he had been born into a seemingly ordinary *brāhmaṇa* family in 1486 CE in the town of Navadvīpa, Mahāprabhu's unusual appearance and intense religious ecstasies convinced those around him, many of whom later became his followers, that he was far from just an ordinary person. To his followers, Mahāprabhu was Kṛṣṇa himself come to experience life as a *bhakta* (devotee of Kṛṣṇa). At the same time, he came to reveal the meaning and importance of those most intimate dimensions of love for him that he had revealed to the world four millennia earlier. It was felt that no one in the phenomenal world now knew, and that only the deity himself could reveal, those secret dimensions of divine love.

Here is how his first hagiography, by Murāri Gupta (b. 1471 CE), who was about fifteen years older and a friend of the family, describes Mahāprabhu:<sup>5</sup>

May victory be his, that one of very pure valor with a golden complexion,  
whose eyes are wide like lotuses and whose arms reach down to his knees,  
that dancer portraying the many *rasa* of *bhakti*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup>*Bhāṣya*, 1.1.3: निगमकल्पतरोर्गलितं फलम्. This point is argued at length in one of the major theological works of the tradition, the *Tattva-sandarbhā* of Jīva Gosvāmin.

<sup>5</sup>Murāri Gupta's hagiography, called the *Kṛṣṇa-caitanya-caritāmṛta* [Kcc] (The Immortal Acts of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya) contains a verse that claims the book was finished in either [there are differences in the printed editions] 1503 (Śaka 1425) or 1513 (Śaka 1435). In either case this would exclude about half of Mahāprabhu's life. The printed editions, however, present a text that describes the whole of his life and even refers to his death. This has prompted B. B. Majumdar, a well respected scholar of the tradition, to suggest that the book was actually completed in 1534 or 1535 CE, that is, within a couple of years of the end of Mahāprabhu's life in 1533 (Majumdar, *Śrī Caitanyacariter Upādān*, p. 82). Judging from the fact that at least two later biographies of Caitanya (written in 1542 and 1550 CE respectively) seem to know only the first two-thirds of Murāri's text, it is unlikely that the whole text was complete by 1535, however. It is more likely that it was finished by someone between 1550 and 1560. See Majumdar's comparison between Murāri's text and Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta Mahākāvya* (1542) on pages 87-94 in his C. U.

<sup>6</sup>All the translations are mine, unless otherwise noted. Murāri Gupta's *Śrī Kṛṣṇa-caitanya-caritāmṛta*, 1.1.1:

Mahāprabhu was, according to this eyewitness account, golden in complexion with long arms. The comparison of his eyes to lotuses is a standard trope in Sanskrit poetry to indicate that someone is beautiful or handsome. His valor or prowess suggests that he was charismatic and outgoing and the adjective 'pure' probably refers to a tendency to act unselfishly, placing the welfare of others before one's own. The final description of him as a 'dancer portraying many of the *rasa* of *bhakti*' points to his experience of ecstasies. The word '*rasa*' refers to an intense emotional experience that often is accompanied by powerful, autonomic, physical reactions like the standing up of hair on the body and the streaming of tears from the eyes. *Rasa* is the Sanskrit word that refers to the aesthetic experience as analyzed in Sanskrit literary criticism. Some scholars have translated it as 'aesthetic rapture.'<sup>7</sup> In the context of religious literature and practice it is called *bhakti-rasa*, or 'sacred rapture.' Mahāprabhu used to lead groups of devotees of Kṛṣṇa, either gathered at a disciple's house or moving through the streets of Navadvīpa, in singing songs about Kṛṣṇa. On these occasions he would dance as well as sing and, at some point, he would often become overwhelmed by ecstatic emotional experiences brought on by the emotional impact of those songs: tears squirted from his eyes, his hair stood on end, and so forth. Thus, from the very beginning, the *rasa* experience was one of the core religious experiences of the movement initiated by Mahāprabhu, and the stimulants of that experience were the sports of Kṛṣṇa in that land of Vraja of long ago.

From Murāri's first verse it appears that Mahāprabhu was certainly an unusual man; his second verse accords him divinity, however:

Jagannātha's son who is the lord of the universe, the origin of the universe, the destroyer of the afflictions of the universe, its sovereign, the remover of the sins and burdens of the age of Kali, was born in Śacī, bringing with him *bhakti* for himself.<sup>8</sup>

Mahāprabhu's father's name was Jagannātha Mīśra and his mother's name was Śacī Devī. Here the son of Jagannātha and Śacī is being identified with the lord of the universe, an extraordinary claim to make about someone one knows personally. Of course, it is a lot more common for humans to be recognized as divine in India where a sharp line between the sacred and the profane has never

स जयत्यतिशुद्धविक्रमः कनकामः कमलायतेक्षणः ।  
वरजानुविलम्बिसद्भुजो बहुधा भक्तिरसाम्भिनर्तकः ॥

<sup>7</sup>Masson and Patwardhan, for instance, in their book entitled *Aesthetic Rapture*.

<sup>8</sup>Kcc, 1.1.2:

स जगन्नाथसुतो जगत्पतिर्जगदादिर्जगदार्तिहा विभुः ।  
कलिपापकलिभारहारकोऽजनि शच्यां निजभक्तिमुद्धहन् ॥

been drawn clearly. Murāri Gupta, nevertheless, a well-educated and respected physician, wrote this about a friend's son, a student several years his junior, who studied with the same teacher as he. Murāri was not alone, however. Many other highly educated and respected men who knew Mahāprabhu said similar things about him.

Mahāprabhu lived for forty-seven years, four months and ten or twelve days, according to one scholar's calculation.<sup>9</sup> As a student he showed great promise and it looked like he was on his way to becoming a respected scholar and teacher specializing in the areas of grammar (*vyākaraṇa*) and literary criticism (*alaukāra-śāstra*). After the death of his father, he married a woman named Lakṣmī, set up a Sanskrit school, and began to teach literature and ritualism in order to support himself, his wife and his widowed mother.<sup>10</sup> As a further example of his scholarly abilities, some of his biographers describe a debate he had with an award-winning scholar from Kashmir by the name of Keśava Kāśmīri, in which he found numerous poetic and grammatical faults in a composition of the scholar.<sup>11</sup> On a visit in 1509 at the age of 23 to Viṣṇu Gayā, not far from Bodh Gayā where Siddhārtha Gautama is said to have reached enlightenment and become known as the Buddha, something extraordinary happened to Mahāprabhu that changed the direction of his life. He had gone to Gayā to perform the last rites for his father who had passed away some years earlier. After performing the rites, he visited the Viṣṇu temple there and viewed the iconic footprints of Viṣṇu that are enshrined there. Here is Murāri's description of the event:

He was thrilled when he saw the marks of the feet of Hari in Viṣṇu's footprints and asked himself: "how is it that I have seen them, but my love (*preman*) for the marks of Hari's lotus-like feet has not developed?" At that moment by chance cool water began to sprinkle down on him repeatedly. The Lord began to tremble and his hair stood up. Streams of tears of love began to wash down his chest. Overwhelmed, through the joy of that love for the lotus-like feet of Kṛṣṇa he was suddenly freed of all attachments. He desired to leave Gayā, though beautiful and filled with holy people, and go to the forest of Madhu (Vṛndāvana).<sup>12</sup>

As Mahāprabhu was about to set out for Vṛndāvana, he heard a disembodied

<sup>9</sup>Majumdar, p. 6.

<sup>10</sup>Murāri Gupta, 1.15.1-2

<sup>11</sup>Vṛndāvanadāsa, 1.9 and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, 1.16. The rest of the biographers are strangely silent on this incident, however.

<sup>12</sup>Kcc, 1.16.6-8:

स विष्णुपदां हरिपादचिह्नं दृष्ट्वातिहृष्टो मनसाब्रवीच्च ।  
 कथं हरेः पादपयोजलक्ष्मप्रेमोदयो मे न बभूव दृष्ट्वा ॥  
 तस्मिन्क्षणे तस्य बभूव देवात्सुशीतलतयैरभिषेचनं मुहुः ।  
 कम्पोर्दुरोमा भगवान्बभूव प्रेमान्बुधाराशतधौतवक्षाः ॥

voice directing him to return home rather than go to Vṛndāvana. It told him that in the fullness of time he would visit Vṛndāvana and other places besides, but for now he should attend to his servants.<sup>13</sup>

Mahāprabhu followed the advice of the ethereal voice and returned home, but as a transformed man. Over the next year, he became the center of the Vaiṣṇava movement in Navadvīpa and his ecstasies increased to such a degree that he had to close down his school. By the end of that year he decided to renounce his householder life and, leaving behind his young second wife (Viṣṇupriyā)<sup>14</sup> and mother, become a renunciant (*sannyāsī*). Here is how a close friend and follower of his from that period, Śivānanda Sena, describes Mahāprabhu after his return from Gayā:

Golden in color, exultant in divine love,  
Gaura<sup>15</sup> [Mahāprabhu]  
flooded the town of Nadia with tears of love.  
Spreading over his chest,  
showers of love fall;  
he knows not night or day,  
maddened with love.  
Leaning his body on Govinda's,  
the Lord listens, absorbed,  
to the excellences of Vṛndāvana.  
Repeating "Rādhā Rādhā,"  
he falls into a faint.  
Śivānanda cries, not understanding the Lord's feelings.<sup>16</sup>

His renunciation of the comforts of home for the greater good became the subject matter of many beautiful and emotionally charged songs in Bengali. They are filled with the sadness of seeing this handsome and promising young man give up everything for the hard life of wandering mendicancy and they express powerful feelings of separation from their extraordinary friend after he leaves. Here is how another of his early followers, Rāmānanda Vasu, describes his reaction to that event:

In sinful February,

स विह्वलः कृष्णपदाब्जयुग्मप्रेमोत्सवेनाशु विमुक्तसङ्गः ।  
त्यक्त्वा गयां गन्तुमियेष रम्यां मधोर्वनं साधुनिषेवितां ताम् ॥

<sup>13</sup>Kcc, 1.16.9-10.

<sup>14</sup>His first wife, Lakṣmī, died of snake bite while Caitanya was travelling in East Bengal, before his trip to Gayā, in order to make money.

<sup>15</sup>Gaura is another name for Caitanya meaning white or yellow. It describes the color of Caitanya's skin.

<sup>16</sup>Cc U, p. 23, *Padakalpataru*, 2127

the Lord took renunciation.  
 Then too my desire to live departed.  
 Day after day, emaciated, I cry.  
 Without Gaura how many days can I live?  
 Now it is Spring.  
 It should be a happy time.  
 But this foul, hard life  
 does not leave me.  
 Great is the love  
 the Lord has shown me.  
 Rāmānanda says:  
 "he is the lord of my life.  
 When will I see him again  
 along with Gadādhara?"<sup>17</sup>

The feeling of separation from a loved one, like that felt by the cowherd women for Kṛṣṇa when he left Vraja for Mathurā, becomes a powerful underlying current in the religious experience of the Caitanya tradition. As we shall see, Sanātana had an interesting perspective on the meaning and symbolism of this experience of love-in-separation (*viraha*).

Mahāprabhu entered the renounced order of life in 1510 at the age of twenty-four and agreed, at the request of his mother, to settle in the temple town of Purī in Orissa, home of the temple of Jagannātha. This was so she could receive news of him from time to time. Yearly, around the time of the great Chariot festival in Purī, many of Mahāprabhu's Bengali followers traveled from Bengal to Orissa to celebrate the festival and spend time with him. Thus even after he left Bengal, he continued to exert a powerful influence over Bengalis and Bengali religious life. It was after his renunciation that Sanātana and his two younger brothers Rūpa and Anupama entered into the fabric of Mahāprabhu's movement.

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<sup>17</sup>Jagadbandhu, p. 254. Gadādhara Paṇḍita was one of Caitanya's close associates, nearly always in his company.



## Chapter 2

# Sanātana Gosvāmin

At the time of Mahāprabhu's renunciation, Sanātana was employed, along with his younger brother Rūpa, in the court of the ruler of Bengal, Nawab Husein Shah. He was apparently in a very trusted position. Some scholars have interpreted the title he was known by at that time, Sākar Mallik, as "minister" or "little king." How he came to be employed in the court of the Shah is not known, although there are stories in circulation about how it happened which I shall discuss later. Realistically, Sanātana was probably benefitted by a policy, instituted by Husein Shah when he came into power, of hiring Hindus to fill his administrative posts. The Abyssinians who had occupied those posts for the previous Nawabs had proven dangerously untrustworthy. At any rate, his employment with the Shah meant that he was wealthy and powerful, but probably was looked down upon, perhaps even shunned, by other members of the Bengali Hindu society. Association with the Yavana, as the Muslim were called then, was considered ritually polluting by the more orthodox elements of Hindu society and one could even lose one's caste standing because of it. It is not clear that this is what happened to Sanātana and his brothers, but for some reason, sometime between 1510 and 1515 CE Sanātana sent several letters to Mahāprabhu in Purī asking him to "save" him. As a result of this correspondence, perhaps, Mahāprabhu in 1515, on his first attempt at pilgrimage to Vṛndāvana, stopped in a small town called Rāmakeli, near to the homes of Sanātana and Rūpa. They went to meet him secretly, not wishing to provoke the ire of the Nawab. Sanātana and his brothers were relatively latecomers and outsiders to the movement of Mahāprabhu, since they were not from Navadvīpa or its surrounding villages nor were they with him since the time of his conversion in 1509. Also, compared to his other followers, the brothers spent relatively little time with him, about a year each, and were, for the most part, on their own in the distant, wild lands of

Vraja.

There are several accounts of the first meeting and other interactions with Sanātana and his brothers in the hagiographies of Mahāprabhu. I propose citing and discussing each of the six major descriptions of their relationship, not so much for what they tell us about Sanātana — many of the accounts are probably inaccurate — but for what they tell us about the brothers' growing stature in the early movement and the tensions that that stature caused among other members. Each of the accounts is important for what it reveals about the attitudes of the writer, and the community he was writing for, towards the relatively unknown newcomers whose works eventually became the standard theological and literary works of the tradition.

## Murāri Gupta

Here is how Murāri Gupta described that meeting:

Then, surrounded by followers, Kṛṣṇa [Mahāprabhu] went to Rāmakeli. Hearing of this, Sanātana went there to see the Lord. Seeing the Lord he, became filled with pleasure and, falling down on the ground, he took a blade of grass in his teeth and, along with his younger brothers, spoke to Keśava [Mahāprabhu]. "There is no one as sinful as me nor one as offensive. Even in quitting it I am shy; what can I say, o best of men?" Placing his foot on Sanātana's head, Janārdhana [Mahāprabhu] said: "you are really a resident of Vṛndāvana, indeed there is no doubt. I wish to go to Mathurā with you if you wish; there you are able to reveal the lost sites of Vṛndāvana. All that will be because of my mercy, which is the very essence of *bhakti* and which gives the *bhakti* of *preman* directly." Hearing this, the very intelligent Sanātana with his brother [Rūpa] said: "The abode of Kṛṣṇa is beautiful, bright Vṛndāvana, where Kṛṣṇa forever plays with Rādhā. It is never attainable by yogis, gods, perfected ones, and other human beings. It is unpopulated. How can Going there with such a crowd bring joy? With the sword of your mercy cut my chains in the form of my employment at court and bring me close to you. O Kṛṣṇa, infuse me with your power and do with me whatever you want." Hearing his sweet words, the Lord smiled and said: "Kṛṣṇa will always fulfill your desires." Then, satisfying him Kṛṣṇa went to Nāṭyasthala.<sup>1</sup>

This passage set the tone for many of the ways in which Sanātana came to be viewed by members of the later Caitanya tradition. The qualities that stand out are his extraordinary humility, his sharp intelligence, his wisdom as exemplified in advising Mahāprabhu not to go to Vṛndāvana surrounded by a big crowd of followers, his courage in daring to give the Great Master advice, and his strong

<sup>1</sup>Murāri Gupta, Kcc, 3.18.1-12. See Appendix A, Section One, for the Sanskrit text.



sense of detachment from the wealth and power of this world. He went from living in a fine house with lots of servants as a wealthy and respected minister at the court of Bengal to sleeping under a different tree each night in the holy land of Vraja, begging for his meals from one house to another like a bee moving from flower to flower. The traits presented in this passage are largely supported by Sanātana's written works as we will discover when we look more closely at his philosophical and theological texts.

### Kavi Karṇapūra

The second biographer of Mahāprabhu, Kavi Karṇapūra (b. 1524), describes that first meeting in a somewhat different way in his *Caitanya-caritāmṛta Mahākāvya*. He places the first meeting in Jagannātha Purī rather than in Rāmakeli and specifically mentions the names of Sanātana's younger brothers, Rūpa, the great poet-dramatist of the Caitanya tradition, and Anupama (also known as Vallabha), the father of Śrī Jīva, the greatest philosopher of the tradition. Both Rūpa and Jīva were important members of the Vṛndāvana circle. He also conjures up a more emotional and somewhat surreal dimension to the first meeting. Here is what he says:

Now some men, dear to this Lord of the Worlds [Jagannātha], decorated with a great abundance of the highest power, like veritable oceans of the essence of *rasa*, went to see the two lotus feet of the Lord. The Reservoir of Mercy [Mahāprabhu] saw the brothers, Sanātana, Rūpa, and Anupama, who were like three oceans of *bhakti-rasa* at his feet, flooding the world with waves of blossoming emotion. Then they gathered close by, three dear brothers like the nearest siblings of Mahāprabhu's emotional manifestations themselves, and praised him intensely, using the ordained vocal inflections, with the prayer of the Lotus-born One [Brahmā].<sup>2</sup> Then again with tears running from their eyes, their hair standing on end, their hearts in a softened condition, unable to restrain themselves, standing close to Mahāprabhu, they praised him free of inhibition. Hearing them, the Lord said this, pretending not to know them: "Is this not the foremost Moon of Nīlagiri [Jagannātha] gathered before me to sing praise?"

How would these brothers, who were becoming more confident because of their increasing sense of intense attachment, have ever stopped now? Rather, they without reservation began to sing praises even more vigorously. When he was unable to take away their boldness and stop them, they became submerged in an ocean of extreme joy.

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<sup>2</sup>A well known prayer from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (Canto 10, Chapter 14) offered by Brahmā when he realized that Kṛṣṇa was the supreme deity.

“A knower of all four Veda is not my *bhakta*; yet one who is my *bhakta*, even if he is a dog-eater, is dear to me. To him are things to be given and from him are things to be accepted. He is to be honored as I am.”

Reciting this sweetly, Mahāprabhu offered obeisance to the brothers, falling on the ground like a stick. They, being very clever, did not become fearful at that, supported by their strong *bhakti*. When the sweet voice of Mahāprabhu appeared again saying “Speak on, speak on,” they saw his highest and most desirable form possessing the concentrated light of the rays of a hundred moons. But that White-skinned Moon (Gauracandra), intensely enthusiastic, his sweetness redoubled in the form of light, said repeatedly “Speak on, speak on,” bathing the earth with the light of his smile. Now they gave up reciting the prayer of the Lotus-born One, and taking blades of grass in their teeth and tying the borders of the cloths around their necks, they began another prayer with great enthusiasm. They recited a prayer spoken by the cowherding women which bestows those desires that accorded with their [the brothers’] hearts and, decorated with tears, they sank into an ocean of joy.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, hearing their prayer, sweet like nectar, with pronunciation in the finest inflections, he [Mahāprabhu] became eager [and said] “Bring them, bring them. Let the finest food offerings<sup>4</sup> be served quickly.” Then, they sat, almost as if they were falling, on the ground near his lotus-like feet, trembling intensely and their entire bodies washed by streams of tears flowing from their eyes. Then when the Lord, who pleases his devotees, had honored the food offerings by means of three lovely pots called *ghasa*, he was radiant, the beauty of his moonlike face shining sweetly. They, then, their hearts pleased, enthused by the sight of the radiance of their hearts’ desire, their bodies drenched with the tears flowing from their eyes, departed, embodiments of good fortune.<sup>5</sup>

This is a rather strange description of the first meeting of Sanātana and his brothers with Mahāprabhu. Nothing of what they said to each other is reported here as it was in Murāri’s account. The whole interaction is carried out on the level of symbolic action, as if they were actors in a drama without dialog or a ritual with prescribed formula. It is quite possible that Kavi Karṇapūra did not know what was said, but had a vague idea of what was done between them. It is generally agreed among scholars that Karṇapūra depended a great deal on

<sup>3</sup>Another well known prayer from the Tenth Canto of the *Bhāgavata*, this one by the cowherd women. It is contained in Chapter 31.

<sup>4</sup>This is probably food offered to Jagannātha at the temple and then later distributed to the devotees..

<sup>5</sup>Kavi Karṇapūra, *Caitanya-caritāmṛta Mahākāvya*, 17.8-24. See Appendix A, Section Two for the Sanskrit text.

Murāri's book for his material, but B.B. Majumdar has shown that only about the first two thirds of Murāri's book is reflected in Karṇapūra's work.<sup>6</sup> This suggests that the last third of Murāri's book had not been written yet or was in the process of being written when Karṇapūra was composing his first work. Karṇapūra wrote two works on the life of Mahāprabhu, a poem and a play. The poem, from which the passage above was taken, was completed in 1542 CE when its author may have only been sixteen years old. It contains more detail on the first half of Mahāprabhu's life, but is sketchy on the second half, the half to which his meeting with Sanātana belongs. His second work, the *Caitanya-candrodaya Nāṭaka* (Rise of the Moon of Caitanya) was completed in 1579 and covers the later life of Mahāprabhu more fully. We will look at his description of the first meeting of Sanātana with Mahāprabhu in this second work shortly. Let us for the moment return to this first account. Although Karṇapūra may not have known very clearly what happened between Sanātana and Mahāprabhu at that first meeting, he nevertheless knew something important had happened. He had a sense of what took place and he tried to express it symbolically.

What then does take place between Sanātana and his brothers and Mahāprabhu according to Kavi Karṇapūra's account? Though no dialog takes place, significant actions occur. The brothers, for instance, recite for Mahāprabhu the prayers of Brahmā. This probably refers to the prayers found in the Tenth Canto of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and said to be those offered to Kṛṣṇa by Brahmā after he discovers who Kṛṣṇa really is. The story of Brahmā's stealing and hiding away all of the cows and cowherd friends of Kṛṣṇa as a joke is told in the thirteenth chapter of the canto. Kṛṣṇa knowing what has happened replaces them all by personally expanding and assuming their forms simultaneously. When Brahmā checks in again to see how his joke is working, he finds all of the cows and boys going about their lives in Vraja as if nothing had happened. He is extremely puzzled by it all. He finally realizes what has happened and simultaneously he realizes who Kṛṣṇa really is and humbles himself before him. He offers a long prayer of praise for and submission to Kṛṣṇa which fills most of the fourteenth chapter of the canto. By representing the brothers as reciting that prayer, Karṇapūra is suggesting that one of the things that happened in that first meeting is that Sanātana, a wealthy and powerful member of the government of Bengal, humbled himself before Mahāprabhu and recognized him as Kṛṣṇa. This is probably what actually happened in that first meeting, although Sanātana and his brothers may not have really recited that prayer of Brahmā. For his part, Mahāprabhu is represented in this account as trying to humbly change the subject and avoid being identified with Kṛṣṇa.

What happens next is also significant. Mahāprabhu recites a verse that teaches that a devotee, even if he is a lowcaste eater of dogs, is still dearer to Kṛṣṇa than

<sup>6</sup>Majumdar, *Caitanya-caritara Upādāna*, pp. 87-94.

a learned *brāhmaṇa* who knows all four Veda. This suggests that there was some sort of irregularity in the caste standing of the brothers. Some scholars have suggested that Sanātana and his brother Rūpa had actually converted to Islam. While this seems unlikely, their close association with the Muslim court certainly had an effect on their caste position. Nevertheless, Mahāprabhu is represented as placing a person's possession of *bhakti* above any consideration of caste or orthodox learning. To drive home the point Mahāprabhu is next represented as falling to the ground and offering obeissance to the brothers. He then goes into a kind of ecstasy in which he repeatedly utters the word "speak" (*vada*). It is not clear what exactly this represents, but while Mahāprabhu is in this trance he apparently reveals to the brothers, in a blaze of light, his true nature. Though the text is vague at this point, Karṇapūra is probably suggesting that Mahāprabhu revealed his Kṛṣṇa form to them. The brothers respond by stopping their recitation of the prayers of Brahmā and taking up prayers that Karṇapūra describes as more in tune with the genuine desires of their hearts. They take up the prayers offered by the cowherding women (*gopī*) from the thirty-first chapter of the Tenth Canto of the *Bhāgavatā*.

The context for the prayers of the cowherding women is this: they are in the forest of Vṛndāvana at night having been drawn there — away from their husbands, children, and homes, indeed away from all social and familial responsibility and respectability — by the sweet sound of Kṛṣṇa's flute. Once he has them there he disappears and they search the forest for him without success, realizing along the way that he has taken one special woman with him. They begin this prayer asking for the joy and protection of his company again. By placing this prayer in the mouths of Sanātana and his brothers, Karṇapūra is placing them among the cowherd girls begging for a return to intimacy with Kṛṣṇa. Like the cowherding girls they are ready to give up everything for the sake of loving Kṛṣṇa. Much later and in another text Karṇapūra will float the claim that Sanātana and Rūpa are indeed eternal members of that community of cowherding women, having the names Lavaṅga Mañjarī and Rūpa Mañjarī, respectively.<sup>7</sup> By Karṇapūra's account that first meeting culminates in the sharing among them of *mahāprasāda*, food sanctified by being offered to the deities of the Jagannātha temple. This indicates the establishment of community among them and might

<sup>7</sup>Kavi Karṇapūra, *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* (Lamp Identifying the Followers of Caitanya):

या रूपमञ्जरीप्रेष्टा पुरासीद्व्रतिमञ्जरी ।  
 सोच्यते नाममेदेन लवङ्गमञ्जरी बुधैः ॥  
 साद्य गौरामिन्नतनुः सर्वाराध्यः सनातनः ।  
 तमेव प्राविशत्कार्यान्मनिरत्नः सनातनः ॥

She, Ratimañjarī, who was previously most dear to Rūpamañjarī, is known to the learned by another name, Lavaṅgamañjarī. She is now Sanātana who is non-different from Gaura and honored by all. She has entered him, indeed, for some purpose; a jewel of sages is Sanātana.

be likened to the circle dance, or *rāsa-līlā* which is the culmination of the reunion of Kṛṣṇa with the cowherding women.

Nearly forty years later, in 1579, Kavi Karṇapūra wrote again about the life of Mahāprabhu in his dramatic masterpiece, the *Caitanya-candrodaya Nāṭaka* (Rise of the Caitanya Moon). By this time, someone had completed Murāri Gupta's work (probably not Murāri), and Karṇapūra no longer portrayed the first meeting between Sanātana and his brothers and Mahāprabhu as taking place in Purī. In this later account it occurs at some unspecified place outside of Orissa on Mahāprabhu's pilgrimage to Vṛndāvana. On the other hand, he seems to conflate the first meeting Sanātana had with Mahāprabhu with a second meeting in Vārāṇasī. In the play, the event is described by a messenger to King Pratāparudra, the king of Orissa, just before Mahāprabhu himself arrives back in Purī. Here is that account:

Messenger: And then:

That older brother of Rūpa, the jewel-ornament of the court of the King of Gauḍa, gave up his growing wealth and accepted renunciation as his young goddess of fortune. Internally, his heart was filled with the *rasa* of *bhakti*; externally, he looked like a possessionless ascetic (*avadhūta*). He was a giver of joy to the wise like a great lake hidden by moss.

King: Then what happened?

Messenger:

That golden Gaura, overflowing with compassion, embraced him, with his long, beam-like arms, as soon as his eyes fell on him, the newly arrived Sanātana who trembled in response.

King: How did they meet?

Messenger: This is what I heard from his own lips.

King: Tell me!

Messenger:

Those who at first went before the Lord with great expectation, returned reciting the names of God, tears in their eyes, their hair on end. Noting the progression of those who came and went and taking the dust of their feet, I, sitting outside, was brought in by some men at the insistence of the omniscient Lord.

King: Then what happened?

Messenger: Then reciting the verse: “He is not my *bhakta* who is a knower of all four Veda ..., ” he quickly came down and embraced him with his arms.

King: Then what?

Messenger: Then I heard some hearsay.

King: What was that?

Messenger:

They will come to Puruṣottama [Purī] and spend some time here being delighted by the Lord and then, at his command, they will go to Vṛndāvana.

King: Will they come along with the Lord or later?

Messenger: They will come later, since I have seen that from Vārāṇasī the Lord departed alone. I have also heard something else about this.

Sārvabhauma: What is that?

Messenger:

There [in Vārāṇasī] the Lord sprinkled Rūpa and Sanātana with the nectar of his mercy in order that they may make known the tidings of the [Lord’s] sports in Vṛndāvana that have been forgotten over time.

Rāmānanda: This is entirely fitting.

This account is something of a blend of Karṇapūra’s first telling and Murāri’s telling. Once again no dialog between Lord and disciples takes place, but the sense that Sanātana and Rūpa were somehow infused with Mahāprabhu’s grace and as a result had completed some important work for him is evident. By the time of the Karṇapūra’s play, the Gosvāmins’ lives had been over for twenty years. They had written all their works and rediscovered the lost sites of Kṛṣṇa’s sport in Vṛndāvana. The extraordinary nature of what they had achieved was beginning to be realized throughout the movement.

## Vṛndāvana Dāsa

In between the two works of Karṇapūra, another of Caitanya’s hagiographers, Vṛndāvana Dāsa, wrote his *Caitanya-bhāgavata* (*Divine Deeds of Caitanya*) in Bengali with numerous quotes from Sanskrit sources. The text has been dated to 1548 by Majumdar, although another scholar, D. C. Sen, places it as late as 1573. Vṛndāvana Dāsa describes the first meeting of Sanātana and Rūpa with Mahāprabhu in the tenth chapter of the “Final Sport” (*Antya-līlā*) section of his text. It

also seems to have been written in independently of Murāri's account, although at least two verses are quoted from Murāri on other subjects and he incorporates events from the first three sections of Murāri's work into his own work. The fourth section, however, is completely missing. This suggests that Murāri's text was not yet complete when Vṛndāvana Dāsa wrote and argues strongly for the earlier date of composition for the text. By 1573 the final section of Murāri's text must have been available. Whatever the date, however, Vṛndāvana Dāsa has an interesting perspective on the relationship between Mahāprabhu and Sanātana and his brothers. Here is what he says:

At that time, two who were very blessed  
came into the presence of the Lord.  
Śākara Mallika and Rūpa, two brothers;  
the Lord glanced upon the two with a merciful gaze.  
From a distance the two brothers prostrated themselves.  
Taking grass in their teeth, they made suppliant tones.  
"Victory, victory to Mahāprabhu Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya  
by whose grace all the worlds are blessed.  
Victory to the friend of the poor, benefactor of the universe.  
Victory, victory to him in the form of the foremost renunciant.  
Victory, victory to the enjoyer of *saṅkīrtana*,<sup>8</sup> to the endless one.  
Victory, victory, victory to him who is the beginning, middle, and end of all.  
Himself descending as a Vaiṣṇava,  
he gave *bhakti* and uplifted the entire world.  
Why then, O Lord, have you not saved me?  
Am I not in the material world, Lord?  
Since my birth, deluded by the enjoyment of sense objects,  
I have not worshipped your feet, so good for me.  
I have not associated with your devotees;  
I have not glorified you nor listened to your glorification.  
Making me a king's minister, you have cheated me.  
Why then did you give me a human birth?  
The human birth that the gods desire,  
even giving me such a birth, Lord, you have cheated me.  
Now, becoming undeceptive, show some mercy.

<sup>8</sup>*Saṅkīrtana* is the loud glorification of Kṛṣṇa's names, acts, qualities, and so forth. Rūpa Gosvāmin defines it thus in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* (Ocean of the Nectar of Devotion) (1.2.145): नामलीलागुणादीनामुद्यैर्भाषा तु कीर्तनम्। "Kīrtana is loud talk about [Kṛṣṇa's] names, sports, qualities, and so on." It sometimes takes on more elaborate forms as when done with songs with musical accompaniment and dance.

Repeating your name I fall at the base of a tree.  
 May one of your beloved devotees bring me to you.  
 May I merely receive remnants in his house.”

In this way, the two brothers, Rūpa and Sanātana  
 prayed to the Lord. Lord Caitanya Gosvāmi heard them.

Gazing upon them compassionately, the Lord  
 began to speak with great kindness.

The Lord said: “You two are most blessed.  
 You have cut the cords of material existence and escaped.

All of material existence is bound by the bonds of the sense objects.  
 From those bonds you two have been freed.

If you now desire the *bhakti* of love (*preman*),  
 fall and clasp the feet of this Advaita.<sup>9</sup>

He is a storehouse of *bhakti*, Śrī Advaita Mahāśaya.  
 By Advaita’s mercy, one gets *bhakti* for Kṛṣṇa.”

Hearing the order of the Lord, the two great ones  
 fell like sticks at the feet of Advaita.

“Glory, glory to Śrī Advaita, the savior of the fallen.  
 Free the two of us, such fallen blokes.”

The Lord said: “Listen, listen, Ācārya Gosvāmin [Advaita].  
 In the Age of Kali, such dispassion as this is not easy.

Giving up the comforts of power, taking up a cotton cloth and water bowl,  
 they live in Mathurā chanting Kṛṣṇa’s name.

Give unalloyed *bhakti* for Kṛṣṇa to these two  
 so that birth after birth they will not forget Kṛṣṇa.

You are a storehouse of *bhakti*. If you don’t give it,  
 who will get *kṛṣṇa-bhakti*, or Kṛṣṇa’s devotee, or Kṛṣṇa?”

Advaita said: “Lord, you are the giver of everything.  
 If you order it, I will be able to give it.

If the Lord orders it, the storehouse will be able to give it.  
 This is your way, you bless someone through someone else.

This applies to me in body, mind and speech.  
 May these two have *kṛṣṇa-bhakti* in every respect!”

Hearing the merciful words of Advaita, the Lord  
 loudly began to shout “Hari.”

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<sup>9</sup>One of Mahāprabhu’s chief associates, many years his senior, and a founding father of the circle of Vaiṣṇava in Navadvīpa.



The Lord then addressed Dabīra Khās:<sup>10</sup>  
 “Now you have loving *bhakti* for Kṛṣṇa.  
 By the mercy of Advaita has that *bhakti* of love arisen.  
 Do you recognize Advaita? He is Kṛṣṇa’s full power.  
 After gazing on the beautiful face of Jagannātha for a few days,  
 you two brothers should return to Mathurā and stay there.  
 From your community, visit the people of the west,  
 which is influenced by passion and dullness,<sup>11</sup>  
 and them give the *rasa* of *bhakti*.  
 I, too, will go to the region of Mathurā  
 and make the deserted place suitable for habitation.”  
 Casting away his name Śākara Mallika,  
 he gave him the name Sanātana Avadhūta.  
 Even now the two brothers, Rūpa and Sanātana,  
 by Caitanya’s mercy, have become famous in the world.  
 Whatever fame a devotee has,  
 it is because of the greatness of his *bhakti*.  
 All this the moon-like Caitanya has made known.  
 Whether it is the truth of Nityānanda or that of Advaita,  
 or the greatness of the association of dear devotees,  
 Lord Caitanya has revealed it all.  
 That Lord has described all this with pleasure.  
 Which devotees are truly what, who is whose descent,  
 Vaiṣṇavas and Vaiṣṇavīs,  
 who is born from a portion of whom,  
 whose worship is of what sort, whose is what sort of greatness,  
 Lord Caitanya has revealed all of those things.<sup>12</sup>

From this passage it is evident that according to Vṛndāvana Dāsa the first meeting occurs in Purī and is characterized by the same humility (grass in the teeth) and prayers offered by Sanātana to Mahāprabhu with the same suppliant tones of voice (*kākuṇḍāda*) as found in Karṇapūra. It differs dramatically from Karṇapūra’s version, however, in that Vṛndāvana Dāsa represents Mahāprabhu as ordering the brothers (here only two, not three as in Karṇapūra) to fall at the feet of Advaita Prabhu, one of Mahāprabhu’s older and major associates and

<sup>10</sup>Here this seems to refer to Sanātana. This and other such confusions of these names have prompted some scholars to suggest that both Śākara Mallika and Babīra Khāsa were titles of Sanātana.

<sup>11</sup>Two of the material qualities of nature, *rajas* and *tamas*

<sup>12</sup>Vṛndāvana Dāsa, *Caitanya-bhāgavata*, 3.10.233-274. See Appendix A, Section Four for the text of Vṛndāvana Dāsa’s version.

an important leader of his Bengali followers. It is from Advaita that the brothers receive the religious boon of *bhakti* with love (*preman*), the highest goal of the Caitanya tradition. This strikes one as a bit of Bengali chauvanism at work. Here the Caitanya tradition's two greatest thinkers and writers — who were both vastly learned and who wrote numerous works in Sanskrit that reached beyond the narrow horizons of Bengal to win places of respect in pan-Indic religious and intellectual life — are represented as receiving their religious depth and inspiration from the grace of Advaita, who as far as we know wrote nothing. Though he is represented as a great teacher in various places in the biographies, he only left behind a large and somewhat problematic family. Moreover, Advaita, while certainly immensely important in the Bengali movement, was not known beyond the borders of Bengal. This version also has the brothers being ordered to teach the “depraved” people of western India about the *rasa* of *bhakti*. Those outside of Bengal, with the possible exception of parts of South India, are regarded as overwhelmed by nature's qualities of passion and darkness

Vṛndāvana Dāsa's account reveals something of the way in which Sanātana and his brother Rūpa were viewed in the Caitanya movement at his time. If Vṛndāvana Dāsa indeed wrote around 1548, Sanātana was a man in his seventies and some of his works were beginning to be known or at least heard of in Bengal.<sup>13</sup> The brothers were admired for renouncing their high positions in the government of Bengal, and yet, at the same time, they were still considered outsiders with backgrounds that were different from the other followers of Caitanya. They had strange Persian names or titles. By the time that Vṛndāvana Dāsa wrote his account, their residence in Vṛndāvana and work on *bhakti-rasa* had lasted three decades. Vṛndāvana Dāsa, thus, had some understanding of who Sanātana and Rūpa were and what they achieved, but he was confused about how, when, and where it all took place. They were, nevertheless, a force that needed to be put in its place and that place was at the feet of Advaita, one of the recognized leaders of the Bengali Vaiṣṇava community.

Their court titles, Sākar Mallik (little king, i.e. minister) and Dabīr Khās (private secretary), are also given in Vṛndāvana Dāsa's account. but in a somewhat odd way. Both names seem to refer to Sanātana and not the first to Sanātana and the second to Rūpa as Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja has it in his account as we shall see. This has prompted one scholar to suggest that both titles were really Sanā-

<sup>13</sup>Rūpa's masterpiece the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* (*Ocean of the Nectar of Devotion*) was completed in 1541. It is not clear when Sanātana's works were written, but it appears, from internal evidence that at least two of his works, the one translated here and the *Brhad-bhāgavatāmṛta* (*The Bigger Ambrosia of Devotion to the Lord*), or at least its first portion, were written while Mahāprabhu was still alive, that is, before 1533. The *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* quotes the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* (*Pleasures of Devotion to Hari*) leading one to infer that it, too, had already been written. Sanātana may have written an early version of that text which became the core of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's later, greatly expanded work.

tana's.<sup>14</sup> Also, Mahāprabhu is represented as changing those names or titles to Sanātana and Rūpa, respectively. This may not be true. Those would be odd names for Mahāprabhu to give them since they do not have anything specifically to do with Kṛṣṇa. The brothers' nephew Śrī Jīva in describing the family history in one of his works, merely refers to them as Sanātana and Rūpa as if those names were their given names.<sup>15</sup>

In summary, here is what we learn from Vṛndāvana Dāsa's account. Sanātana and Rūpa were considered paragons of detachment and humility because of giving up their positions of power and wealth. Advaita or Nityānanda were not such good examples of that kind of detachment. Advaita was a householder all his life and Nityānanda gave up the life of renunciation in order to marry. Sanātana and Rūpa lived in Vṛndāvana, which is described as deserted and uninhabitable. They worked on elucidating and spreading sacred rapture (*bhakti-rasa*). They were reaching beyond the parochialism of the early movement and becoming famous outside the region and thus they represented a force that needed to be bridled in so that the center of gravity and control in the Caitanya movement might remain in Bengal.

## Jayānanda

The next hagiography of Mahāprabhu that mentions Sanātana at any length is the *Caitanya-maṅgala* (*The Blessing of Caitanya*) of Jayānanda (b. 1512-13). According to this text, Jayānanda was a baby when Mahāprabhu stopped at his parents' house for a meal on his way from Purī to Gauḍa (Bengal) in 1514-15, the very same trip in which he met with Sanātana and Rūpa at Rāmakeli.<sup>16</sup> He was thus around twenty when Mahāprabhu passed away in 1533. Strangely, Jayānanda is not mentioned in any of the other hagiographies as a follower of Mahāprabhu, let alone as one of his biographers. The number of surviving copies of his text in various manuscript collections around Bengal nevertheless suggests that it was widely in use. In his work he clearly mentions the *Caitanya-bhāgavata* of Vṛndāvana Dāsa, but does not seem to have made much use of it in framing his own

<sup>14</sup>Giriśaṅkara Rāycaudhuri, *Śrī Caitanya o Tānhar pārsadagana*, pp. 147-149. This, if true, might account for why Sanātana's departure from government service was so strongly opposed by the Nawab as to result in Sanātana's arrest and imprisonment. Perhaps it was only he who worked for the Nawab, and not Rūpa and Vallabha. Nareścandra Jānā discusses this at length in his *Vṛndāvaner Chaya Gosvāmī*, pp-32-39. He concludes that while only Sanātana was known as Sākar Mallik, both brothers may have been known as Dabīr Khās.

<sup>15</sup>A later text, the *Prema-vilāsa* of Nityānada Dāsa, mentions the names Amara and Santoṣa as the given names of Sanātana and Rūpa. The authenticity of this text, or at least portions of it, is, however, highly questionable.

<sup>16</sup>Cm, Vijaya Khaṇḍa, 3.4-5. Majumdar thinks it was on his return to Purī that Caitanya stopped at Jayānanda's house. See his Cu, p. 223.

narrative account of Mahāprabhu's life, except for the very last section of the text in which he gives a brief summary of the events in Mahāprabhu's life. There he follows Vṛndāvana Dāsa's text quite closely. Scholars have placed the composition of Jayānanda's text in the period immediately following Vṛndāvana Dāsa's work, that is, from 1548 up to about 1560.<sup>17</sup>

His account of the meeting of Mahāprabhu with Sanātana is fairly brief and occurs in the section of the text that describes Mahāprabhu's tours of India to visit the sacred places. Jayānanda has Mahāprabhu meet Sanātana in Vṛndāvana. After mentioning some of the places that Mahāprabhu visited while touring Vṛndāvana, he says:<sup>18</sup>

At that time, Dabir Khās along with his brother  
came suddenly to visit Caitanyacandra.  
Images of renunciation with earthen pots,  
ceaseless tears of love and goosebumps all over their bodies,  
regarding all wealth as straw,  
they wandered in Vṛndāvana in the attire of indigents.  
Lords [were] Dabir Khās and Sanātana.  
Giving up the wealth of the king of Gauḍa, they became homeless.  
Before and after them a thousand horses ran,  
and twenty-two lakhs of their gold are buried in Gauḍa.  
Previously, they were the mind-born sons of Brahmā.<sup>19</sup>  
Cursed, the two brothers were born on earth.  
By the sight of Caitanya they were freed from their sin.  
Gosāñi [Caitanya] gave the two brothers the names Rūpa and Sanātana.  
The Master said: The curse has ended, Dabir Khās.  
Rūpa and Sanātana were revealed to the world.  
Showing mercy to Dabir Khās, Gauracandra (White Moon, Mahāprabhu)  
visited Mathurā and then went to Setubandhu [South India].

Here again the brothers are highly praised for their examples of renunciation and humility. The sort of lives that they led after leaving their government jobs, wandering around Vraja as homeless mendicants, also comes through. Nothing, however, is said about their rediscovering the holy sites of Vraja or about

<sup>17</sup>Bimanbehari Majumdar and Sukhamay Mukhopadhyay in their introduction to their edition of Jayānanda's *Caitanya-maṅgala*, pp xvii-xviii. (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1971.)

<sup>18</sup>Jayānanda, *Caitanya-maṅgala*, Tirtha 2.18-26. See the Appendix for the text.

<sup>19</sup>It is not clear what Jayānanda means here, but this is probably an attempt to connect Sanātana with the Sanātana of the four Sanas who, according to Purāṇic mythology were born from the mind of the demiurge Brahmā at the beginning of creation. They refused to have children and instead choose lives of celibacy, austerity and asceticism. See *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, 1.5.2-5 and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 3.12.4-6.

their writings. Rather, they are cast in a familiar Purāṇic mold. They are represented as two of the mind-born sons of Brahmā who, as a result of a curse, are forced to be born on earth and become the associates of Muslims.<sup>20</sup> Like the sons of Kuvera who were freed from the curse that turned them into trees in the story of Kṛṣṇa, Sanātana and Rūpa are released from their curse by the intervention of Mahāprabhu. None of the other hagiographies have made such a claim. This is indicative of the puzzlement with which the other members of the Caitanya movement regarded Sanātana and Rūpa. Their connection with the Muslim royal power tarnished them and turned them into strange outsiders, but their evident vast knowledge of *bhakti* texts and powerful feelings of *bhakti* towards Kṛṣṇa and Mahāprabhu indicated that they had highly advanced religious sensibilities. The solution Jayānanda found was in the device of a past-life curse whereby highly elevated beings are brought low and then restored to their original glory by the merciful master.

## Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja

Generally speaking, the most authoritative account of the interaction between Sanātana and Mahāprabhu is that of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in his *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (*The Immortal Acts of Caitanya*). This work was completed in 1612 or 1615 and was thus much later than the other hagiographies. It is authoritative not only because Kavirāja knew the most important of the previous accounts, but because he was probably an associate of Sanātana and Rūpa in Vṛndāvana and thus had an opportunity to hear directly from the brothers about that first meeting and all the other meetings.<sup>21</sup>

The first informative reference to Sanātana in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* comes at the beginning of the section of the text known as the Madhya-līlā or the description of Mahāprabhu's "Middle Sport," that is, the period between his becoming a renunciant and his settling down permanently in Purī. While outlining Mahāprabhu's activities in the first chapter of that section, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja pauses briefly to describe Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva's achievements:<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup>A similar story is told about Haridāsa Ṭhākura in Murāri Gupta's biography (1.4). Haridāsa Ṭhākura was born a Muslim, but became a dear follower of Caitanya.

<sup>21</sup>It may be that Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja arrived in Vṛndāvana too late to have had direct association with Sanātana and perhaps even with Rūpa. If he arrived in Vṛndāvana in 1557 as Majumdar suggests (296-7), he would have missed Sanātana, who may have died in 1555, by a couple of years. If Rūpa passed away in 1558, he would have been present for only the last year or so of Rūpa's life. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's reference to serving Rūpa in his *Govinda-līlāmṛta* has suggested to some that he served Rūpa during an illness leading up to his death. In any case, he had the association of Jīva Gosvāmin and other close associates of Sanātana and Rūpa and would have gotten much of his information from them.

<sup>22</sup>Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Madhya 1.26-31. See Appendix A.

Then the Master sent Rūpa and Sanātana to Vraja.  
 At the order of the Master, the two brothers came to Vṛndāvana.  
 Spreading *bhakti*, they revealed all the holy sites.  
 They spread the service of Madanagopāla and Govinda.<sup>23</sup>  
 Bringing many treatises with them, they extracted the essence of the *bhakti*  
 texts  
 They delivered fools and scoundrels.  
 By the order of the Master they reflected on all the scriptures,  
 and spread wide the esoteric *bhakti* of Vraja.  
 The *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* and the *Bhāgavatāmṛta*,  
 a commentary on the Tenth [Canto]<sup>24</sup> and the *Daśama-carita*;  
 All these books Gosvāmī Sanātana wrote.  
 Who can count all the ones Rūpa Gosvāmī wrote?

We have already heard from some of the other biographers that Mahāprabhu sent Sanātana and Rūpa to Vṛndāvana to excavate the lost sites of Kṛṣṇa's sport. It is believed in the Caitanya tradition that the places where Kṛṣṇa performed his many divine actions were forgotten and lost over the many centuries since Kṛṣṇa was present on earth. Mahāprabhu believed that by a combination of scriptural research and personal realization, the locations of those sites could be recovered. This was one of the tasks that he apparently set for his two most learned followers. He himself "rediscovered" some of those important places on his visit to Vṛndāvana according to Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. Vṛndāvana Dāsa mentioned their spreading *bhakti-rasa* in the West, that is, in Western India. Mahāprabhu's order to write books on *bhakti*, however, is new with this account. The four works mentioned here are generally accepted as the works of Sanātana, with the exception of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* (Sport of Devotion to Hari). This work appears to be by one of the other Vṛndāvana Gosvāmin, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin. This misidentification is quite puzzling, since, though all of the manuscripts of the work bear Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's name, both Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja and Sanātana's nephew Śrī Jīva Gosvāmin, who should know better than anyone else what Sanātana wrote, make this claim. When we talk about the other works of Sanātana in the next section, we will see how the tradition has tried to resolve this problem. In addition to the works mentioned here, Sanātana has written a commentary on his own *Bhāgavatāmṛta* (*Nectar of Devotion to the Lord*) and there is a commentary on the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* (*The Pleasures of Devotion to Hari*) that is also accepted as Sanātana's. The last work mentioned, the *Daśama-carita* (Story of the Tenth Canto), is the work that is translated here.

<sup>23</sup>These are the images of Kṛṣṇa that they found and worshipped. The first is Sanātana's and the second Rūpa's.

<sup>24</sup>The Tenth Canto of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*

Later in the same chapter Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja recounts the story of the first meeting of Sanātana with Mahāprabhu. The account begins by depicting the king, Nawab Husein Shah, inquiring about Mahāprabhu from Rūpa (or Sanātana?):<sup>25</sup>

The king asked Dabīr Khās privately  
 And he began to speak of the greatness of the Gosāñi.  
 “He is the Gosāñi who gave you your kingdom  
 and then by your good fortune was born in your land.  
 He desires your welfare and everything is achieved.  
 By his blessing, you are victorious everywhere.  
 Why do you ask me? Ask your own heart.  
 You are the lord of men, equal to a portion of Viṣṇu.  
 How do you perceive Caitanya in your mind?  
 Whatever your mind understands, that is your evidence.”  
 The king said: “Hear what my mind tells me.  
 He is the Lord himself. There is no doubt.”  
 Saying this the king went to his own quarters.  
 Then Dabīr Khās went to his house.  
 In his room the two brothers conferred  
 and went to see the Master, hiding their [courtly] attire.  
 At midnight the two brothers came to the Master.  
 First they met with Nityānanda and Haridāsa.  
 They made the arrival of the two men known to the Master.  
 “Rūpa and Sākar Mallik have come to see you.”  
 Taking two bundles of grass in their teeth and  
 tying their cloths around their necks, the two fell down like sticks.  
 They made protestations of unworthiness, overwhelmed by joy.  
 The Master said: “Get up, get up. All is well.”  
 Rising up the two taking grass in their teeth,  
 humbly offered praises joining their hands.  
 “Glory, glory Śrī Caitanya, full of mercy!  
 Purifier of the fallen, glory, glory, great one!  
 Mean of birth, mean of company, mean jobs do we do.  
 Before you, Master, we are embarrassed to admit it.

As stated in the Eastern Division of the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* (1.2.65):<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup>ibid., Madhya 1.165-212. See Appendix A.

<sup>26</sup>Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja is quoting a verse from one of Rūpa’s books that he feels captures the mood of the brothers at that time. I don’t think he means to imply that they recited this verse before Caitanya. This deep sense of unworthiness, however, is an important part of Murāri Gupta’s account of the first meeting.

There is no sinner equal to me, nor any offender. Even in quitting I feel shame. What more can I say, Puruṣottama!

Your descent is to purify the fallen.  
 There is no one more fallen than me in the world.  
 You have delivered the two, Jagāi and Mādhāi.<sup>27</sup>  
 Lifting up them was no trouble for you.  
 They were *brāhmaṇa*, their home was in Navadvīpa.  
 They didn't serve the low and were not servants of the low.  
 Their only fault was sinful behavior.  
 Heaps of sin are burned away by the mere semblance of your name.  
 Repeating your name, they criticized you.  
 That name was the cause of their liberation.  
 Billions and billions of times more low,  
 fallen, and sinful than Jagāi and Mādhāi are we two blokes.  
 Outcaste by birth, servants of outcastes, we do outcaste work.  
 We associate with the enemies of cows and *brāhmaṇa*.  
 Our actions have bound our hands and throats  
 and thrown us in the gutter of evil sense objects.  
 There is no one powerful enough to deliver us in all the three worlds.  
 All except for you, that is. You are the purifier of the fallen.  
 If by delivering us you show your power,  
 then your name as the purifier of the fallen will be fulfilled.  
 We speak this one word of truth, please listen, merciful one:  
 apart from us, there are no better recipients for your mercy in the world.  
 Show us your mercy and make your mercy fruitful.  
 Let the whole universe see the power of your grace.  
 As stated in the *Stotra-ratna* (*Jewels of Prayer*) of Yāmuna Muni (50):

Not false, but completely true is my one submission before  
 you. Please hear it. If you do not bestow your mercy on me,  
 lord, then very rare will be one to whom you do.

Seeing ourselves as unworthy, we are troubled at heart.  
 Still, our hopes rise up because of your good qualities.  
 Like dwarves who want to capture

<sup>27</sup>These were two alcoholic *brāhmaṇa* residents of Navadvīpa who disliked Caitanya and his public praise of Kṛṣṇa. Caitanya's associate Nityānanda Prabhu made a special effort to convert them, even suffering physical harm at their hands. Eventually, they relented and became followers of Mahāprabhu. See the *Caitanya Bhāgavata*, Madhya, Chapters 13-15, and *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Ādi, Chapter 17.



the moon in their hands,  
our hopes rise up within.

Once again as said in the *Stotra-ratna* of Yāmuna Muni (46)

When will I, with the limitless desires in my heart pacified, be-  
come your devoted eternal servant, ceaselessly attending to you,  
and rejoice in a life with you as my protector.”

Hearing this the Master said: “Listen Rūpa and (?)Dabīr Khās<sup>28</sup>  
You two brothers are my ancient servants.”<sup>29</sup>

From today your names will be Rūpa and Sanātana.  
Give up your self-deprecation; seeing that my heart bursts.

You wrote humble letters and sent them to me again and again.  
From those letters I know your situation.

I know the desires in your hearts from your letters.  
In order to instruct you, I sent a stanza to you.

A woman in love with another man, though busy with her  
household chores, relishes in her heart the joy of that new re-  
lationship.

There was no need for me to come near to Gauḍa.  
To meet you two I came here.

No one knew that it was my intention.  
Everyone said, ‘Why have you come to the village of Rāmakeli?’

It is good that you two brothers have come to me.  
Now go home and don’t fear anything in your minds.

Birth after birth you two are servants of mine.  
Before long Kṛṣṇa will deliver you.”

Saying this, he placed his hands on their heads,  
and the brothers took the Master’s feet on their heads.

Embracing the two, the Master said to the devotees:  
“Everyone show your mercy and deliver these two.”<sup>30</sup>

The devotees, seeing the mercy of the Master upon those two,  
shouted “Hari Hari” and became overjoyed.

Nityānanda, Haridāsa, Śrīvāsa, Gadādhara,  
Mukunda, Jagadānanda, Murāri, and Vakreśvara;<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup>Is Sanātana called Dabīr Khās here or is this just Rūpa’s name along with his title?

<sup>29</sup>This means in their previous birth or births.

<sup>30</sup>Compare with Vṛndāvana Dāsa’s description of this event.

<sup>31</sup>Advaita’s presence is not mentioned here, but Murāri Gupta’s is.

The two brothers fell down, taking hold of everyone's feet.  
Everyone said: "You are fortunate. You have found Gosāñi."

Taking everyone's permission at the time of departure,  
They said something to the Master with humility:

"Go from here, Master. There is no reason to stay.  
Even though the king of Gauḍa respects you,

He is a Muslim and we don't trust him.  
Such a crowd on a pilgrimage? This is not the way.

With you go so many thousands of people.  
This is not the manner in which to visit Vṛndāvana.

Although in actuality a Master has nothing to fear,  
still, a worldly sport should consist of ordinary behavior."

Saying this much, the two men left after bowing to his feet.  
The Master made up his mind to leave that village.

From this passage one can see better the influences of the previous biographers on Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. More weight is given to the version of Murāri Gupta than the others, however, perhaps because Kṛṣṇadāsa apparently believed that Murāri was present at that first meeting. Thus, we have Sanātana and Rūpa's expression of their sense of being fallen and unworthy occupying such an important place in the passage and the incorporation, at the end of the passage, of the Sanātana's advice to Mahāprabhu suggesting that he not continue on to Vṛndāvana surrounded by such a crowd. On the other hand, Vṛndāvana Dāsa's version peeks through in Mahāprabhu's asking all his companions (not Advaita, however, who does not seem to have been present according to Kṛṣṇadāsa's version) to bless the brothers, and in his changing their names to Rūpa and Sanātana. The idea that Sanātana and Rūpa are the perennial servants of Mahāprabhu (as Kṛṣṇa) may have come from Jayānanda's version, but probably has other sources.<sup>32</sup> The effect that this element of the account has is to raise Sanātana and Rūpa to a higher status and, despite their assertion of outcaste birth, to lessen, if not abolish, the idea that they are outsiders. Instead they become confidential, long-time associates of Mahāprabhu, more intimate perhaps than others in his inner circle who had known him all his life.

Kṛṣṇadāsa's text exemplifies the completion of the process by which the brothers, Sanātana and Rūpa (and along with them their colleagues, the other Vṛndāvana Gosvāmin), have risen gradually to dominance as the philosophical and

<sup>32</sup>Jayānanda's work is not mentioned by Kṛṣṇadāsa as one of his sources while the other works are. Kavi Karmapūra's work on the identities of Caitanya's followers in Kṛṣṇa-līlā, the *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā*, was certainly available by then.

literary leaders and shapers of the Caitanya tradition. Kṛṣṇadāsa's work is pervaded by the thought of the two brothers indicating that it is no longer possible to relegate them to a footnote in the history of the tradition. A small band of homeless, penniless, literati, begging from house to house for their daily meals and living in a distant, sparsely populated wilderness, infested with dangerous wildlife and bandit tribals, managed to outshine almost completely the thousands of prosperous, urbane members of the tradition living in Bengal and Orissa, the lands of its inception. The last remaining barrier to the victory of the Gosvāmin, the fact that their body of works were in sophisticated and learned Sanskrit, was overcome by Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* itself, which made the elevated thought of the Gosvāmin available through summarial paraphrasings of their works in Bengali.

So far, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja has covered the same ground as the other earlier biographers, adding and subtracting some details and information here or there. Later in his work, he gives more details about the lives and work of Sanātana and Rūpa, details available nowhere else and which he must have gotten from them directly or from their close associates. Here, for instance is what happens to Sanātana after that fateful meeting with Mahāprabhu:<sup>33</sup>

Śrī Rūpa and Sanātana, in the village of Rāmakeli,  
after meeting the Master went to their own home.

The two brothers created a way to leave behind worldly involvement.  
Spending lots of money, they hired two *brāhmaṇa*.

With the Kṛṣṇa mantra they had performed two *puraścaraṇa*.<sup>34</sup>  
in order that they might quickly attain [a place at] Caitanya's feet.

Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmin then filled a boat  
with lots of treasure and went to his [ancestral] home.

To *brāhmaṇa* and Vaiṣṇava he gave half of it.  
One fourth of the wealth he gave for the support of his relatives.

In case of punishment and imprisonment he kept a fourth of it  
and placed it in the keeping of a very good *brāhmaṇa*.

In Gauḍa he kept ten thousand coins  
for Sanātana to spend. It stayed with a grocer.

Śrī Rūpa heard of the Master's journey to Nīlādri [Purī]  
and that he will go to Śrī Vṛndāvana by the forest path.<sup>35</sup>

Rūpa Gosvāmin sent two men to Nīlācala [Purī].  
"When the Master leaves for Vṛndāvana,

<sup>33</sup>Cc., Madhya 19.2-34.

<sup>34</sup>A rite performed to bring about purification and success in the repetition of a mantra

<sup>35</sup>Not by the highway, but through the wilderness

quickly come back and give me the news.  
Hearing of it, I will act accordingly.”

Meanwhile Sanātana Gosvāmin thought to himself:  
“The king likes me, that is my bondage.

If in some way the king becomes angry with me,  
then I will be unobstructed.” This he determined.

Pretending to be ill he stayed at home.  
He left aside his official duties and did not go to the king’s door.

Upright government servants performed his official duties.  
He stayed at home and studied the scriptural texts.

With twenty or thirty scholars and pandits  
he studied the *Bhāgavata*, sitting in a group.<sup>36</sup>

One day the ruler of Gauḍa along with one man  
suddenly arrived at the Gosvāmin’s gathering.

Seeing the king, everyone rose out of respect.  
When he was offered a seat with respect, the king was seated.

The king said: “I sent a doctor to see you.  
The doctor said he saw no illness, but rather you healthy.

Whatever business I have, I do through you.  
You have abandoned your responsibilities and stay sitting at home.

All of my business and wishes you have destroyed.  
Tell me what you have in mind.”

Sanātana said: “I have no wish to do it.  
Make arrangements for someone else to do it.”

Then the king became angry and said once more:  
“Your older brother behaves like a thief.

Harming many innocent beings, he has taken over Bāklā.  
Meanwhile you have ruined all my affairs.”<sup>37</sup>

Sanātana said: “You are the independent ruler of Gauḍa.  
Whoever does whatever wrong, you can give him the proper reward.”

Hearing this, the ruler of Gauḍa got up and went to his house.  
Saying, “He will run away,” he imprisoned Sanātana.

At the time, the king went to Orissa to attack.

<sup>36</sup>This is an indication that Sanātana’s company was not shunned by members of his own caste.

<sup>37</sup>There are two possible explanations for this reference. One is that the Shah is referring to himself with a recent military conquest in mind. The other is that Sanātana actually had an elder brother who was either a ruthless administrator or an outlaw, leading a revolt against the king or perhaps playing the role of a Bengali Robin Hood. See Radha Govinda Nath, Cc: 756, and Nareśacandra Jana, Vcg: 19, for this latter position.

He said to Sanātana: “You come with me.”

He replied: “You will go to give sorrow to the deities.  
I don’t have the will to go with you.”

Then he had him imprisoned and departed.  
Meanwhile, the Master left Nīlācala for Vṛndāvana.

Those two agents came back to Śrī Rūpa.  
They came and told him: “The Master went to Vṛndāvana.”

Hearing this Śrī Rūpa wrote to Sanātana:  
“Śrī Caitanya Gosvāmī has gone to Vṛndāvana.

We two (Rūpa and Anupama) are going to meet him.  
Escape from there in whatever way you can and follow.

Ten thousand coins are there with the grocer.  
Quickly free yourself with that.

Escaping somehow come to Vṛndāvana.”  
Writing this, the two brothers departed.

Thus, Sanātana’s two brothers headed out in pursuit of Mahāprabhu while he sat in prison facing an uncertain fate when the Nawab returned. By Kavirāja’s account Sanātana demonstrated extraordinary courage in his willingness to provoke the anger of his king in order that he might cut the bonds of affection that the king had for him. This is also reflected in Murāri’s description of the courage he showed in speaking his mind plainly to Mahāprabhu at their first meeting; but in this case he might have paid with his life. Sanātana’s courage also may have played a role in the development of some of his more interesting and unique ideas. It is also worthy of note that although Sanātana may have suffered some social stigma and loss of self-respect due to his association with the king and his line of work, he was not ostracized by the *brāhmaṇa* community, as the willingness of twenty or thirty *brāhmaṇa* to sit with him and discuss the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* demonstrates. His sense of being low caste or outcaste may have been more a function of his own humility or self-criticism.

Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja picks up the thread of Sanātana’s story, after describing Rūpa’s meeting with Mahāprabhu in Prayāga (modern Allahabad), in the next chapter of his text. Here is what happens next:<sup>38</sup>

Meanwhile in Gauḍa Sanātana was in prison.  
At that time, Śrī Rūpa’s letter arrived.

Getting the letter, Sanātana was overjoyed.  
He began to talk with his Muslim guard:

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<sup>38</sup>Cc., Madhya 20.2-97.

“You, sir, are a living *pīr*,<sup>39</sup> tremendously fortunate.  
 You know well the holy book, the Qu’ran.  
 If someone releases a prisoner with his own money,  
 The Lord frees him from earthly life.  
 Previously, I gave you some help.  
 Please return the favor and let me go.  
 Please also accept 5,000 coins.  
 Then you will gain two things: piety and wealth.”  
 Then the Muslim said: “Listen, Sir,  
 I would free you, but I fear the king.”  
 Sanātana said: “Don’t fear the king.  
 He has gone south. If he returns,  
 tell him ‘He went out to relieve himself  
 near the Ganges. Seeing the river he jumped in.  
 Many searched, but they found no sign of him.  
 He sank in the handcuffs, dragged somewhere by the current.’  
 Have no fear, I will not stay in this country.  
 Becoming a Dervish, I will go to Mecca.”<sup>40</sup>  
 In spite of this, he saw that the Muslim’s mind was not at ease.  
 He dangled 7,000 coins in front of him.  
 The Muslim became greedy, seeing the coins.<sup>41</sup>  
 At night he ferried him across the Ganges and cut off his handcuffs.  
 He [Sanātana] avoided the highway, being unable to travel on it.  
 Day and night he traveled arriving finally at Pātrā mountain.  
 There was a landlord there and he went to him.  
 He asked him humbly, “Please guide me over the mountain,”  
 With that landlord was a palm-reader.  
 He privately told the landlord that he knew something.  
 “He has eight gold coins in his possession.”  
 Hearing this, the landlord was thrilled and told Sanātana:  
 “At night I will help you get across the mountain with my own man.  
 For now, cook and have your meals.”  
 Saying this he respectfully gave Sanātana some rice.

<sup>39</sup>A Muslim saint.

<sup>40</sup>It is this statement that has prompted some scholars to suggest that Sanātana had actually converted to Islam. If the guard thought that Sanātana were a Muslim, this kind of statement would be more credible to him. It could be, however, that Sanātana was simply selecting an example from Islam similar to what he was planning to do in Hinduism, i.e. go to the holy land.

<sup>41</sup>Surely Sanātana did not have the coins with him in prison.

Sanātana went and took his bath in the river.  
 The two hungry men<sup>42</sup> prepared their food and ate.  
 The king's minister, Sanātana, pondered in his mind.  
 Why has this landlord shown me such respect?  
 Wondering about this, Sanātana questioned Īśāna.  
 "Do you have any possessions on you?"  
 Īśāna replied: "I have seven coins on me."  
 Hearing this, Sanātana balled him out.  
 "Why did you bring those with us. They are Yama, Death himself."  
 Then he took the seven coins in his hand  
 and, going to the landlord, said holding out the coins:  
 "I have these seven gold coins.  
 Please take them and, considering my honesty, take me over [the mountain].  
 I am prisoner of the king; I can't travel by the highway.  
 You will get merit. Please help me over the mountain."  
 The landlord smiling said: "I knew before  
 that there were eight coins in your servant's border.  
 I would have killed you and taken the coins tonight.  
 It is good that you have told me. I have escaped a sin.  
 I am pleased. I will not take the coins.  
 For merit I will take you over the mountain."  
 Gosvāmī said: "Someone else will kill me and take it.  
 Please save my life by accepting the coins."  
 Then the landlord sent four guards with Gosvāmī.  
 In the middle of the night by the forest path he crossed the mountain.  
 After crossing, Gosvāmī then interrogated Īśāna:  
 "Tell me, is there some money left in your possession?"  
 Īśāna replied: "There is one coin left."  
 Gosvāmī said: "Take it and go home."  
 Bidding him farewell, Gosvāmī went on alone.  
 Water pot in hand and wearing a torn cloth, he became fearless.  
 Walking and walking Gosvāmī then arrived at Hājipura.  
 At sunset he sat down in a garden there.  
 In Hājipura was a man named Śrīkānta.  
 He was Gosvāmī's sister's husband, a servant of the king.  
 Three hundred thousand coins the king gave to him.  
 Purchasing horses, he sent them to the Pātśā [king].

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<sup>42</sup>Sanātana and Īśāna. Īśāna was Sanātana's servant who accompanied him on this journey.

Sitting on a wagon he spotted Gosvāmī.  
 At night he visited Gosvāmī with one man.  
 The two meeting there chatted for a while.  
 Gosvāmī told him the whole story of his escape.  
 He said: "Stay here for a couple of days.  
 Shave and get rid of those filthy clothes."  
 Gosvāmī said: "I will not stay here even one more minute.  
 Please get me across the Ganges. I must leave now."  
 With difficulty he gave him a Bhutanese blanket  
 and helped him cross the Ganges. Gosvāmī thus departed.  
 Then after a few days Gosvāmī arrived at Vārāṇasī.  
 Hearing about the Master's arrival there he was overjoyed.  
 Going to the gate of Candraśekhara's house, he sat down.  
 Mahāprabhu, knowing this, said to Candraśekhara:  
 "At the gate is a Vaiṣṇava. Go call him in."  
 Candraśekhara looked and there was no Vaiṣṇava there.  
 "There is no Vaiṣṇava there," he told the Master.  
 "Is anyone there?" the Master asked him.  
 He said: "There is a dervish<sup>43</sup> at the gate."  
 "Bring him!" the Master told him.  
 "The master is calling you. Please come Dervish."  
 Hearing this Sanātana entered joyfully.  
 Seeing him in the courtyard, the Master came running.  
 Embracing him, he became overwhelmed with love (*preman*).  
 At the touch of the Master, Sanātana too became absorbed in love.  
 "Please don't touch me," he said with a choked up voice.  
 The two men were embracing and crying loudly.  
 Seeing them Candraśekhara was astonsihed.  
 Then the Master took his hand and led him.  
 He sat him beside him on a nearby wall.  
 With his own hand he began to dust him off.  
 He said: "Please Master! Don't touch me."  
 The Master said: "I touch you to be purified.  
 By the strength of your *bhakti* you can purify the whole universe.  
 As it is said (Bhāg. 1.13.10):

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<sup>43</sup>A type of Muslim mystic. Muslim mysticism is referred to as Sufism. Sanātana apparently travelled incognito as a sufi of the Dervish order.



O Master! Great devotees like you have yourselves become holy places. In fact, you make holy places holy by the Wielder of the Club (Viṣṇu) you house in your hearts.

And also in the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* (10.127):

A knower of all four Veda is not my *bhakta*; yet my *bhakta*, even if he is a dog-eater, is dear to me. To him are things to be given and from him are things to be accepted. He is to be honored as I am.<sup>44</sup>

And again (Bhāg., 7.9.10):

I consider a dog-eater, whose mind, words, actions, wealth, and very life are offered to him [Viṣṇu], to be better than a *brāhmaṇa*, even one possessed of the six qualities, who is opposed to the lotus feet of Aravindanābha [Viṣṇu]. He [the dog-eater] purifies his whole family, but not the arrogant [*brāhmaṇa*].

Seeing you, touching you, singing your qualities;  
scripture says that this is the culmination of all the senses.

As it is said in the *Hari-bhakti-sudhodaya* (*Rising Tide of the Nectar of Devotion to Hari*) (13.2):

The fruit of the eyes is seeing one of that sort. The fruit of the body is touching one of that sort. The fruit of the tongue is praising one of that sort. Very rare indeed are the devotees of the lord in this world.

Saying this the Master said: "Listen Sanātana!  
Kṛṣṇa is very merciful, the purifier of the fallen.

He has saved you from a great hell  
An ocean of mercy, Kṛṣṇa, vast and deep."

Sanātana replied: "I don't know about Kṛṣṇa.  
I think your mercy is the cause of my salvation."

"How did you escape?" asked the Master.  
He told him the whole story from beginning to end.

The Master said: "I met your two brothers in Prayāga.  
Rūpa and Anupama have both gone to Vṛndāvana."

Tapana Miśra and Candraśekhara,

<sup>44</sup>The reading in the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* has *priya* instead of the first *bhakta*. This makes more sense than the reading found here. It would then read: A knower of all four Veda is not dear to me, but a *bhakta*, even if he is a dog-eater, is dear to me ...

at the Master's request Sanātana met them both.

Tapana Miśra then embraced him.

The Master said: "Get him shaved. Go on, Sanātana.

The Master called Candrasekhara and told him:

"Throw away these clothes; take them away."

Cleaning him up they had him bathe in the Ganges.

Śekhara brought new clothes and offered them to him.

Sanātana did not accept those clothes.

Hearing this, the Master felt great joy.

Doing his midday rites the Master went out to eat.

Taking Sanātana with him, he went to Tapana Miśra's house.

Washing his feet he sat down to eat.

"Give Sanātana some food" he told Miśra.

Miśra said: "Sanātana has some things to do first.

You eat and I will give him *prasāda* later."

After eating Mahāprabhu laid down to rest.

Miśra gave the Master's remnants to Sanātana.

Miśra gave Sanātana some new clothes,

but he did not accept them and instead made this request:

"If you wish to give me clothes,  
give me something old that you have worn."

Then Miśra gave him an old *dhoti*  
and two outer cloths and *kaupīn*.<sup>45</sup>

The Master introduced Sanātana to a Mahārāṣṭra *brāhmaṇa*.

That *brāhmaṇa* gave him a great invitation:

"Sanātana, as long as you stay in Kāśī,  
please take your meals at my house."

Sanātana said: "I will do honey-bee<sup>46</sup> begging.

Why should I take meals in one place, in a *brāhmaṇa*'s house?

At Sanātana's renunciation the Master's joy was boundless.

The Master glanced at his Tibetan blanket again and again.

Sanātana realized: "This is not pleasing to the Master."

He looked for a way to get rid of the blanket.

After thinking for a while, he went to the Ganges to do his midday rites.

A Bengali had washed his cotton wrapper and placed it out to dry.

<sup>45</sup>A kind of undergarment covering the genitals.

<sup>46</sup>Mādhukarī, a kind of begging for meals in which the begger once a day goes from door to door like a bee going from flower to flower.

He [Sanātana] said to him: “Brother, do me a favor.  
Take this Tibetan blanket and give that wrapper to me.”

He replied: “As a gentleman you ridicule me?”  
Why would you take my wrapper and give me an expensive Tibetan?”

He replied: “It is not ridicule. I tell you the truth.  
Please take the Tibetan and give me the wrapper.”

Saying that he took the wrapper, giving him the Tibetan.  
He returned to Gosvāmī [Caitanya] with the wrapper around his neck.

The Master said: “Where is your Tibetan blanket?”  
The Gosvāmī told the Master all that transpired.

The Master said: “This is what I was wondering.  
If Kṛṣṇa has broken up your sense enjoyment,  
why would he reserve a little remaining sense enjoyment for you?  
A doctor after curing the disease, does not keep a little remaining disease.

A Tibetan blanket worth three coins and you eat by begging.  
It is a disruption of *dharma*. People will ridicule you.”

Gosvāmī said: “By the wish of him who interrupted my evil sense enjoyment,  
the last remainder of my disease of sense enjoyment has departed.”

Pleased, the Master bestowed his grace upon him.  
By his grace, he [Sanātana] received the power to ask him germane questions.

Just like before when the Master asked questions of Rāya  
and by his [Caitanya’s] power Rāmānanda gave him answers,  
now, through the Master’s power, Sanātana asked the questions  
and Mahāprabhu himself described the principles.

As it is said:

The Lord, by his grace, instructed Sanātana in the fundamental truths of Kṛṣṇa’s self-nature, his sweetness, his mightiness, and the flavor of *bhakti* for him.

Then Sanātana took hold of the feet of the Master  
and, taking blades of grass in his teeth, made this humble request:  
“Low in birth, low in company, fallen and base,  
tumbling into the well of evil sense enjoyment, I have spent my life.

I know not what is good or bad for me.  
I am an expert in crude behavior. This I accept as true.

If only you would mercifully lift me up  
and by your grace tell me what I am to do.

Who am I? Why do the three miseries<sup>47</sup> torment me?  
 This I do not know — how can I find what is good for me?  
 I don't even know how to ask about the means and the goal.  
 Please teach me all those truths."

At this point, Mahāprabhu begins to instruct Sanātana and those instructions take up the rest of Chapter Twenty and the next four chapters as well. Mahāprabhu is here represented as guiding Sanātana through the whole range of Vaiṣṇava philosophy, theology, and practice beginning with the fundamental truth of the Caitanya tradition, that the living beings (*jīva*), that is, all life forms, are the eternal servants of Kṛṣṇa in their true natures.<sup>48</sup> This brilliant, step-by-step presentation of the philosophical and religious thought of the Caitanya tradition, added to Kṛṣṇadāsa's wonderful ability to tell a good story, has earned the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* a central place in the tradition's literature. For many members of the tradition, the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* is the only text that is read.<sup>49</sup>

It seems reasonable to believe that the details of Sanātana's escape from prison, his journey, and his meeting with Mahāprabhu were heard from Sanātana himself or from someone close to him. One can almost hear Sanātana telling this story to a group of companions gathered around a warm fire on a chilly Vṛndāvana night. The account of Mahāprabhu's instruction to Sanātana, however, is not believable. There are a number of reasons for this. In that instruction, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, in many places, merely summarizes the main points of the works of the Gosvāmin. It is not difficult to see why Kṛṣṇadāsa would attempt to attribute the ideas found in the finished works of the Gosvāmin to the teachings of Mahāprabhu. It is necessary that he do so, in order to establish the authenticity of the works of the Gosvāmin in the tradition. We have to remember, however, that Sanātana was already a well-educated and learned man, conversant with Persian, Arabic, and classical Sanskrit literature, before he met Mahāprabhu. The idea that everything he or his brother Rūpa knew came from Mahāprabhu is absurd. Sanātana seems to confirm this when in his introduction to his *opus magnum*, the *Brhad-bhāgavatāmṛta*, he describes it as "a collection of the essence of the scriptures about *bhakti* to the Lord [Kṛṣṇa] as perceived (*anubhūta*) in Caitanyadeva and from his dear form (*rūpa*)."<sup>50</sup> Had he been taught these things by Mahāprabhu he would have said "taught" (*upadiṣṭa*) instead of "perceived." In his own commentary on this verse, Sanātana at first glosses "in Caitanyadeva"

<sup>47</sup>Miseries caused by divine will or nature (*ādhidaika*), miseries caused by one's own body or mind (*ādhyātmika*), and miseries caused by other living beings (*ādhibhautika*).

<sup>48</sup>Cc., Madhya, 20.101.

<sup>49</sup>An excellent translation of the complete text by Edward C. Dimock and Tony Stewart has recently been published by Harvard University Press in the Harvard Oriental Series. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999)

<sup>50</sup>Sanātana Gosvāmin, *Brhad-bhāgavatāmṛta* (Bb.), 1.1.11.

as “in the overseer of the discursive mind (*citta*), Vāsudeva” and “from his dear form” as “from the beautiful, threefold bending form. with flute on his lips, of Nanda’s son (Kṛṣṇa).” He is thus claiming that the source of the teachings in his book were revealed to him in his heart by meditation on the form of Kṛṣṇa. In his second interpretation he appeals to the obvious double-entendre which makes the meaning he “perceived [these things] through Rūpa [his brother] in Caitanyadeva, Mahāprabhu.” There is still no claim to direct instruction. From this we can gather that, although Mahāprabhu was a great inspiration to him, an embodiment of the essence of *bhakti*, he did not get much instruction from him, except perhaps in a very basic sense. One cannot attribute Sanātana’s works to Caitanya’s teachings, but to his own self-discoveries, shaped and molded by the exemplary image of Caitanya.

Sanātana stayed with Mahāprabhu in Vārāṇasī for two months and at the end of that time, as Mahāprabhu was about to return to Purī, he told Sanātana (Cc., Madhya 25.135-6): “You go to Vṛndāvana. Your two brothers have gone there. When my homeless devotees come to Vṛndāvana with only torn cloth and water pots, you take care of them.” With that Mahāprabhu and Sanātana left each other’s company and headed in different directions.

A little later in the same chapter (Cc., Madhya, 25.162-67), Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja gives us a peek into the kind of life Sanātana led when he finally settled in Vṛndāvana. This is what he says:

On this side, Sanātana Gosvāmī arrived at Prayāga  
and went on to Mathurā by the well-known highway.

In Mathurā Subuddhi Rāya met him  
and told him all about Rūpa and Anupama.<sup>51</sup>

His two brothers on the Ganges road and Sanātana on the highway,  
Therefore, they did not meet.

Subuddhi Rāya showed Sanātana great affection.  
Sanātana did not accept affection for comfort.

The great renunciant Sanātana wandered from forest to forest.  
Under each tree, in each bower, he stayed day and night.

Collecting scriptures to glorify Mathurā,  
he wandered through the forests revealing the hidden sites.

Sanātana refused to accept Subuddhi Rāya’s hospitality and instead began to wander the forests that surround Mathurā in the region called Vraja, a part of which is known as Vṛndāvana. Rather than live in the comfort of the city of Mathurā, he took to wandering about and sleeping under a different tree each

<sup>51</sup>They had just left Vṛndāvana looking for him.

night. In this way, he became a model for the life of renunciation in the Caitanya tradition. While wandering, Sanātana began to work on one of the labors that Mahāprabhu gave him, “rediscovering” the lost sites where Kṛṣṇa’s earthly sport took place. In order to help him with that, he began to collect some of the scriptural texts listing and describing the holy sites of Vṛndāvana.

There is one more section on Sanātana, a rather lengthy one comprising almost a whole chapter, in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*. It occurs in the *Antya-līlā* or Final Sport section of the text, taking up most of the fourth chapter. The Final Sport section of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* covers the last eighteen years of Mahāprabhu’s life, the period in which he settled in Jagannātha Purī in Orissa and experienced some extraordinary ecstatic trances and conditions. It reveals some interesting aspects of the character of Sanātana Gosvāmin and of Mahāprabhu’s relationship to him. Sanātana did not stay very long in Vṛndāvana after his arrival there. After about eight months, or perhaps even less, he set out for Purī to try to catch up with his brothers Rūpa and Anupama and meet Mahāprabhu once more. It may have been that he was unsure of what Mahāprabhu wanted of him or that he felt himself unable to carry out that service on his own there in the wilderness that was Vṛndāvana in those days. Whatever the reason, he picked up his few belongings and headed for Purī, intending perhaps never to return as we shall see in this next passage. We pick up the story on his departure from Mathurā:<sup>52</sup>

When Rūpa left Nīlācala (Purī) for Gauḍa,  
Sanātana came from Mathurā to Nīlācala.

He came alone by the Jhārikaṇḍa path,<sup>53</sup>  
sometimes fasting, sometimes chewing [fried chickpeas].

In the water of Jhārikaṇḍa and from the difficult fasting,  
he developed sores on his body, and pus flowed from itching.

He became indifferent and pondered while on the road,  
“Low of birth, my body is completely useless.

If I go to Jagannātha, I will not get to see him.  
I will not even be able to see Mahāprabhu always.

I hear that he is staying near the temple.  
I have no right to go near the temple.

The servants of Jagannātha go about on their business.  
If I touch one of them, it will be my offense.

Therefore, if I give up this body in a good place,  
it will end my misery and I will get a good result.

<sup>52</sup>Cc. Antya, 4.2-87

<sup>53</sup>The less travelled path through the forests of Bihar that avoids any connection with Bengal.

Jagannātha will come out for the Car Festival (Rathayātrā).<sup>54</sup>  
I will cast this body under his wheels.

In front of Mahāprabhu and seeing Jagannātha,  
I will give up my body under the chariot. This is the highest goal of man."

After coming to this decision, he arrived in Nīlācala.  
Inquiring from people, he put up at Haridāsa's place.

He offered his praise at the feet of Haridāsa.  
Haridāsa recognizing him embraced him.

His heart was anxious to see Mahāprabhu.  
Haridāsa said: "The Master will come any moment."

At that time Mahāprabhu attended the Upalabhoga [of Jagannātha],<sup>55</sup>  
and came with his devotees to meet Haridāsa.

Seeing the Master the two of them fell flat like sticks.  
The Master raised Haridāsa up and embraced him.

Haridāsa said: "Sanātana is paying his obeisance."  
Seeing Sanātana, the Master was surprised.

The Master came forward to embrace Sanātana.  
Moving backward, Sanātana began to speak:

"Please don't touch me, Master! I fall at your feet.  
For one thing I'm low and vile, and there is pus from the sores on my body."

By force the Master embraced him.  
The pus of the sores stuck to Mahāprabhu's body.

The Master introduced Sanātana to all the devotees  
Sanātana offered respect at the feet of them all.

The Master sat with all the devotees on a low wall.  
Haridāsa and Sanātana sat at the base of the wall.

Mahāprabhu asked Sanātana for news of his well-being.  
He replied: "The greatest blessing is seeing you."

He asked about the well-being of the Vaiṣṇava of Mathurā.  
Sanātana reported the welfare of them all.

The Master said: "Rūpa was here for ten months.

<sup>54</sup>The yearly Car Festival of Jagannātha, called the Rathayātrā, is an occasion on which the images of Jagannātha, Balarāma, and Subhadrā are taken from the inner sanctum of the temple, placed on enormous chariots, and pulled through the streets of Purī to a garden temple near the shore of the ocean (Gundicā). It is a huge festival when everyone gets an opportunity to view the deities, even those who are normally not allowed into the temple, and has an a chance to offer some service to them by helping to pull the chariots. Occasionally, because of the huge crowds who gather for the festival, someone falls under the wheels of the chariot and is crushed. It is believed that such people get liberation from rebirth immediately.

<sup>55</sup>This is one of the morning offerings of food to the Jagannātha images in the Jagannātha temple.

He just left here for Gauḍa ten days ago.  
 Your brother Anupama has passed away.  
 He was good. He had strong *bhakti* for Raghunātha."  
 Sanātana said: "I was born in a low family.  
 Impiety and injustice were part of my family's character.  
 Not feeling disgust for such a family, you have accepted it.  
 It is by your grace that there is auspiciousness in my family.  
 That brother Anupama, from the time he was a boy,  
 worshipped Raghunātha with a firm heart.  
 Day and night it was Raghunātha's name and meditation.  
 He ceaselessly listened to and sang the *Rāmāyaṇa*.  
 Rūpa and I were his older brothers,  
 With the two of us he stayed without interruption.  
 In our company he heard about Kṛṣṇa and the *Bhāgavata*.  
 The two of us once tested him.  
 'Listen Vallabha!<sup>56</sup> Kṛṣṇa is the sweetest of all.  
 Immense in beauty, sweetness, love, and sports.  
 You should worship Kṛṣṇa with the two of us.  
 Then we three brothers together will enjoy discussions of Kṛṣṇa.'  
 We two would again and again speak like this.  
 Out of respect for the two of us, his heart turned a little.  
 'How can I disregard the order of you two?  
 Give me the initiation *mantra* and I will worship Kṛṣṇa.'  
 After saying this, he thought about it at night.  
 How will I leave behind Raghunātha's feet?  
 The whole night he was awake crying.  
 In the morning he begged us:  
 'I have sold my head to the feet of Raghunātha.  
 I cannot snatch it away. I will be very pained.  
 Please, the both of you, give me your permission  
 that birth after birth I will serve the feet of Raghunātha.  
 I cannot leave behind the lotus feet of Raghunātha.  
 If I decide to leave him my life-breath will explode out of me.'  
 Then the two of us embraced him.  
 Saying 'Wonderful is this firm *bhakti* of yours,' we praised him.  
 That family upon which you bestow even a little mercy  
 attains every blessing and all its troubles are destroyed."

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<sup>56</sup>This is another of Anupama's names.



Gosvāmī [Mahāprabhu] said: “In this same way  
I tested Murāri Gupta and with the same result.

The devotee is worthy who will not reject the feet of his Lord.  
And that Lord is worthy who does not abandon his own.

If by some misfortune a servant goes to someone else,  
That Lord is worthy who drags him back by the hair.

It is good that you have come here.  
Stay here in this house with Haridāsa.

You two are foremost in the *rasa* of *bhakti* for Kṛṣṇa.  
Taste the *rasa* of Kṛṣṇa and repeat Kṛṣṇa’s names.

Saying this, Mahāprabhu arose and departed.  
Through Govinda he sent the two *prasāda*.<sup>57</sup>

In this way Sanātana stayed in the Master’s place.  
Seeing the wheel of Jagannātha, he offered obeisances.<sup>58</sup>

The Master came everyday and met with the two men.  
They would talk about Kṛṣṇa together for a while.

He [the Master] procured divine *prasāda* regularly at the Jagannātha temple.  
His daily duty was to bring that and give it to the two.

One day the Master came and met with the two men.  
He suddenly began to speak to Sanātana.

“Sanātana, one does not gain Kṛṣṇa by throwing away the body.<sup>59</sup>  
Otherwise every second people would throw away millions of bodies.

One does not get Kṛṣṇa by throwing away the body, but by worship.  
There is no way to attain Kṛṣṇa other than *bhakti*.

Giving up the body [suicide] and so forth are all of the character of darkness.<sup>60</sup>

By the character of darkness or passion one does not attain Kṛṣṇa’s feet.

Without *bhakti*, love (*preman*) for Kṛṣṇa can never arise.  
Except for love, Kṛṣṇa is not attained by means of anything else.

As it is said (Bhāg. 11.14.20):

Yoga does not bring one to me, nor does the philosophy of  
Enumeration (*sāṅkhya*), nor Law (*dharma*), oh Uddhava, nor

<sup>57</sup>Food offered to an image of Kṛṣṇa in this case, Jagannātha, and then enjoyed by the devotees as the grace of the Lord.

<sup>58</sup>The wheel or *cakra* is on top of the spire of the Jagannātha temple and can be seen from a distance.

<sup>59</sup>That is, by committing suicide.

<sup>60</sup>Darkness is a reference to the three *guṇa*, qualities or strands, of material nature (*prakṛti*): goodness or clarity (*sattva*), passion or motion (*rajas*), and darkness or inertia (*tamas*). See the glossary for a more detailed discussion.

the study of the Vedas, nor austerity, nor renunciation, the way intense *bhakti* for me does.

Giving up the body and so forth are of the character of darkness, causes of falling down.

A practitioner does not get the feet of Kṛṣṇa by those.

A devotee in love may desire to leave the body out of separation [from Kṛṣṇa] But if he meets Kṛṣṇa through love, he does not want to die.

In deep passion, separation cannot be tolerated.

For that reason, a passionate lover wants his own death.

As for instance (Bhāg. 10.52.43):

Lotus-eyed, if I am not able to attain your grace now, in the dust of whose lotus feet even the great ones like the Lord of Umā (Śiva) wish to bathe in order to destroy their darknesses, I shall give up my life, weakened by austere vows, for a hundred births so that I may.<sup>61</sup>

And again (Bhāg. 10.29.39):

Sprinkle with the nectar of your lips, dear, the fire in our hearts ignited by your smiles, glances and songs. Otherwise our bodies will be burned by the fire of separation and meditating on you, friend, we will go to the path of your feet.<sup>62</sup>

Give up this evil line of thought and instead listen and glorify. Then you will quickly reach Kṛṣṇa's feet.

Low birth is not unsuitable for worship of Kṛṣṇa.

A high caste *brāhmaṇa* is not worthy of worship [of Kṛṣṇa].

He who worships is great; the non-devotee is low and base.

In the worship of Kṛṣṇa, birth and family does not matter.

The Lord has more compassion for the down-trodden.

High castes, scholars, and the wealthy have greater pride.

For instance (Bhāg. 7.9.10):

I consider a dog-eater, who has offered his mind, words, acts, wealth, and life to the Lord, to be better than a *brāhmaṇa* who, though endowed with the twelve qualities, is indifferent to the feet of the Lotus-naved One [Kṛṣṇa]. He purifies his family, but the proud one does not.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>61</sup>This is the statement of Rukminī, one of Kṛṣṇa's queens.

<sup>62</sup>This is spoken by the *gopī*, cowherder girls, who have gathered in the forest to meet Kṛṣṇa. Their bodies will be burned to ashes and they will become part of the path that he walks on.

<sup>63</sup>This is spoken by the devotee Prahlaḍa to the man-lion descent, Nṛsiṃha.

Among the forms of worship, the nine forms of *bhakti*<sup>64</sup> are the best.  
 They have great power to deliver love for Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa himself.  
 Among those the best of all is glorification (*saṅkīrtana*) by means of the holy names.  
 From the holy names, free of offense, comes the treasure of love.”  
 Hearing this, Sanātana was amazed.  
 “The Master does not approve of my plan for death.  
 All-knowing Mahāprabhu has forbidden me.”  
 Taking hold of the Master’s feet he said to him:  
 “All-knowing, compassionate, you are the independent lord.  
 I dance the way you make me dance. I am not independent.  
 Low and vile am I, by nature mean.  
 If you keep me alive, what will you gain?”  
 The Master said: “Your body is my own property.  
 You have offered yourself to me.  
 Why do you wish to destroy someone else’s things?  
 Aren’t you able to distinguish between right and wrong?  
 Your body is my main instrument.  
 With this body I will accomplish many goals:  
 establishing the principles relating to the devotee, *bhakti*, and love for Kṛṣṇa;  
 Vaiṣṇava practices and conduct;  
 promotion of service, of love for Kṛṣṇa, and of *bhakti* for Kṛṣṇa;  
 recovering lost holy sites and teaching renunciation.  
 My dear home is Mathurā-Vṛndāvana.  
 I want to promote so many teachings there.  
 At the request of my mother I live in Nīlācala.  
 It is not in my own power to teach the religious life there.  
 The body with which I will do all those things  
 you want to give up. How can I bear it?”  
 Then Sanātana said: “I bow to you.  
 Who is able to comprehend the depths of your heart?  
 Like a wooden doll caused to dance by magic,  
 the doll does not itself know whether it dances or sings.  
 However you make someone dance, that is how he dances.  
 How he dances, who makes him dance, he does not know.”

<sup>64</sup>There are nine types or forms of *bhakti* according to the *Bhāgavata* (7.5.23). They are hearing about Viṣṇu (Kṛṣṇa), loudly glorifying him, remembering him, serving at his feet, worshipping the image of him, offering obeisance to him, servitude to him, friendship towards him, and offering oneself to him.

The Master said to Haridāsa: "Listen Haridāsa,  
this one wants to destroy someone else's property.

No one can use or give away a thing belonging to another.  
Prohibit him so that he does not do something unjust."

Haridāsa said: "I am falsely proud.  
I am not able to understand your deep heart.

Which goal you achieve by means of whom,  
if you don't make it known, no one is able to know.

In this way you have accepted him.  
Who else has such good fortune as his?"

Then the Great Master embraced them both  
and rising went to do his midday rites.

This is a rather extraordinary passage, revealing Sanātana's desperation and Mahāprabhu's sense of the worth and value of human life. It also reveals Caitanya's lack of respect for the traditional caste system and its hierarchy of worthiness. Low caste or even lack of caste, as was the case with Haridāsa who was born a Muslim, are not considered impediments to the worship of and development of *bhakti* for Kṛṣṇa. Disease, too, is not considered a polluting factor as we shall see more clearly later.

In the next passage Haridāsa extols Sanātana's good fortune for being considered an instrument by Mahāprabhu, and Sanātana returns the compliment by pointing out that Haridāsa, too, is an instrument of Mahāprabhu because of the example he provides for chanting the holy names.

The text next describes the arrival of the devotees from Bengal in Purī to observe the Car Festival of Jagannātha. Mahāprabhu danced so ecstatically before the car that Sanātana was amazed by it. The devotees stayed for the four months of the rainy season that immediately follows the festival and they became acquainted with Sanātana at that time. When all of the devotees returned to their homes at the end of that period, Sanātana remained with the Master and viewed the Swing Festival<sup>65</sup> with him.

The text next turns to an incident that is portrayed as a test of Sanātana's character:<sup>66</sup>

Previously in the month of Vaiśākha (April-May) Sanātana arrived;  
the Master tested him in the month of Jyaiṣṭha (May-June).<sup>67</sup>

In the month of Jyaiṣṭha the Master went to the garden of Yameśvara.

<sup>65</sup>This is the Dolayātrā which usually occurs in March-April. The one that Sanātana participated in occurred in March of 1518. He departed for Vṛndāvana shortly thereafter.

<sup>66</sup>Cc., Antya, 4.110-204.

<sup>67</sup>This lunar month is considered the hottest time of year in India

At the request of the *bhaktas*, he took his meal there.  
 In the middle of the day, at lunch time he called for Sanātana.  
 His joy increased when he heard that the Master called him.  
 In the middle of the day the sand of the beach is like fire.  
 On that path Sanātana traveled.  
 Feeling joy in his heart that the Master had called him,  
 he did not feel his feet burning in the scorching sand.  
 His feet became blistered as he went to the Master.  
 After eating, Mahāprabhu took some rest.  
 Govinda gave him [Sanātana] the remnants of [the Master's] lunch.  
 Eating that *prasāda*, Sanātana went to the Master's side.  
 The Master said: "By what path did you come Sanātana?"  
 He replied: "I came by the beach path."  
 The Master asked: "How did you come through that scorching sand?"  
 The path by the Lion's Gate is cool. Why didn't you come that way?  
 In the scorching sand wounds have appeared on your feet.  
 You are unable to walk. How did you bear it?"  
 Sanātana replied: "I did not feel much pain.  
 I did not know that sores have appeared on my feet.  
 I am not qualified to go by the Lion's Gate.  
 In particular, the servants of the Lord are there.  
 The servants all come and go when they have an opportunity.  
 If I should touch anyone, it would be ruination for me."<sup>68</sup>  
 Hearing this Mahāprabhu became satisfied.  
 Pleased, he began to speak to him a little:  
 "Although you are a purifier of the world  
 and, by your touch, the gods and sages become pure,  
 nevertheless, the nature of a devotee is to maintain proper conduct (*maryādā*).  
 Maintaining proper conduct is the ornament of the holy.  
 At the transgression of conduct the people ridicule.  
 This world and the next world, both are destroyed.  
 If you maintain good conduct, my heart is satisfied.  
 If you had not acted so, who would I have turned to?"  
 Saying this, the Master embraced him.

<sup>68</sup>Here Sanātana is worried about making one of the priests on his way to perform some rite of worship in the Jagannātha temple impure by his touch. The *Gautama-dharma-sūtra*, for instance, says (in Olivelle's translation, 15.5.30): "When a man [meaning a *brāhmaṇa*] touches an outcaste, a Cāṇḍāla, a woman who has just given birth or is menstruating, a corpse, or someone who has touched any of these, he becomes purified by bathing with his clothes on."

The pus of his sores stuck to the Master's body.  
 Again and again he [Sanātana] forbade him; still he [the Master] embraced him.  
 Pus stuck to his body and Sanātana was distressed.  
 In this way the servant and the Master both went to their homes.  
 Another day Jagadānanda<sup>69</sup> met with Sanātana.  
 The two men sat together and conversed about Kṛṣṇa.  
 Sanātana expressed his distress before Jagadānanda.  
 "I came here to see the Master and dispell my unhappiness.  
 What I wanted in my heart,<sup>70</sup> that the Master did not let me do.  
 Though I forbid him, the Master embraces me.  
 The pus from my sores sticks to his body.  
 I am offensive; there is no way out.  
 Not seeing Jagannātha, this distress is limitless.  
 I came for some benefit, but the reverse has happened.  
 What can be done for my well-being? I am not able to decide."  
 The paṇḍita replied: "Your rightful residence is Vṛndāvana."  
 After seeing the Car Festival go back there.  
 The Master's order for you two brothers is:  
 'Reside in Vṛndāvana. There you will find every happiness.'  
 You visited the Master, the purpose for which you came.  
 After seeing Jagannātha on the chariot, go back."  
 Sanātana said: "You have given me good advice.  
 I will go there. That is my land, given to me by the Master."  
 Saying this, the two rose and went to their own work.  
 Another day Mahāprabhu came to meet him.  
 Haridāsa praised the feet of the Master.  
 The Master embraced Haridāsa with love.  
 Sanātana prostrated himself from a distance.  
 The Master called him again and again in order to embrace him.  
 In fear of offense he did not come to meet him.  
 Mahāprabhu went to where he was to meet him.  
 Sanātana began backing away from him.  
 Forcefully the Master caught him and embraced him.  
 The Master sat on a low seat with the two men.  
 Feeling regret, Sanātana began to speak:

<sup>69</sup>This is Jagadānanda Paṇḍita, an intimate follower of Caitanya. He was very protective of Caitanya and on the lookout for ways to make his life less austere.

<sup>70</sup>That is, liberation through suicide under the wheels of Jagannātha's cart.

"I came to gain some benefit, but the opposite has occurred.  
Through that for which I am not fit, I constantly commit offense.

By nature I am of low birth, corrupt, and sinful.  
When you touch me I gain in offense.

Beyond that, pus from my sores flows on my body.  
It sticks to your body, but still you touch me forcefully.

You are not disgusted at the touch of the horrifying.  
By this offense I will lose everything.

Therefore, if I stay here, it will not be auspicious for me.  
Give me permission. After seeing the Car Festival, I will go to Vṛndāvana.

I asked the advice of Jagadānanda Paṇḍita.  
He instructed me to go to Vṛndāvana."

After hearing this, Mahāprabhu with an angry heart  
became enraged at Jagadānanda and rebuked him:

Jagāi was but a boy yesterday and now he has such arrogance  
that he has begun to instruct you?

In experience and wisdom you are equal to his teacher.  
'He instructs you.' He does not know his own place.

You are my instructor, a respected authority.  
The child 'instructs you?' He does such work?"

Hearing this Sanātana took hold of the Master's feet and said:  
"Jagadānanda's good fortune is today known.

My own misfortune is also today known.  
There is none in the world as fortunate as Jagadānanda.

To Jagadānanda you feed the nectar of being one of your own.  
To me you feed the essence of the [bitter] Neem and Nisindā of respectful  
praise.<sup>71</sup>

Today you don't think of me as one of your own.  
It is my misfortune. You are the independent Lord."

Hearing this, Mahāprabhu felt a little embarrassed.  
In order to please him [Sanātana] he said a few words:

<sup>71</sup>Here Sanātana interprets Mahāprabhu's anger with Jagadānanda as a sign that Jagadānanda is close to Mahāprabhu. One's anger with someone is sometimes a result of love for that person, a deep concern for the way that person behaves. On the other hand, Sanātana takes Mahāprabhu's reverence and respect for him as a sign of distance or indifference towards him. It is quite likely that Sanātana was at least fifteen years older than Caitanya and he certainly was more experienced and well read in the *bhakti* texts. Caitanya's respect for him was probably a natural response of a younger man towards a learned elder. Nevertheless, Sanātana wanted to be able to think of himself as an intimate associate of this young charismatic, ecstatic lover of Kṛṣṇa whom he believed to be a manifestation of Kṛṣṇa himself.

"Jagadānanda is not more dear to me than you.  
I am unable to tolerate transgression of good conduct.

Here you are an expert in the authoritative scriptures.  
There is Jagāi a fresh boy of just yesterday.

You have the power to teach me.  
In so many places you have taught me about practical *bhakti*.

That he instructs you I cannot tolerate.  
Therefore, I scold him.

I do not praise you with the idea that you are an outsider.  
Your good qualities cause your praise. Such are your qualities.

Even though someone feels a sense of possession towards many people,  
by the very nature of affection, towards someone some [special] feeling arises.

You feel disgust towards your body.  
Your body is to me like nectar.

You have a non-material body (*aprākṛta-deha*). It is never material.  
Still you regard it as material.

Even if it were material, I cannot despise your body;  
there is no sense of good or bad in things material.<sup>72</sup>

As it is said (Bhāg. 11.28.4):

Is something good or bad or some degree of good or bad in an  
unreal duality? What is described in speech is untrue, merely  
fancied by the mind.

The dualistic knowledge of good or bad is all the making of the mind.  
'This is good; this is bad;' this is all a mistake.

As it is said in the *Bhagavad-gītā* (5.18):

A *brāhmaṇa* endowed with knowledge and humility, a cow, an  
elephant, a dog, and even a cooker of a dog the learned see as  
equal.

And in the same place (6.8):

One who is satisfied in knowledge, both general and specific,  
unchangeable, in control of his senses, unified, is said to be a  
*yogī*, equally disposed towards a clod, a stone, and gold.

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<sup>72</sup>Caitanya is speaking here as a renunciant or *sannyāsī*.



I am a renunciant (*sannyāsi*). My character is equanimity.  
My attitude is the same toward sandalwood and mud.

For this reason, it is not fitting that I reject you.  
If I felt disgust [for you], my own *dharma* would go.”

Haridāsa said: “Master, what you have said  
is not just window dressing. This I accept.

That you have accepted all of us fallen ones  
is to demonstrate your quality of compassion for the lowly.”

The Master said smiling: “Listen, Haridāsa and Sanātana,  
I will tell you the truth concerning my feelings about you.

I consider you the ones to be cherished and me the one who cherishes.  
The one who cherishes sees no fault in the one he cherishes.

I don’t see myself as worthy of honor and respect.  
I think of you both as my children.

It is just like when a child’s feces touches the body of its mother;  
disgust does not arise in her. Instead she is happy,

The impurities of the one cherished seem like sandalwood to the cherisher.  
I don’t feel disgust at Sanātana’s oozing sores.

Haridāsa said: “You are the merciful Lord.  
One cannot understand your deep heart.

Vāsudeva’s oozing, leprous body was covered with worms.  
You, out of compassion, embraced him.

Embracing him you made his body like that of the god of love.  
Who can comprehend the waves of your mercy?”

The Master said: “The body of a Vaiṣṇava is never material.  
The non-material body of the devotee is made of consciousness and joy.

At the time of initiation, the devotee offers himself.  
At that time Kṛṣṇa makes him the same as himself.

He makes his body consist of consciousness and joy.  
In a non-material body he [the *bhakta*] worships [Kṛṣṇa’s] feet.

As it is said (Bhāg. 11.29.34):

When a mortal, rejecting all rites and acts, has offered himself  
to me, I wish to do something for him. At that time, making  
him immortal I make him capable of being equal to me.

In Sanātana’s body Kṛṣṇa has created the sores.  
Just to test me he has sent him here.

If I were disgusted and did not embrace him,

it would be an offense to Kṛṣṇa and I would be punished.

This is the body of an associate [of Kṛṣṇa]. It is not foul-smelling.  
The first day I smelled a fragrance like that of the four<sup>73</sup> on his body.”

Actually when the Master embraced him,  
the fragrance of sandalwood arose at his touch.

The Master said: “Sanātana, don’t feel troubled.  
By embracing you I have felt great joy.

This year you stay here with me.  
At the end of the year I will send you to Vṛndāvana.

Saying this, the Master again embraced him.  
The sores disappeared and his body began to look like gold.

Seeing that Haridāsa was astonished.  
He said to the Master: “This is a hint of yours.

You made him drink that Jhārikhaṇḍa water.  
Through that water the sores developed.

Making those sores you tested Sanātana.  
This hint of your sport no one understands.

Embracing both men, the Master returned to his place.  
The two, becoming filled with love, praised the qualities of the Master.

In this way Sanātana stayed with the Master,  
praising the qualities of Kṛṣṇa Caitanya with Haridāsa.

After viewing the the Swing Festival, the Master bid him farewell.  
He taught him all that he was to do in Vṛndāvana.

At the time that he said goodbye to the Master,  
the two men’s state of separation cannot be described.

The path by which the Master [previously] went to Vṛndāvana  
was the path by which Sanātana decided to travel.

That path, those villages, rivers, hills, where he did what sport,  
he wrote them all down from Balabhadra Bhaṭṭācārya.<sup>74</sup>

After taking leave of all of Mahāprabhu’s *bhaktas*,  
Sanātana travelled on that path visiting all the places.

Whatever divine acts the Master performed on the path at whatever places,  
Sanātana visited those places and became absorbed in love.

In this way Sanātana arrived in Vṛndāvana.  
Later Rūpa Gosvāmin came and joined him.

<sup>73</sup>The four perfumes: sandalwood, musk, saffron, and aloe (aguru)

<sup>74</sup>Balabhadra Bhaṭṭācārya was Caitanya’s companion on his trip to Vṛndāvana.

The text turns to what Rūpa was up to while Sanātana was staying in Purī which does not directly concern us here. This long passage on the whole, however, is particularly important because it describes the period just before Sanātana's permanent settlement in Vṛndāvana. The core events of his stay in Nīlācala probably came from Sanātana himself, without the elements of self-aggrandizement that are found in Kṛṣṇadāsa's retelling, of course. There is no doubt that Sanātana and his brother Rūpa were saints and heroes in Kṛṣṇadāsa's eyes, writing nearly a century after the events he describes. His view of the brothers no doubt represents the high esteem in which the two were held by those followers of Mahāprabhu who eventually gathered around them in Vṛndāvana. Sanātana's sense of humility, his sense that he was fallen and should avoid contact with those engaged in the ritual worship at the temple at Purī, has the ring of truth to it. His suffering from some unknown skin disease, his guilt over risking communicating it to Mahāprabhu, and his desire to end his life under the wheels of Jagannātha's chariot, a fate that according to some Hindu traditions guarantees one liberation, are all likely to have occurred. Caitanya's saving him from that fate and redirecting him to the concrete service of his beloved deity in the holy land seems quite likely, too. Sanātana's love and respect for Mahāprabhu as an embodiment of the divine who picked him up and gave him hope and a sense of worth would be natural outcomes of their interactions during that period in Nīlācala. Most interesting of all, however, is the way in which Mahāprabhu is represented as holding Sanātana in such high esteem as an elder authority figure, learned in the scriptures and worthy of being his own teacher. Not only was Sanātana worthy of being Mahāprabhu's teacher, but he appears to have actually instructed him in various points of *bhakti* philosophy and practice. Thus, the picture we get is that of an older gentleman, vastly learned in the texts, but mostly endowed with theoretical knowledge in the company of a younger, less learned man who was steeped in powerful religious emotions and experience. For Sanātana, Mahāprabhu was the living embodiment of the scriptural texts he knew so well and, thus, clear evidence of the truth of the scripture. For Mahāprabhu, Sanātana represented the learned authority whose scriptural knowledge lent authenticity to the saint's powerful religious experiences. Their relationship was thus mutually confirming. This flies in the face of other passages in Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's account in which Mahāprabhu is represented as teaching Sanātana everything he knew. Those passages obviously have another purpose than representation of fact. They are aimed at establishing the works of Sanātana and Rūpa as authoritative figures in the community of Mahāprabhu's followers.

It was sometime probably not long after Sanātana arrived in Vṛndāvana that he began to compose the text translated here. Sanātana left Purī after the Swing Festival (Dolayātā) in March-April of 1518 and thus probably arrived in Vṛndāvana in June-July of 1518. When he arrived there were only a few of Mahāprabhu's

followers in the area. Subuddhi Rāya was living in the town Mathurā and two other followers of Caitanya, Lokanātha and Bhūgarbha, who Caitanya had already sent there. At that time, most of the region, referred to as Vraja Maṇḍala, the circle of Vraja, was sparsely populated and wild, inhabited by a variety of dangerous snakes, animals, and tribal groups specializing in banditry. I suspect that Sanātana began the *Stava* within a year or two of his arrival in Vraja as a kind of transitional text, that is, as a text meant to help him make the difficult transition between the comfortable city life of an affluent minister of the King of Bengal and the undoubtedly terrifying, uncertain life of a wandering mendicant. Writing the text also helped prepare him for one of the tasks that Mahāprabhu laid upon him, that of uncovering the lost sites of Kṛṣṇa's sports, by invoking a vision of Kṛṣṇa's life in Vraja, as described in the Tenth Canto of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, up to the time of his return to Mathurā to kill his evil uncle and free his imprisoned mother and father.<sup>75</sup>

Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja summarizes Sanātana's life and work in Vṛndāvana in one final section of the Fourth Chapter of the Final Sport:<sup>76</sup>

The two brothers met again and stayed in Vṛndāvana.  
 What the Master requested of them the two thoroughly carried out.  
 Bringing together many scriptures, they uncovered lost sacred sites.  
 They spread the service of Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana.  
 Sanātana wrote the *Bhāgavatāmṛta* book,  
 from which we learn the truths about *bhakti*, the *bhakta*, and Kṛṣṇa.  
 He wrote his commentary on the Tenth,<sup>77</sup> the book that is the essence of  
 proven doctrine,  
 from which we learn of the flavor of Kṛṣṇa's sports and love.  
 He wrote the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* on the behavior of Vaiṣṇavas,  
 in which we gain mastery over Vaiṣṇava practices.  
 Who can count all the other books he wrote?  
 They [Sanātana and Rūpa] also established the worship of the images Madanagopāla  
 and Govinda.

This concludes the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*'s rather extensive coverage of the life of Sanātana Gosvāmin as it related to that of Mahāprabhu. Though the *Stava* is not specifically mentioned in this last passage, it is in other passages of the text and in several other texts. Clearly the two works that are considered Sanātana's major contributions are the *Bhāgavatāmṛta* and his extensive commentary on the

<sup>75</sup>This last part of the story may have had a kind of apocalyptic resonance for the Hindu of those times. In place of the evil Kāṁsa stood the Mogul emperor in Agra.

<sup>76</sup>Cc., 3.4.208-213.

<sup>77</sup>Sanātana's commentary on the Tenth Canto of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* called the *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*.

Tenth Canto of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The attribution of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* to him is problematic and will be discussed later. In addition to writing books and locating sacred places, Sanātana established one of the three main temples in Vṛndāvana, the temple of Madanagopāla. The temple building is still standing in modern Vrindaban, but the image, Madanagopāla, was moved in the 17th century to Rajasthan where it was safe from the Muslim iconoclasm during the rule of Aurangzeb (17th cent.).

## Narahari Cakravartin

Another important writer of the Caitanya tradition, Narahari Cakravartin, adds more to our knowledge of Sanātana's background and life, though he wrote nearly two centuries after Sanātana had passed away. Narahari's dates are unfortunately uncertain. One authority, however, suggests, on the basis of a number of reasonable arguments, that he was born sometime between 1688 and 1696 CE and probably died sometime between 1755 and 1760.<sup>78</sup> If this is accurate, Narahari was a contemporary of two other great Caitanya Vaiṣṇavas of the 18th century, Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa (168?-1764), the tradition's best Vedāntin, and Rādhāmohana Ṭhākura (1697-1778), an extraordinary scholar, a commentator on several of the tradition's major texts, the compiler of an important anthology of Vaiṣṇava songs in Sanskrit and Bengali. These three men were the pillars of the tradition at the end of its second and beginning of its third century. Narahari says in his *magum opus*, the *Bhakti-ratnākara* (*Ocean of Devotion*), that his father's name was Jagannātha and that his father was a disciple of the great teacher and commentator, Viśvanātha Cakravartin (1626-1708). Narahari also tells us that for some reason he was given two names: Narahari Dāsa and Ghanaśyāma Dāsa. A number of Bengali songs of his have come down to us in both those names.<sup>79</sup> According to a brief introduction to Narahari by one of his copyists, he was born in a little village named Reṇāpura on the bank of the Ganges near Pāṇiśālā.<sup>80</sup> After the death of his parents Narahari went to Vṛndāvana where he was warmly welcomed into Vaiṣṇava community there and recommended for the service of the Govinda, the image believed to have been discovered and established by Rūpa Gosvāmin.<sup>81</sup> He was apparently a cook for Govindaji, according to some

<sup>78</sup>Mihira Caudhuri Kāmilyā, *Narahari Cakravartin: Jīvanī o Racanāvalī*, vol. 1, pp. 37-41.

<sup>79</sup>*Bhakti-ratnākara* (Kalikātā: Gaudīya Miśan (Gaudiya Mission), 1960), pp. 649-50.

<sup>80</sup>This information comes from a few pages about Narahari Cakravartin by someone named Ānandanārāyaṇa Maitra Bhāgavatabhūṣaṇa, who had made copies of Narahari's *Bhakti-ratnākara* and *Narottama-vilāsa* (*The Sport of Narottama*). Those pages were bound together with the manuscripts of those works and are now in the Pāṭhabāri collection. Reṇāpura is on the eastern bank of the Ganges in the District of Murshidabad, West Bengal. It is not far from Saiyadabad where Viśvanātha Cakravartin lived, studied, and taught before he went to Vṛndāvana.

<sup>81</sup>Kāmilyā, pp. 28-9

traditions about him.

There are two reasons, according to Majumdar, for taking Narahari's accounts seriously. The first is that he was an active member of the Vaiṣṇava community of Vṛndāvana, the community essentially founded by Sanātana and his brother Rūpa. As such, he was privy to many of the oral stories and traditions about its founders that had been handed down in that community for generations. Although some of those stories could be fabrications or exaggerations, many probably had some basis in fact. The second reason is that Narahari was extremely well read in the literature that was available in Vṛndavana at the end of the 17th and early 18th century.<sup>82</sup> In his *Bhakti-ratnākara* he quotes some eighty-two works, some of which can no longer be found. In his work on music, the *Śaṅgīta-sāra-saṅgraha* (*Collection of the Essentials of Music*) he cites thirty-one works.<sup>83</sup> He was thus extraordinarily well-versed not only in the Vaiṣṇava literature of his time and community, but also in the standard works of literary criticism and prosody. Much of what he has to offer on Sanātana is based on obscure passages found in difficult to acquire texts of the tradition. Were it not for his citations, some of that material would have never become widely known. Thus there is some real historical value to be found in his writings. On the other hand, since he is writing at a time so far separated from his subjects, much of what he says should be handled with suspicion.

Although Sanātana and Rūpa are discussed at several places in his *Bhakti-ratnākara*, Narahari takes up Sanātana in greater depth in the First Taraṅga (lit. "wave," ie. chapter). Here is what he says about Sanātana:<sup>84</sup>

Śrī Sanātana had a very amazing life.  
His great love was for the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.  
When he was young, a *brāhmaṇa* in a dream  
gave him copy of the *Bhāgavata* with a joyful heart.  
When the dream ended, Sanātana became troubled.  
Then in the morning that same *brāhmaṇa* gave him the *Bhāgavata*.  
Receiving it his heart was filled with joy.  
He became submerged in the ocean of the nectar of love for the Lord.  
The way he savoured the meaning of the *bhāgavata*  
he revealed in his *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*.  
I will give here in brief Sanātana's prior history.  
Śrī Jīva has expanded on it in his *Toṣaṇī*.  
As he says in the *Laghu-vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*:

<sup>82</sup> Majumdar, Ccu, pp. 485-86.

<sup>83</sup> Kāmilyā, pp. 31-33.

<sup>84</sup> *Bhakti-ratnākara*, 1.531-683.

As a child he received the *Bhāgavata* in a dream, and then, after awakening in the morning, got it from the same *brāhmaṇa* he saw in his dream; he thus became sumerged in the ocean of love of Bhagavān. This is the writing of that Śrī Sanātana.

and

Therefore, although I have presented that work [of his], I, Jīva, whose very life is at his feet, also present this work out of a desire to say some slightly different things.<sup>85</sup>

Śrī Jīva Gosvāmin has made known the seven ancestral generations.<sup>86</sup>  
I will give the names of all beginning with the first.

Śrī Sarvajña Jagadguru [was] a king of *brāhmaṇa*,  
greatly honored, knower of the Yajurveda, in the lineage of Bharadvāja.

A teacher of all the Veda and greatly valorous,  
there was no king of Karnatak equal to him.

All of the lords of the earth constantly honored him.  
Who can describe fortune such as his?

His son, Aniruddhadeva, was equal to Indra.  
He rivaled the Moon, his fame greater than all.

Honored by kings, a knower of the Veda, possessor of fortune,  
his two queens were famous in the world.

Rūpeśvara and Harihara by name were his sons,  
of many good qualities, very well known everywhere.

Expert in scripture was the eldest son, Rūpeśvara.  
Well-versed in warfare was the younger son, Harihara.

After getting them married and giving them the burden of kingdom,  
their father went to the abode of Kṛṣṇa.

A little while later, stirring up the people,  
the younger took away the kingdom of the elder.

When the kingdom was gone, Rūpeśvara with his wife  
and eight horses went to an eastern country.

In his friendship with the lord of Śikhara he found happiness.  
Rūpeśvaradeva resided there.

Śrī Rūpeśvara's son was named Padmanābha,  
very handsome and unmatched in all good qualities.

<sup>85</sup>Jīva Gosvāmin here acknowledges his indebtedness to Sanātana for many of the ideas in his shortened version of the *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*, but also recognizes that he is adding some other things of his own.

<sup>86</sup>These are the seven generations of ancestors of Sanātana and Rūpa.

In the study of the four Veda with their ancillary subjects  
his great and unprecedented fame was known throughout the world.

What an extraordinary career was Padmanābhadeva's.  
He was always infused with love for Śrī Jagannātha.

That kingly Padmanābha departed from the land of Śikhara  
with a desire to live on the bank of the Ganges.

The gentleman settled in the village of Navahaṭṭa,  
whose name is known to all as Naihāṭi.

There Padmanābhadeva with joy in his heart  
worshipped with care the image of Puruṣottama.

Performing sacrificial rites he felt great pleasure.  
Eighteen daughters and five sons were born to him.

Śrī Puruṣottama, Jagannātha, Nārāyaṇa,  
Murāri and Mukunda were his five sons.

Puruṣottama was the eldest; the youngest of all was Mukunda.  
He was excellent in all parts and had the best of all good qualities.

Śrī Mukundadeva's son was Śrī Kumāra.  
a lamp of the *brāhmaṇa* clan, very pure in demeanor.

He constantly performed sacrificial rites in private.  
He was very fearful of being touched by someone impure.

If somehow he ever saw a Yavana,  
he performed expiatory rites and did not eat.

His mind became disturbed because of relatives  
and he left Navahaṭṭa very quickly.

With his own people he quickly went to Baṅgadeśa.  
He settled in the village of Bāklā-Candradvīpa.

There is a village by the name of Fatehabad in Jesore.  
Because of traveling back and forth, he made a home there.

Kumāradeva had many children.  
Among them, three sons were the very life of Vaiṣṇavas.

These three were Sanātana, Rūpa, and Śrī Vallabha,  
who outside of their own families are highly honored.

Narahari next cites the nine verses from Jīva's *Laghu-vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* that the genealogy just presented was taken from.<sup>87</sup> Not much from this genealogy can be confirmed. There is no record of a *brāhmaṇa* king named Sarvajña in Karnatak. One might guess, on the basis of twenty-five years a generation, that if Sanātana was born around 1470 (1465-75 CE) his ancestor Sarvajña was born in about

<sup>87</sup>See the Appendix for the whole set of verses from Jīva with a full translation.



1325 CE. Rūpeśvara's move to the east took place sometime around 1400 and Padmanābha's move to the banks of the Ganges in about 1425. Kumāra, Sanātana's father, probably moved to Navahaṭṭa in the 1460s. According to Jīva's account Sanātana was born in a high class *brāhmaṇa* family of the Yajur Veda branch and the Bharadvāja clan. According to Narahari's account Sanātana's father, Kumāradeva, was extremely devoted to the performance of Vedic rites and thus very concerned about maintaining ritual purity. If this is true, it is ironic that his sons became involved in the government of Nawab Husein Shah. Narahari may have some insight into why Sanātana and his brothers agreed to work for the Shah and how it possibly affected them:<sup>88</sup>

Sanātana, Rūpa and Śrī Vallabha were kings among bhaktas,  
The oldest was Sanātana, his younger brother Śrī Rūpa.

The youngest of them all was Śrī Vallabha, so full of love.  
Śrī Jīva Gosvāmī was his son.

How these three brothers conducted themselves in the house<sup>89</sup>  
I cannot describe for fear of making the book too large.

Sanātana and Rūpa were high ministers in all respects.  
The king heard of them from cultured people.

The king of Gauḍa was a Muslim and very qualified.  
He brought Sanātana and Rūpa and gave them the burden of the kingdom.

Out of fear of the foreigners they accepted the posts.  
By the influence of those two his kingdom flourished.

The king out of pleasure gave them separate fiefdoms.  
They enjoyed the kingdom by means of some of the taxes.

In Gauḍa, in the town of Rāmakeli, they resided.  
The limits of opulence; an amazing display.

Sanātana and Rūpa in an assembly were equal to Indras.  
Learned men from many places came to them.

Singers, lecturers, actors and poets  
from all places were all engaged every moment.

Without cessation they [Sanātana and Rūpa] spent lots of money.  
No one was left unhonored in any way.

Constantly those two studied all the scriptures.  
Easily they were able to refute or support.

For anyone who wrote a commentary on the *Nyāya-sūtra*,  
if Sanātana and Rūpa listened to it, it became confirmed.

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<sup>88</sup>*Bhakti-ratnākara*, 1.578-597.

<sup>89</sup>That is, as householders.

This that way, everyone, being encouraged every way,  
sang the good qualities of Sanātana and Rūpa with pleasure.

Word of their good traits spread everywhere.  
From the region of Karṇāṭa and other places *brāhmaṇa* came.

To *brāhmaṇa* from their own [ancestral] region, Sanātana and Rūpa  
gave them all a place to stay near the Ganges.

(It was) a town named Bhaṭṭa-bāṭī, the home of the Bhaṭṭa community.  
All were learned in scripture and in all respects un equaled.

Bringing all those *brāhmaṇa* to the town of Rāmakeli,  
they achieved all the objectives of their professions quite happily.

Towards the members of the Vaiṣṇava community, the sort of respect  
that Sanātana and Rūpa showed cannot be described.

For all the *brāhmaṇa* that came from Navadvīpa  
I cannot describe how much *bhakti* they [Sanātana and Rūpa] had.

From Narahari's account it would appear that Husein Shah heard about the brothers from others and made them an offer that they could not refuse. Out of fear, Narahari says, they accepted the jobs of ministers in the government of the Nawab of Bengal. When things went well under their management the Shah shared some of the wealth with them which they used to support other scholars and poets. Also of interest is the idea that they established a community for *brāhmaṇa* from Karnatak in a nearby village called Bhaṭṭabāṭī on the bank of the Ganges. Perhaps it was with members of that community that Sanātana studied the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as he is represented as doing when he stopped attending his post at the court of the Nawab.<sup>90</sup> The idea that both Sanātana and Rūpa were highly learned and respected scholars whose opinions on new scholarly works, especially those relating to the study of Indian logic, were sought by scholars hoping to establish names for themselves suggests that they had achieved a certain amount of renown during their household lives. Narahari is our only source for such details about the lives of Sanātana and Rūpa. His sources for these details must have been stories handed down in the community in which Narahari lived in Vṛndāvana. Those stories naturally underwent some enlargement in the process of transmission, but probably had some basis in the truth. He provides more information on Sanātana's education on the more solid basis of some verses from the beginning of Sanātana's own commentary on the Tenth Canto of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* called the *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*.<sup>91</sup>

Śrī Sanātana's teacher was Vidyāvācaspati.

<sup>90</sup>See the account of the period after the brothers' first meeting with Mahāprabhu in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*.

<sup>91</sup>Br, 1.598-602.

From time to time he stayed at the town of Rāmakeli.

He studied all of the texts from him.

His level of *bhakti* for his teachers cannot be equalled.

In Sanātana's commentary on the Tenth Canto

he has inscribed the names of his teachers for the sake of auspicity.

Thus, in the commentary on the Tenth:

I praise Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya, my teacher Vidyāvācaspati,  
and Vidyābhūṣaṇa, ornament of the land of Gauḍa. I also  
praise Śrī Paramānanda Bhaṭṭācārya, for whom *rasa* is dear,  
as well as Rāmabhadra, and my instructor, Vāṇivilāsa.

Here six teachers are mentioned, most of whom we know very little about. Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya was, of course, the well-known author of a commentary on the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* of Gaṅgeśa. He also became a follower of Mahāprabhu later in life and composed some hymns in praise of him. Sārvabhauma's presence in Sanātana's list of teachers certainly supports Narahari's claim that Sanātana and Rūpa had a special area of expertise in Hindu logic. Sārvabhauma also may have been the one who brought the young ecstatic Caitanya to Sanātana's attention in the first place. Vidyāvācaspati was, according to Jana who cites passages from Jayānanda and Narahari, the younger brother of Sārvabhauma.<sup>92</sup> From the use of the plural in the Sanskrit to refer to Vidyāvācaspati it is probable that he was Sanātana's main teacher. Vidyāvācaspati's areas of specialty are not known, but they were probably similar to his older brother's. We have no idea who Vidyābhūṣaṇa was or what Sanātana studied with him. The same is true of Rāmabhadra and Vāṇivilāsa. Paramānanda Bhaṭṭācārya, however, seems to be the same as Paramānanda Cakravartin, the author of an influential commentary on the *Kāvya-prakāśa* of Mammaṭa (12th cent. CE), a standard treatise on Sanskrit poetics.<sup>93</sup> Sanātana's reference to him as a "lover of *rasa*" (*rasa-priya*) strengthens this identification. Paramānanda's teacher was Īśāna Nyāyācārya, a great scholar of Hindu logic, who is mentioned by the great logician Raghunātha Śiromaṇi. Paramānanda, thus, was unusual in that he was apparently both a scholar of logic and of literary criticism.

Narahari gives us some more details culled from the corpus of stories about Sanātana circulating among the members of the Caitanya Vaiṣṇava community in Vṛndāvana in the 18th century:<sup>94</sup>

<sup>92</sup>Jana, pp. 23-4.

<sup>93</sup>This claim is argued by Gaurinatha Sastri in the introduction to his edition of Paramānanda's commentary on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, pp. 5-6. (Vārāṇasī: Sampūrṇānanda Saṃskṛta Viśvavidyālaya, 1976)

<sup>94</sup>Br, 1.603-619.

The nature of Sanātana and Rūpa's devotional life,  
who has the power to describe it all?

Near his house in a very secluded place  
he [Sanātana] planted a Kadamba grove and built replicas of Rādhā and  
Śyāma's ponds.

There he meditated on the divine sports of Vṛndāvana.  
Unable to keep his composure, tears flowed constantly from his eyes.

Engaged in the service of the image Śrī Madanagopāla,  
his words were filled with affliction.<sup>95</sup> How much can I describe?

Śrī Kṛṣṇacaitanya was sporting in Nadia.  
He was always anxious to visit him.

The kind of pure conduct that was his father and grandfather's,  
thinking of that he condemned himself in his minds.

If his father saw a Muslim he performed atonement rites.  
Association with such Muslims was constant for him.

Since he were dependent on them, he went to Muslim houses.  
For this reason he considered himself the same as non-Hindus.

Not that such a thought ever occurred to him.  
In this he simply considered himself very poor and lowly.

When he was immersed in the ocean of humility,  
he thought himself even lower than non-Hindus.

With the association of lower castes comes low behavior.  
For this reason he spoke of himself as low caste.

Though he was the best of *brāhmaṇa*, in his heart he was afflicted.  
He never thought of himself as a *brāhmaṇa*.

One who has Caitanya's grace behaves like this.  
He never thinks himself the best.

It's ever the same. He thinks himself so low.  
Śrī Kṛṣṇacaitanya knows the *bhakta*'s truth.

Full Brahman and eternal is Śrī Kṛṣṇacaitanya,  
The way he demonstrates humility, no one else can.

His *bhakta* are always immersed in feelings of humility.  
The joy there is in humility Gaura Rāya knows.

What happened in the hearts of Sanātana and Rūpa  
The moonlike Śrī Kṛṣṇacaitanya knew.

This sections gives us some information that we have not encountered before and about which one might reasonably have some doubts. It is possible that

<sup>95</sup>His affliction was that of feeling separated from Kṛṣṇa.

Sanātana did construct a garden near his house as a replica of Kṛṣṇa's Vṛndāvana. He was apparently a devotee of Kṛṣṇa from an early age and as minister of the Nawab he had the power and wealth to create such a place. It may be doubted, however, whether that place had replicas of Rādhākuṇḍa and Śyāmakūṇḍa. Those two ponds, which today are a kind of spiritual center for the Caitanya tradition, did not exist in Sanātana's early years. Indeed, they appear to have been "rediscovered" by Mahāprabhu himself on his pilgrimage to Vṛndāvana which took place after he met with and converted the brothers at Rāmakeli (See Cc, Madhya 18). There is no mention of the ponds in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and it is not clear that there was any reference to them before the poetic works presenting the sports of Kṛṣṇa written by the Gosvāmin themselves. There is, of course, a suspect verse from the *Padma Purāṇa* that Rūpa Gosvāmin quotes in his *Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta*, but that verse has never actually been found in the *Purāṇa*.<sup>96</sup> Moreover much of the teaching on Kṛṣṇa in the *Purāṇa* appears to be late, perhaps even composed and added after the Gosvāmin works. Of course, from the perspective of the members of the tradition, Sanātana, whose eternal identity was that of a mañjarī (a young maidservant) in the service of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, his construction of the ponds was based on a recollection of his eternal home and eternal service.

The next section of the Narahari's text describes the first meeting of Mahāprabhu with Sanātana and Rūpa and follows the account given in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* presented before (Br, 1.620-636):

How many the clever ways the Master has to meet his *bhakta*!  
He visited Rāmakeli on his way to Vṛndāvana.

To see the Master thousands and thousands came running.  
Even the Muslims happily praised the Master's good traits.

Sanātana and Rūpa's hearts were awash with joy.  
Visiting him secretly they fell down at his feet.

The way they showed humility, taking grass in their teeth;  
just hearing of it makes everyone's heart split apart.

The Master, so fond of his *bhakta*, could not remain composed.  
At Sanātana and Rūpa's humility his heart cried out.

This is described in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*:  
"Leave aside your humility. Seeing it causes my heart to burst."

The kind of humility they showed is revealed a bit there.  
For fear of increasing this book's size, I will not describe it here.

Though they were in all ways superior, they felt such humility.

<sup>96</sup>Rūpa, Lb, 2.45: यथा राधा प्रिया विष्णोस्तस्याः कुण्डं प्रियं तथा। सर्वगोपीषु सैवैका विष्णोरत्यन्तवद्भभा॥

Referring to themselves as low, vile sinners, they condemned themselves.

The *brāhmaṇa* were astounded, not knowing the meaning.  
The Master taught the world by means of his *bhakta*.

Hey, Brother! Who can comprehend the Master's heart?  
He reveals his *bhakta* and submits himself to them.

By means of Rāmānanda he destroyed the arrogance of Eros.  
Through Dāmodara he revealed freedom from dependence.

Through Haridāsa he taught forbearance.  
Through Sanātana and Rūpa he revealed humility.

Sense-control, independence, forbearance, and humility;  
These four Śrī Caitanya made manifest.

I cannot comprehend the humility of Sanātana and Rūpa.  
Fools argue about this using many perspectives.

One who aspires to go to the most fearful of hells,  
let him commit those offenses of hollow debate and such.

After showing his mercy to Sanātana and Rūpa,  
Gaurahari with his companions departed from Rāmakeli.

By the 18th century the extraordinary quality and worth of the writings of Sanātana and Rūpa and of their companions, whom they inspired and encouraged, were long established facts. From the perspective of that later century the humility and self-criticism, before Mahāprabhu, of the men who produced such works must have seemed incredible. Whereas, to the earlier biographers of Caitanya it was the renunciation of the brothers that stood out as remarkable, to the later members of the tradition of Narahari's time it was their humble attitudes that stood out most strongly. Thus, they became the models of the coincidence of great talent and great humility in the Vaiṣṇava community of that time.

Numerous stories about Sanātana are scattered throughout Narahari Cakravartin's text. It would be impossible and unnecessary to present them all. Perhaps one or two more passages are all that is needed to give some of the flavor of the rest. In the second chapter of the *Bhakti-ratnākara* we are given another glimpse into the life of Sanātana in the years before he met Mahāprabhu. We find him and Rūpa extremely active and respected in traditional intellectual life in Bengal at the beginning of the 16th century. This account comes from Caitanyadāsa, who as an old man tells his son, Śrīnivāsācārya, who later went on to become an important disciple of the Vṛndāvana circle and a powerful spreader of the faith in Bengal, of some of his experiences in the early years of the Caitanya movement (Br., 2.360-383):

In Vṛndāvana, through Rūpa and Sanātana,  
Gaurarāya accomplished extraordinary things.

Oh, son, the activities of those two were amazing.  
 If you saw them you would not think them human at all.  
 When I [Caitanya Dāsa] met them, though,  
 I did not see them that way.  
 Now I think of myself as very fortunate.  
 I will tell you briefly how I met them.  
 The teachers located in Navadvīpa and other places  
 all used to visit Rāmakeli often.  
 My teacher was the foremost in the town of Cākhani.  
 People came from Rāmakeli to bring him there.  
 My teacher went there and I went with him.  
 At an auspicious moment we entered Rāmakeli.  
 Near to the house of Sanātana and Rūpa  
 everyone was given accommodations with great respect.  
 The teachers with hearts filled with joy  
 went to the assembly of Sanātana and Rūpa.  
 They, surrounded by learned *brāhmaṇa*,  
 were sitting in the gathering like Indras.<sup>97</sup>  
 Their bodies were a beautiful gold and lustrous.  
 Seeing their beauty who could remain composed?  
 What gentle smiles on their faces, the peak of happiness.  
 What creator made such long eyes?  
 Such enchanting arms, chests, and hips!  
 There is nothing to compare them with, completely beautiful.  
 With my teacher I went to see them personally.  
 They showed everyone respect in many ways.  
 Their opulence was not just an ornament.  
 They asked everyone for *bhakti* to Kṛṣṇa's lotus feet.  
 The two brothers were supreme scholars in all scriptures.  
 The older one was Sanātana, the younger was known as Rūpa.  
 They listened to commentaries on scripture from scholars of many lands.  
 Providing many gifts they pleased everyone.  
 My teacher listened to their explanations of scripture.  
 The praise he gave them I don't know how to describe.  
 The two were chief ministers in the government of the king.  
 They did not fail to honor anyone in any way.  
 One cannot describe the good fortune of the Bādshah in Gauḍa.

<sup>97</sup>Indra is the king of the gods in Hindu mythology.

He showed great affection toward Sanātana and Rūpa.  
 Listen to all those truths from the people.  
 Seeing their behavior who would not be pleased.  
 Staying there a few days, he took his leave  
 and my teacher departed with joy in his heart.  
 Sanātana and Rūpa were pleased in all ways.  
 How that Vaiṣṇava behavior [of theirs] became famous in the world.  
 From Rāmakeli we returned quickly to our home.  
 The Master took renunciation a little while later.

If this account has any historical validity, it would appear that Sanātana and brother Rūpa were already famous in Bengal as patrons of scholarship and that they were already recognized members of the Vaiṣṇava community. A little later in the same passage Caitanya Dāsa talks about the stir they created in Bengali society when they left all of their wealth and their positions of power to go to Vṛndāvana and live there as homeless mendicants. He says: “Whether woman or man, child, aged, or young, everyone sang: ‘Rūpa and Sanātana have gone to Vṛndāvana.’”<sup>98</sup> Thus, it would appear that Mahāprabhu’s attracting such men to his following was also a great victory for him and his movement.

It has been noted previously that in many of the biographies Mahāprabhu is represented as assigning special tasks to Sanātana and his companions; the writing of books on the Vaiṣṇava tradition, the rediscovering of the lost sites of Kṛṣṇa’s divine acts in Vṛndāvana, and the rediscovering or establishing of images of Kṛṣṇa for worship are but some of the tasks mentioned. A story in the second chapter of Narahari’s *Bhakti-ratnākara* describes how Sanātana discovered his famous image of Kṛṣṇa named Madanagopāla (Br, 2.455-472):

Sanātana Gosvāmin’s life was astonishing.  
 From time to time he stayed in Mahāvana.  
 Madanagopāla along with some of the boys  
 He [Sanātana] saw playing on the bank of the Yamunā.  
 Madanagopāla was submissive to Sanātana’s love.  
 In a dream he spoke to Sanātana one day.  
 “Sanātana, your hut appeals to me.  
 I will come here from Mahāvana.”  
 Saying this, the Lord disappeared.  
 Sanātana became overwhelmed by love.  
 He knew the Lord’s indication very well.  
 Madanagopāla had come by the end of that night.

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<sup>98</sup>Br., 2.400.



In Sanātana's heart there was great joy.  
 In his leaf-hut he performed intense service.  
 Śrī Madanagopāla was the son of a king.  
 His eating dry bread made Sanātana sad.  
 Madanagopāla understood Sanātana's mind.  
 His desire to increase the service arose at that time.  
 At that time a person from Multan,  
 very wealthy and clever in all respect,  
 best of kṣatriyas named Kṛṣṇadāsa Kapūr,  
 got off his book and came to Sanātana.  
 He fell at the Gosvāmin's feet and rolled back and forth.  
 He showed great humility and drenched himself with tears.  
 Sanātana showed him much kindness  
 and offered him to the feet of Madanagopāla.  
 That day the temple was started.  
 He decorated it with many jeweled ornaments.  
 Cloths to be worn of many different types  
 he kept with care in a separate storehouse.  
 He acquired the ingredients for food of many kinds.  
 "The Lord will enjoy them." At this there was great joy.  
 Seeing Madanagopāla who can remain composed?  
 The residents of Vraja were afloat in an ocean of haapiness.  
 Briefly have I told this story sweet.  
 Madanamohana was Sanātana's very life.

From other sources we learn the reason Kṛṣṇadāsa Kapūr was so humble and emotionally moved before Sanātana. He believed that his boat, burdened down with goods on the way to markets downstream, had been freed, through the blessings of Sanātana and his deity, from a sand bar in the Yamunā not far where Sanātana and Madanagopāla lived. Thus, he built a beautiful temple for Madanagopāla to show his gratitude. The red sandstone spire of that temple is still part of the skyline in modern Vrindaban, though the temple itself is now poorly maintained and practically abandoned. Sanātana's deity, Madanagopāla or Madanamohana, as he is also called, has been moved to a town in Rajasthan where it is part of a popular pilgrimage tour in which all three of the main deities of the Caitanya tradition (Madanagopāla, Gopīnātha, and Govinda) are viewed in one day.

Though the *Bhakti-ratnākara* of Narahari Cakravartin was written over a century and a half after the time of Sanātana's passing, it nevertheless includes many details about and portraits of Sanātana that are not found in any of the

earlier biographies. Though some of the stories have undoubtedly grown over time, one can still make out behind them the outlines of real, historical events and accounts that probably originated either with the Gosvāmin themselves or with their close circle of companions. Narahari's text has captured many of these and preserved them for us. In addition, it gives one a sense of the way in which the 18th century Vaiṣṇava community in Vṛndāvana looked back on that original circle of homeless, trail-blazing Gosvāmins and thus provides an important historical snapshot of the Caitanya tradition. Whatever the worth of the details it provides concerning the life of Sanātana, it is an important historical document in its own right.

## Other Sources on Sanātana

The first editor of the *Śrī Kṛṣṇa-līlā-stava*, Haridāsa Dāsa, uses another source on the life of Sanātana for his introduction to the text. He says in footnote that his account is based on an incomplete manuscript of a work entitled *Śrī Sanātana Gosvāmī o Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmīr Jīvanacarita* ("The Lives and Characters of Śrī Sanātana Gosvāmī and Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmī") in the Rādhādāmodara Library in Jayapur.<sup>99</sup> This must be a mistake. The Rādhādāmodara Library was located in Vrindaban and today most of its manuscripts are at the Vrindaban Research Institute.<sup>100</sup> There is a collection of manuscripts in the royal library of the kings of Jayapur among which are many rare manuscripts not found elsewhere. Perhaps this is the collection that Haridāsa Dāsa found the work in. He does not say what language the manuscript is in, but if the title reflects the language of the work, it appears to have been in Bengali. He gives no other identifying numbers or characteristics for the manuscript.

The picture Haridāsa's discovered text presents of Sanātana's life adds some new details and stories that have a folkloric flavor to them. They, thus, might not have any historical value to them at all. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to overlook this possibly important addition to our knowledge of the great Gosvāmin theologian. The presentation that follows is based on a loose translation of Haridāsa Dāsa's introduction the first part of which he says is a synopsis of his manuscript source:<sup>101</sup>

Sanātana's ancestor was a king of Karnataka by the name of Sarvajña, a brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja clan of the Yajurveda. His son was Aniruddha who had two sons: Rūpeśvara and Harihara. Harihara took the kingdom

<sup>99</sup>Haridāsa Dāsa, ed., *Śrī-śrī-kṛṣṇa-līlā-stavaḥ*, Avataraṇikā, p. i (fn.).

<sup>100</sup>If this text is in the Vrindaban Research Institute, I have not been able to find it in the catalogs I possess.

<sup>101</sup>ibid. My presentation covers pages i-xiv of Haridāsa's introduction.

from Rūpeśvara who was then forced to go to Nīlācala (now Orissa). Once there he became introduced to and established a friendship with Mahendrasimha, king of the land of Śikhara which was near Varddhamāna (now Burdwan). During his reign he moved there and became one of his ministers. Rūpeśvara's son Padmanābha was born there. Padmanābha married the daughter of Yadujīvana Tarkapañcānana, named Ramādevī. After the death of his father and father-in-law he left Śikhara and settled in the village of Navahaṭṭa (Naihati). There he fathered eighteen daughters and five sons, the youngest of whom was Mukunda. As an heir to his aged mother-in-law, Padmanābha moved, after a while, from Navahaṭṭa to Bāklācandradvīpa. Mukunda's son was Kumāradeva. He was married to Revatī, the daughter of Harinārāyaṇa Viśārada who belonged to the Kāśyapa clan and who lived in Moragrāma-Mādhāipura on the bank of the Mahānandā river on the northern edge of the city of Gauḍa. After his marriage Kumāradeva lived in his father-in-law's town. His three sons were Sanātana, Rūpa, and Anupama.<sup>102</sup>

This pretty much follows Jīva's account with some added details and motivations for the moves that Sanātana's family made. The author of the text next says that the city of Gauḍ in those days was the capital of Husein Shah, the king of Bengal. Learned people used to visit the city from many lands. It was thus that Sanātana and his brothers became well educated without too much difficulty. The names of their teachers is not mentioned.

An interesting story is given next that is meant to tell how Sanātana and his brother Rūpa became ministers of the King of Bengal. It contains the well-known master builder motif from folklore:

At the order of the Shah a royal architect named Piru Shah built a him beautiful palace by the side of his moted fort. When everything was complete except for the roof, Husein Shah came to see the work and in astonishment said: "Piru, this palace is beautifully constructed. It is way beyond my expectations." Piru replied that he could build palaces even more beautiful than that one. Hearing this the Shah became furious and ordered his body guard to throw Piru off the highest point of the palace. The fall killed him. Another day the Shah came back to the palace and, climbing on top, saw that the roof had not been completed. Thinking its completion extremely important he told a soldier who was standing near him named Hīṅgā: "Quickly go to Moragrāma Mādhāipura." Before he could tell him why he was sending him there the Shah's religious teacher (*mūrshīd*) arrived and called to him and the Shah and the *mūrshīd* became involved in discussion. Meanwhile, Hīṅgā took off for Mādhāipura without knowing the purpose for going there.

In the course of their discussion, the Shah asked the *mūrshīd*: "Hajrat! Tell me how long you think I will be King of Bengal." In response, the teacher who was the saint Fakir Sāhanyāmatullā Āli, said: "Dear Husain. As long

<sup>102</sup>Haridāsa Dāsa, introd., p. i.

as Sanātana and Rūpa remain as your ministers, you will remain in power. Later, after they meet with Caitanyaadeva, lose interest in the worldly affairs, and go somewhere else, the kingship will decline. They will make you prosper and in time they will be the cause of your downfall.” The Shah, hearing the words of the murshid, was curious to know who Rūpa and Sanātana were. He then remember that he had sent Hiṅgā to Mādhāipura without telling him why.

Meanwhile, Hiṅgā had gone to Mādhāipura and was wandering around here and there. Sanātana was sitting in his house discussing scripture with Rūpa when he noticed that there was a government employee wandering here and there in the street. At Sanātana’s request Rūpa learned the reason he was wandering about there and then again at Sanātana’s request asked him “Where was the King of Gauḍa when he instructed you to come here?” The soldier replied “After viewing the upper part of the palace he came down and ordered me to come here.” Rūpa asked: “Is there still some work to be done on the palace?” The soldier replied that everything is done except for the roof. Then Rūpa said: “ I understand. You should take from here some builders.” The king seeing Hiṅgā return with builders thought there certainly must be some secret to his doing this. After inquiring he learned that the soldier had acted on the advice of two brothers from Mādhāipura. The king was amazed at the two brothers’ ability of perception and began to think intently on what the murshid had said about Rūpa and Sanātana. Later, after the king sent a constable named Keśava Chatri to bring the two brothers back in a palanquin and he met them, he was extremely impressed with them and chose Sanātana to be his minister and Rūpa his vice-minister. He gave them the titles Dabir Khas and Sākar Mallik. They established a home near Gauḍa and called it Sākar Mallikpura. Over time it became known as Sākaramā. Sanātana’s house was called the Boḍo Bāḍī (Big House) and the pond he had dug was called Sanātana-sāgara (Sanātana’s Sea). Rūpa’s house was called Girddhābāḍī and his pond was called Rūpa-sāgara (Rūpa’s Sea).<sup>103</sup>

It is not clear if all of this is from the manuscript *Haridāsa Dāsa* used or if the last few sentences are *Haridāsa*’s own additions. It seems unlikely that the manuscript would have commented on house and lake names and the names of villages old and recent, but perhaps it did. From this description one gets the sense that Sanātana and Rūpa did not have a choice about working as ministers of the Nawab. They may have viewed it as an honor, however.

The next section indicates that the brothers were already developing the dispassion and sense of renunciation that the tradition has admired them for:

Once Sanātana lost his taste for worldly affairs and was feeling depressed. At that time Rūpa arrived and asked him why he was depressed. Sanātana

<sup>103</sup> *ibid.*, i-iii.

replied that involvement in worldly affairs made him weary. After that, following Rūpa's advice Sanātana established the image of Rādhāmadanamohana and in order to arouse his religious feelings constructed Rādhakuṇḍa (Rādhā's pond), Śyāmakuṇḍa (Kṛṣṇa's pond), and the ponds of the eight girlfriends of Rādhā. He then spent his time absorbed in worship and praise. On the outside he carried out his official duties and on the inside his mind was always suffused with the feelings of Vraja.<sup>104</sup>

We have heard about this construction of replicas of sites found in Vṛndāvana from the Narahari in his *Bhakti-ratnākara*. The same problem with anachronism that was discussed there applies here.

A new twist is given, in the next section, to the idea that Sanātana wrote to Mahāprabhu asking him for help before he met him. Here is what this text says:

One night in a dream Sanātana saw Śrī Gaurāṅga (Caitanya) who gave him an order: "Sanātana. Delay no longer. You two are *mañjarīs* of Vraja. You have descended into this human drama to help uplift the living beings. You two brothers should go quickly to Vraja and, by uncovering the lost sacred sites and writing books on *bhakti* to the lord, build a stairway to the sacred realm for living beings who have lost their way. " When Mahāprabhu had disappeared and Sanātana had awakened, his body was covered with the physical expressions of religious emotion (*sāttvika-vikāra*). At that moment Rūpa arrived and heard what had happened. The two brothers conferred with each other and decided to send letters of humble submission to Mahāprabhu in Navadvīpa asking him for release from the bondage of worldly existence.<sup>105</sup>

Such a dream is not mentioned in the earlier biographers. Only Sanātana's dream about a *brāhmaṇa* who presents him with a copy of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is mentioned by Jīva. It seems odd that such a dream as this would have escaped mention. This passage clearly captures the way the Caitanya tradition came to view Sanātana and his brother Rūpa within fifty years of their passing away, that is, as *mañjarīs*, part of the eternal companionship of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, who had come to earth to help Kṛṣṇa in his form as Caitanya achieve his goals.

The next section describes the meeting of Sanātana and Rūpa with Caitanya at Rāmakeli and the events that followed:

Mahāprabhu on the plea of going to Vṛndāvana went to Rāmakeli and spent some time at the base of the Keli-kadamba. This event is well known. Gradually the news of Gaurāṅga's coming reached the ears of Husien Shah. The Shah became familiar with who he was from Sanātana and established rules

<sup>104</sup>ibid., p. iii.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid., p. iii. Such letters are mentioned in a passage of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* translated earlier. See page ?

so that Mahāprabhu could operate freely in his land. Later, Rūpa and Sanātana in deep humility were brought to Mahāprabhu and he embraced them with deep affection. When they received the remnants of the food they offered to Gaurāṅga, Nītāi and the other bhaktas, they became overwhelmed with joy. This happened on the Saṅkrānti of Jyaiṣṭha (the last day of the Bengali month coinciding with May-June). Until the present, there is a festival held at Rāmakeli on that day.

After meeting with Gaurāṅga, Rūpa and Sanātana became even more disinterested in worldly affairs. The two brothers began to cry ceaselessly at the recollection of the qualities and beauty of Gaurāṅga. After hearing of Mahāprabhu's embarking on a journey to Vṛndāvana, they became even more unsettled. Rūpa, being the more unsettled by a desire to see Gaurāṅga, left his home with younger brother Anupama. They met with him in Prayāga at the Bindumādhava temple. Mahāprabhu graced them both with an affectionate embrace and asked them about Sanātana. He then infused Rūpa with power and asked him to go to Vṛndāvana.<sup>106</sup>

Haridāsa's text next expands a good deal on the next set of events, the period when Sanātana was by himself after his brothers left in pursuit of Mahāprabhu. It combines the story of Subuddhi Ray which in the earlier accounts had nothing to do with Sanātana's story<sup>107</sup> and expands on his period of neglecting his royal duties immediately before he was arrested by Husein Shah. Here is what follows:

After Rūpa and Anupama had left their home Sanātana became completely distracted and began to cry day and night repeatedly saying "O Gaurāṅga" and gradually he became lax in the execution of his official duties. Before Husein Shah became the king of Bengal Alauddin Hosein Shah was the king. Under his rule lived a landlord named Subuddhi Ray. Husein Khan (the future Nawab) of the Saiyada family then worked for him. Subuddhi Ray gave Husein the responsibility for digging a reservoir. Finding some fault in that Subuddhi Ray gave a hard lash with a whip to his thigh. Later, after Husein Shah became king his queen saw that mark and begged the king to take the life of Subuddhi Ray. When Husein Shah was not in the least inclined to take the life of Subuddhi Ray, the man who had once raised and nurtured him, the queen threatened to take her own life. Husein Shah thinking it a real emergency called Keśava Chatri and sent him to fetch Dabir Khas immediately.

It was the dark of night and on top of that there were dense clouds in the sky. Though following the path was very difficult, Keśava Chatri went to Sanātana's house at the king's order. Sanātana was alone, feeling despondent from being separated from Gaurāṅga. In addition to that the sudden

<sup>106</sup>ibid., p. iiiii.

<sup>107</sup>See the Cc. Madhya 25.139-59 for the story of Subuddhi Ray's losing his caste at the hands of the Nawab Husein Shah.

departure of his two brothers from home made him feel even more pained. At that time hearing the king's order, the poor man had no choice but to let himself be taken to the king's house in a palanquin. After hearing what the problem was, though Sanātana at first tried in many clever ways and with great coaxing to change the queen's mind, finally, being unable to do it he said: "Ruin his caste standing, then." Sanātana thought to himself that if one can at least protect a *brāhmaṇa*'s life, later he will be able to purify himself with expiatory rites. After giving the queen this kind of suggestion Sanātana returned to his house.

On the way back to his house Sanātana happened to overhear a conversation between a fakir and his wife living in a hut at the base of a tree. The wife asked the fakir: "Who is travelling on the path at this ungodly hour?" Later she said: "Perhaps it is a dog." The fakir replied: "Does he (a dog) have some need or necessity? He is lying down in the protection of some householder." The wife again asked: "Then who is travelling?" The fakir replied: "Some human who is under the control of someone else." Sanātana, hearing the words of the fakir and his wife, who live under a tree and by begging, began to condemn his own life and to praise the great fortune of Rūpa and Anupama. Again, uttering "Dear Gaura," he began to cry piteously. One minute he was silent and the next minute talkative; one minute he was ecstatic, the next minute drying, and then again screaming loudly. He said to his servant Īśāna: "Īśāna! Listen to that! The Master is calling: 'Sanātana, Sanātana!'" Īśāna with much consoling was able to bring him back to his senses a bit.<sup>108</sup>

Sanātana was probably somewhat emotionally unstable after meeting Caitanya and after the departure of his brothers in pursuit of him. It is hard to tell how much this text exaggerates his condition. He probably also felt some distress at not being his own man, that is, at being so dependent on the Nawab. Thus, there is probably a kernel of truth in this account.

The next passage tells of a mysterious letter that arrived for Sanātana, unsigned, but in handwriting Sanātana recognized as that of his brother Rūpa:

Sanātana's days and nights were passed in this way. At that time a person placed in his hands a letter. Seeing the handwriting he knew that this had been written by Rūpa. Some say that in the letter a verse was written:<sup>109</sup> "Where has the town of Mathurā of the Lord of the Yadus gone? Where has gone the Uttarakauśalā?" etc. In that Sanātana's quick renunciation of worldly affairs was indicated. In another's opinion Rūpa wrote eight characters:<sup>110</sup> śu, hi, rā, sū, ya, pā, ku, and kaṁ. The very perceptive Sanātana associated a name with each letter and drew this meaning out of

<sup>108</sup>Haridāsa Dāsa, pp iii-v.

<sup>109</sup>यदुपतेः क्व गता मथुरापुरी रघुपतेः क्व गतोत्तरकौशला ...

<sup>110</sup>शु हि रा सू य पा कु के

it: “Śumbha, a king of the Daityas, Hiranyakaśipu, another powerful king of Daityas, Rāvaṇa, the king of Laṅka (Srilanka), the kings of the lineage of the sun (*sūrya*), the kings of the lineage of Yadu, the Pāṇḍavas, the lord of the Kurus (Duryodhana), and Kaṁsa. Once the earth used to tremble at the power of each of these, but now where are they? Therefore, your quickly renouncing worldly affairs is desirable.”

After reading the letter, Sanātana’s mental anguish became even greater and gradually indifference spread its influence over him. Sanātana decided to renounce worldly affairs and stopped attending the royal assembly. Instead he remained at home and spent his time discussing the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* with devotees of Kṛṣṇa. Seeing his minister absent for three days, the king sent a guard to check up on him. Sanātana told him that he was ill. Hearing about Sanātana’s illness from the guard, the king sent his royal physician to him. The physician found Sanātana healthy and engaged in discussion of the *Bhāgavata* and after asking him found out that Sanātana will no longer be able to perform his official duties and that someone else should be appointed to act as minister for the king. Hearing this from his physician the king went himself and met with Sanātana. He said to him: “Dabir Khās, your three day absence has greatly disrupted the affairs of state. Therefore, quickly go and get matters straightened out.” Sanātana made his own intentions known. When Sanātana rejected the king’s repeated entreaties, the king became angry and said: “Your brother Rūpa, Śākar Mallik, had ruined my country and, becoming a Darvesh, has run off. That is also your desire.” Saying this he made Sanātana a prisoner and engaged a landlord named Sheik Habu as his guard.

When Sanātana was arrested Purandara Basu succeeded him in the post of minister. Puarandara Basu was by nature cruel, fond of harming others, and easily bribed. He had a bad reputation as an oppressor of the citizens. Purandara Basu’s younger brother Śrīkānta collected tax from Orissa and sent it to Gauḍa. At this time news arrived that due to his misbehavior the citizens refused to pay their taxes and instead drove him away. The Lord of Gauḍa (Husein Shah) became angry when he heard this and gave orders for the army to be readied. At night when he asked for the queen’s consent for him to go to Orissa she suggested he consult with Sanātana first. The king immediately went to where he was imprisoned and consulted with him. Sanātana argued that at the present moment it was better to refrain from battle. The king, at Sanātana’s advice, was dissuaded from fighting, but the next day in the morning at the encouragement of the evil-minded Purandara he left for battle.<sup>111</sup>

This passage covers the same ground that Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja does in his *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (2.19.2-34). The order of events here is much more logical, however. There the letter arrives after Sanātana is made a prisoner. Here, it

<sup>111</sup>ibid., pp. v-vii.



is the catalyst in his final choice to leave the service of the Nawab. There Rūpa writes it as he and his brother are about to take off in pursuit of Caitanya. Here, it arrives after Rūpa and Anupama have left. The content of the letter also differs. In the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, the letter informs Sanātana that Mahāprabhu is on his way to Vṛndāvana and that Rūpa and Anupama are going to meet him. Rūpa also encourages Sanātana to get away as quickly as he can and tells him of some money that he deposited for him in case he needs it. In Haridāsa's source, Rūpa seems to doubt whether Sanātana will indeed leave behind his worldly life and follow Caitanya. Both versions of Rūpa's letter, the Sanskrit verse and the eight Sanskrit characters, carry the message that political power and royal opulence are fleeting and impermanent. Better for one to pursue the eternal good.

This passage also takes a rather interesting position on that mysterious reference in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* to Sanātana's elder brother. Here the Nawab's comment is presented as referring not to an elder brother, but to Rūpa whose departure from the Nawab's service has upset the efficient rule of the kingdom. Suspecting Sanātana of preparing to run away too, the Nawab has him imprisoned. Again this is a much more logical chain of events. Unfortunately, we have no other way of ascertaining the authority of Haridāsa's source at the present. Mentions of Purandara Basu is not found in any of the other accounts.

The next part of the story largely agrees with Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's account, except perhaps in some small details. Sanātana gains his freedom by reasoning with and then bribing his guard. He, with his servant Iśāna, then crosses the Ganges and travels into the mountainous region of the Bhumīyās where a local astrologer discovers through his art that they have eight gold coins. He tells his comrades to show the strangers hospitality and then at night take the money and kill them. Sanātana suspects something is up and asks Iśāna if he has anything valuable with him. Iśāna admits to having seven gold coins. Sanātana takes them from his servant and offers them to his hosts. They spare their guests' lives and help them find the road to Vāṇārasī. Sanātana still suspicious asks his servant if he has anything else valuable. Iśāna tells him about the last coin and Sanātana sends him home, proceeding on by himself. Sanātana's feet begin to bleed from the rugged paths, but he is lost in thought of Mahāprabhu and thus he ignores it and presses on.

After about ten days Sanātana reaches a village called Hājipura where he spends the night under a tamāla tree. There someone named Śrīkānta Sena, who is the husband of Sanātana's sister, meets him. This is the first women mentioned in Haridāsa's text, except for the queen. The text suggests that she was not a real sister of Sanātana, but a sister by being from the same village.<sup>112</sup> Śrīkānta hears someone singing in Bengali in the middle of the night and goes to see who it

<sup>112</sup>ibid., p. viii, *grāmya-sambandhe bhagnīpati*.

was. He is startled to find Sanātana there covered from head to foot with grime from the road. Sanātana tells him his story, but refuses to accept his relative's invitation for him to stay at his house. Later Śrīkānta brings him the famous Tibetan blanket and Sanātana, taking the blanket heads out for Varanasi.

Once in Varanasi, Sanātana discovers that Mahāprabhu is there and goes in great exaltation to the house of Candraśekhara, the place where Mahāprabhu is staying, and he sits at the outer door. Mahāprabhu knows Sanātana has come and sends Candraśekhara out to bring in a Vaiṣṇava who is at the door. Candraśekhara goes and checks, but does not see any Vaiṣṇava there. There is just some tattered darvesh there. When he reports this to Caitanya, Caitanya sends him back out to bring in that darvesh. That is Sanātana, of course. Mahāprabhu runs up to Sanātana when he sees him coming and embraces him warmly, overcoming all of Sanātana's efforts to keep from soiling the saint. They converse for a while about Mahāprabhu's prior meeting with Sanātana's brothers and then Sanātana, at a hint from his master, goes off to shave and bathe in the Ganges. He asks for some old clothes from another disciple of Mahāprabhu named Tapanā Miśra. When Mahāprabhu sees Sanātana next he has become "civilized" again, but is still wearing that valuable Tibetan blanket given to him by his brother-in-law. Sanātana notices Mahāprabhu's repeated disapproving glances at it and understands his concern. He goes off and exchanges it for an old outer cloth belonging to a poor Bengali man. He returns to Tapanā Miśra's in time to receive the remnants of Mahāprabhu's meal and because Sanātana, the text tells us, received his remnants he was freed from the flames of his belly (that is, from hunger) forever.<sup>113</sup>

The next section is also very similar to Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's account. Mahāprabhu while in Varanasi converts a famous renunciant, Prakāśānanda Sarasvatī, from his monistic Advaita beliefs to Vaiṣṇavism and is praised by the residents of the holy town. Sanātana is extremely pleased to see this. Over the two months that they are together there, Mahāprabhu teaches Sanātana about the true natures of the living being, of god, of *bhakti*, of divine love, and of many other things. He then infuses Sanātana with power and orders him to write a text on ritual practice for Vaiṣṇavas, giving him in brief an outline for it. After infusing him with all powers, Mahāprabhu instructs him to go the Vṛndāvana to rediscover lost sites there and write works on *bhakti*. Taking that instruction to heart Sanātana goes to Vṛndāvana by way of Prayāga and Agra. After staying there for a while he starts a journey to Nīlācala (Jagannātha Purī) out of a strong desire to see Mahāprabhu again. On the way through the Jhārikhaṇḍa he drinks some bad water and sores develop on his body. He becomes determined to end his life by throwing himself under the wheels of the chariot of Jagannātha at the next Jagannātha Car Festival. He arrives in Nīlācala and finds his way to the dwelling

<sup>113</sup>Summary of Haridāsa Dāsa pp. vii-ix.

of Haridāsa Ṭhākura. Mahāprabhu finds him there and again embraces him, in spite of Sanātana's efforts to prevent him. Thinking himself low born and an associate of the low, he never goes even close to the Jagannātha temple in Purī. Mahāprabhu knows of Sanātana's desire to commit sacred suicide and stops him from doing it, accepting Sanātana's body as his own. In the heat of the month of Jyaiṣṭha, at noon, Sanātana walks from Yameśvara Ṭoṭā in the burning sand to meet Mahāprabhu. Mahāprabhu, after hearing his humble reasons, is pleased and embraces him causing his body to be cured of the running sores. Having all of his followers bless him, Mahāprabhu sends Sanātana to Vṛndāvana.<sup>114</sup>

Haridāsa Dāsa's source concludes with some stories about Sanātana's life in Vṛndāvana. Though probably low on the scale of historical authenticity, they represent a body of lore that grew up around him and his brother Rūpa and shaped the way the later tradition came to view them and the work Caitanya appointed them to do. Here fore instance is an account of how Sanātana rediscovered the lost sites of Kṛṣṇa's childhood sports:

Once when he was circumambulating the holy land, Sanātana met with Rūpa who happened to be sitting at the base of the Vaṁśīvaṭa tree. Rūpa was absorbed in writing nine stanzas glorifying Vṛndāvana. Reciting the first verse: *mukunda-muralīraṇa-śravaṇa-phulla-hṛd-vallavī*, "heart-vine made to blossom by hearing the sound of Mukunda's flute,"<sup>115</sup> Sanātana began to thank Rūpa hundreds of times.<sup>116</sup>

Sanātana seeing Rūpa absorbed in composition and hearing what he was composing realized that the tree under which Rūpa was sitting was the Vaṁśīvaṭa, the banyan tree under which Kṛṣṇa used to play his flute. The sounds of Kṛṣṇa's playing drew the cowherd women out into the forest at night to dance and sport with him. Here we have two validations; Rūpa's poetry as inspired poetry and the place under whose influence he was inspired as the place where Kṛṣṇa sported. Other sites were discovered and validated in similar ways:

Later, he went to the Śṛṅgāra-vaṭa and, worrying about how he was going to rediscover the holy sites as Mahāprabhu instructed him to, he laid down. In a dream someone said: "Sanātana, don't worry about rediscovering the lost sites. I will do my own work — you are just my instrument." After that, in a systematic way he located the twelve forests, headed by Madhu-vana; he then discovered Nikuṅja-vana, Nidhu-vana, Brahma-kuṇḍa, Veṇu-kuṇḍa, Dāvānala-kuṇḍa and so forth. Gradually all of the holy sites in the 84 *krośa* [*krośa* = a little more than two miles] area were revealed.

<sup>114</sup>Summary of Haridāsa Dāsa pp. ix-x.

<sup>115</sup>Rūpa, *Vṛndāvanāṣṭaka*, stanza 1, first quarter.

<sup>116</sup>Haridāsa Dāsa, p. x.

Sanātana happily ate fruit, roots, leafy vegetables and such when they were available. Occasionally he would go begging at the house of a *brāhmaṇa*. Meeting his physical needs in these ways, he used to practice silence and constant meditative worship (*bhajana*) at a place called Madanaṭera on the bank of the Yamunā River in Vṛndāvana.<sup>117</sup>

Thus, all of the sites were revealed by Kṛṣṇa himself through Sanātana. This, then, clearly establishes their authenticity for the tradition.

The next story is about a visit of the great Mogul emperor, Akbar, to Vṛndāvana. As far as I know, there is no evidence from any other source that the Akbar made such a visit. Nevertheless, this story establishes a kind of comparative recognition between the Gosvāmins and the most powerful seat of political power in North India at the time and naturally the Gosvāmins are the victors:

It is said that the Lord of Delhi, Akbar Shah, became enthralled on hearing of the great qualities of Rūpa and Sanātana and after, with many preparations, setting up a camp near Madanaṭera paid a visit there. In the morning, he went to see Sanātana and even after he made many requests and submissions, Sanātana did not break his vow of silence. Later, at the king's repeated request for him to accept some sort of gift, Sanātana by gesture indicated that his little hut was nearly broken by the waves of the Yamunā and that if he fixed it he (Sanātana) would be happy. Rūpa took the king with him and showed him the place that Sanātana meant. The king for a while saw that the steps of the bathing place leading into the Yamunā were inlaid with bunches of touch-jewels. The king was speechless and merely stared. A little while later, however, he was no longer able to see those jewels. Then he realized that Sanātana in possession of unmatched opulence. After that, the king offered many praises and obeisances to Sanātana and, admitting that he was unable to accomplish what Sanātana requested, returned to Dehli.<sup>118</sup>

On another occasion Sanātana doubts the correctness of one of Rūpa's poetic descriptions:

Śrī Rūpa in his hymn of praise called the *Cāṭu-puṣpāñjali* (Flower-offering of Pleasant Speech) compares the braid of Rādhā's hair to the "hood of a female cobra" (*veṇī-vyālāṅganā-phaṇām*).<sup>119</sup> Sanātana, seeing Rādhā's braid compared to a female snake, was extremely saddened. Once when Sanātana was visiting Rādhākuṇḍa he went to see a bower called Madanāṇḍolana (Swing of Love) on its southeast side. At that time he saw that Śrīmatī Rādhā was swinging in a swing that was hanging from a black mango tree. He braid was swinging behind her back and it looked exactly like a female serpent.

<sup>117</sup>Haridāsa Dāsa, p. x.

<sup>118</sup>ibid., pp. x-xi.

<sup>119</sup>Rūpa, *Cāṭu-puṣpāñjali*, stanza 1.

Seeing that braid-serpent, Sanātana was filled with love and with his body covered with ecstatic symptoms he fell to the ground and began to rolling about. He began to praise highly Rūpa's poetic ability.<sup>120</sup>

Here Rūpa's poetic descriptions are valorized and Sanātana learns to trust his brother's vision.

Another story is given in which Sanātana learns another important lesson about the nature of *bhakti* as experienced in Vraja:

Sanātana, going from Vṛndāvana to Mathurā everyday to beg for food, used to go to the house of a Caube.<sup>121</sup> That Mathurā Caube's wife was unequalled in feelings of parental affection for Kṛṣṇa. Attracted by her feelings of parental love Kṛṣṇa used to play with her five year old son and both used to call her "mother." One day the two boys were playing when Sanātana arrived for alms. Being introduced to Kṛṣṇa in the form of a boy, Sanātana asked him: "Whose child are you?" The answer was: "Gosvāmī! I am the boy of a resident of Vraja. My name is Madanamohana. This building in front of us is our house." Sanātana went into the Caube house and saw that the wife was cooking. She was brushing her teeth with a stick and then using that stick to stir the food. Seeing this unscriptural behavior he was astounded. He asked her: "Vraja-mother! Who are you cooking for?" She replied: "I have two sons. I am preparing their food." Sanātana thought to himself: "I this matter certainly she is committing an offence, therefore I will teach her the correct way." Thinking this, he said: "Mother! Beginning from tomorrow prepare food for the two boys in a pure state, after taking your bath and so forth."

The next day after completing all of her morning ablutions, afternoon arrived while she was still cooking. Madanamohana, tortured by hunger, told Sanātana: "Gosvāmī, why have you made us starve by instructing my mother to do the rites of purity? I am nourished by the remnants of the people of Vraja. Don't you know that?" Sanātana was speechless at the words of Madanamohana and considered himself an offensive busy-body. He went to the woman and said: "Mother, you should cook for and feed the two boys according to your desire, the way you were before. It is not necessary for you to bathe and so forth." Saying that Sanātana started back home.<sup>122</sup>

According to this story, Sanātana learns that the practices of *sadācāra* or the maintaining of proper ritual purity through bathing and wearing only freshly cleaned clothes takes a back seat to one's emotional involvement with Kṛṣṇa. The woman was feeding Kṛṣṇa out of love and wanted to place his satisfaction over the performance of her daily rites. It is not clear how or when Sanātana recognized the boy as Kṛṣṇa.

<sup>120</sup>Haridāsa Dāsa, p. xi.

<sup>121</sup>A class of North Indian *brāhmaṇa* descended from those versed in all four of the Veda.

<sup>122</sup>ibid., pp xi-xii.

The story then morphs into an account of Sanātana's establishment of the worship his image of Kṛṣṇa, Madanamohana, and the way in which a temple for that worship was built:

On the path, Madanamohana said to Sanātana: "Gosvāmī! I want to go with you." Sanātana replied: "Please forgive my rudeness. I cannot take you with me. When Mother Yaśodā was not able to satisfy you with the milk, curds, butter and so forth of nine hundred thousand cows, how will I, who am lowly and poor, who reside under a tree and live by begging from door to door, be able to serve you properly? After saying this Sanātana continued on to Vṛndāvana.

Meanwhile, Madanamohana told the Caube woman in a dream: "Mother! Tomorrow I will go to Vṛndāvana with that Gosvāmī who comes for alms." Hearing that the woman became upset and began to cry. The next day when Sanātana came for alms Madanamohan went with him to Vṛndāvana and said: "Gosvāmī, I will stay near you in the form of an image. Whatever you give me to eat I will be happy with." Sanātana, having no other choice, accepted and placed him in a nearby bower formed by vines of the mālātī flower. He began to feed him every day with whatever he received. One day when he gave him forest spinach with no salt, Madanamohana said: "Gosvāmī, how can I eat this without a little salt?" Sanātana replied: "I said before, didn't I, that I will not be able to tolerate your pestering. I am a forest dweller. Where will I find salt? Tell me." Then Madanamohana said: "With your consent I will acquire my own necessary supplies."

When Sanātana agreed, an extraordinary event took place. A merchant from Multan was traveling to Mathurā by boat with very valuable goods. His eleven boats became stuck on a sand bar near Madanaṭera. When all efforts to free them failed, the merchant considered it a huge calamity. Meanwhile, Madanamohana in the form of a young boy called to out to the merchant: "In this Madanaṭera is Sanātana Gosvāmin. By his merciful glance your boats will be freed." Saying this the boy vanished. When the merchant went to Sanātana and made all sorts of submissions, Sanātana said: "Inside this mādhavī bower is that boy. In order to have a temple built and service established he has created this intrigue." As soon as the merchant determined in his mind that he will give money and all the surplus profits from his business transaction to Madanamohana, his boats were freed. Needless to say that merchant obtained an even greater amount of wealth in that transaction and with that money built a temple and established service, keeping his promise.<sup>123</sup>

Thus it was that the Madanamohana temple was built according to Haridāsa's source.

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<sup>123</sup>ibid., pp. xii-xiii.

The text tells one more story about Sanātana underlining his complete disinterest in worldly wealth and emphasizing the great value of the *bhakti* for Kṛṣṇa he was cultivating:

A poor *brāhmaṇa* from Birbhum (West Bengal), encumbered with debt, began to worship Śiva in Kāśī (Varanasi). One day there was divine voice that said: “Brāhmaṇa! Go quickly to Sanātana Gosvāmin in Vṛndāvana. There, you will achieve everything.” The *brāhmaṇa* hearing that voice went to Vṛndāvana and, visiting Sanātana, made the subject of his prayers known to him. Sanātana said: “Brother. The only possessions I have are a cotton cloth with a hundred patches and a waterpot. Where will I get money?” The *brāhmaṇa* hearing Sanātana’s statement and seeing his poverty-stricken condition slapped his hand to his head and began to cry. At this, Sanātana thought for a moment and said: “Look, many days ago while I was bathing in the Yamunā I found a touch-stone. I hid it in a certain place burying it with sand.” Saying this, he went with that *brāhmaṇa* to that place pointed it out to him. The *brāhmaṇa* found the touch-stone and in great joy started on his journey home. Sanātana’s attitude, however, exerted such an influence over him that he began to think that there must be an even more valuable gem in the Gosvāmin’s possession. Thinking about that over and over, the *brāhmaṇa* returned to Sanātana and asked him for that better gem. When, at Sanātana’s hint, he threw that touch-stone in the water of the Yamunā, Sanātana gave him instruction and made him one of his own.

Without knowing more about the text that Haridāsa Dāsa used it is hard to judge its authenticity. What language is it in? Who was the author? When is it likely to have been written? We know the answers to none of these questions. Perhaps the text is still present in one of the manuscript collections in Vrindaban or Jaipur. If so, we may know more about it in the future. For now, one can only speak on the basis of Haridāsa’s synopsis, and that too without knowing how much Haridāsa might have left out of it or added into it of his own. There are certainly some places where the voice seems to be clearly Haridāsa’s. Nevertheless, the text does add some details to our knowledge of Sanātana’s life, especially in relation to his early life. After Sanātana settles in Vṛndāvana it turns into more of a hagiography than a biography. Interestingly, there is no mention of any woman in Sanātana’s life. This is very strange. As an educated, upperclass *brāhmaṇa* it is inconceivable that he was not married and that he had no children. That part of his life seems to have been erased from the record, not only in this text, but in all the texts that have a bearing on Sanātana’s life.

## Summary

Sanātana was born in a village called Vākalā Candradvīpa in what is now Bangla Desh. He appears to have come from a highly respected family of Karnatak *brāhmaṇa* who moved from Karnatak through various intermediary places in Orissa to Bengal in the 14th and 15th centuries. His earliest ancestor was named Sarvajña and belonged to the Bhāradvāja lineage (*gotra*). That ancestor has not been identified yet with any known figure in the history of Karnatak. As a boy Sanātana had a dream in which he saw a *brāhmaṇa* who gave him a copy of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The next day he met the *brāhmaṇa* that he saw in his dream and indeed was given a copy of the *Purāṇa*. From that time forth he became an ardent student of the holy book and a devotee of Kṛṣṇa, the deity described therein.

Sanātana appears to have been well educated, studying with some of the leading scholars of his time: Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma (Neo-logician and Vedāntin), Viṣṇudāsa Bhaṭṭācārya (Vāsudeva's brother), Vidyābhūṣaṇa (?), Paramānanda Bhaṭṭācārya (possibly the author of a major commentary on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, *The Light on Poetry*), Rāmabhadra (?), and Vāṇīvilāsa (?). His education also included learning Arabic and Persian which became useful to him in his later work career as a minister of the king of Gauḍa's government. Though none of the major texts mention it, as a high caste *brāhmaṇa* who followed brāhmanical codes of conduct he was probably married and may have had children. As an adult, he was employed as a minister/personal secretary of the Nawab Husein Shah who was then the ruler of Bengal, a fact that cast his caste status into question.

Sometime between 1510 and 1515 CE Sanātana wrote several letters to Mahāprabhu, who was then living in the temple town of Purī in the neighboring kingdom of Orissa, asking the saint to "save" him. When Caitanya stopped at the town of Rāmakeli in 1515 on his way to visit the pilgrimage site Vṛndāvana in North India, Sanātana and his two younger brothers, Rūpa and Vallabha, secretly met with him, and were deeply impressed with Caitanya. They soon made plans to leave their posts and their homes to follow the saint. Sanātana was imprisoned by the Nawab for not appearing in court to perform his official duties, but managed to bribe his guard for his freedom. He traveled incognito to the Hindu holy town of Vārāṇasī where he met and stayed with Caitanya for two months, receiving encouragement and guidance from him. Caitanya then sent him on to Vṛndāvana to write books and "rediscover" the sacred places in which Kṛṣṇa performed his divine sports. Except for a one year stay in Purī, where he regularly associated with Caitanya, Sanātana spent the rest of his life in Vṛndāvana, writing, reading the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, identifying the sacred sites of Kṛṣṇa's live there, and establishing a temple of Kṛṣṇa.

Mahāprabhu encouraged Sanātana and his brother Rūpa, who were the cen-



tral pillars of the Vṛndāvana circle and who were already learned men before they met him, to create a body of writings in Sanskrit. Those writings were to become the foundation of the Caitanya tradition's rich theological and devotional literature. The text translated here may have been the first of that flood of writings. As such it can be regarded as an early, tentative exploration of some of the directions later developed more fully in the body of the writings produced by that extraordinary fellowship. The Vṛndāvana circle included Sanātana's younger brother Rūpa, an excellent poet and a connoisseur of *rasa*, his nephew Jīva, an outstanding theologian and philosopher, a South Indian convert by the name of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, who helped develop the ritual dimensions of the tradition, a Bengali Vaiśya named Raghunātha Dāsa, who wrote emotionally charged hymns and poetry about Kṛṣṇa and Mahāprabhu, and, finally, Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, who didn't leave any writings, but who was said to have been an excellent reciter and expounder of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Some of Sanātana's works may have been among the first written in Sanskrit by any of the followers of Caitanya.



## Chapter 3

# Sanātana's Works

### Sanātana's Corpus of Works

Apart from the commentary on Kālidāsa's *Megha-dūta*, which may or may not be his, Sanātana wrote five works according to his nephew Jīva Gosvāmin:<sup>1</sup> the *Kṛṣṇa-līlā-stava* (Praise of the Divine Sport of Kṛṣṇa), the work translated here and perhaps his earliest, the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* (Pleasures of Devotion to Hari), which is a work on ritual, the *Bṛhad-vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* (the Large Pleaser of the Devotees of Viṣṇu),<sup>2</sup> which is an extensive commentary on the Tenth Canto of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, and his masterpiece, the *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta* (The Larger Ambrosia of Devotion to the Lord),<sup>3</sup> a narrative work written on the model of a *Purāṇa* in which he illustrates the core teachings of the scriptures on *bhakti*. Sanātana also wrote commentaries on the *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta* and on the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*.

The *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta* is a large work in two parts that are almost like two separate works. The first of those parts, called "Determination of the Mercy of

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<sup>1</sup>In concluding portion of Jīva's *Laghu-vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*, an abridgment of Sanātana's *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*:

अथाग्रजकृतेष्वग्रं श्रीलभागवतामृतम्  
हरिभक्तिविलासश्च तट्टीका दिक्प्रदर्शनी ।  
लीलास्तवष्टिप्पनी च सेयं वैष्णवतोषणी  
या संक्षिप्ता मया क्षुद्र जीवेनापि तदाज्ञया ॥

<sup>2</sup>The adjective 'large' in the title is to distinguish this work from the shorter work of his nephew.

<sup>3</sup>'Large' is again used to distinguish it from another work by his younger brother, Rūpa, called the *Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta* (The Short Ambrosia of Devotion to the Lord).

the Lord" (*Bhagavat-kṛpā-nirdhāra*), appears to have been written while Mahāprabhu was still alive, that is, before 1533 C.E., because in the third stanza Sanātana uses the Sanskrit pronoun *eṣaḥ* (this one) to describe Mahāprabhu. In his own commentary on that stanza he says that that word was used to indicate that the author personally met Mahāprabhu and that he was still alive at the time of the writing of that work. This means that it was written sometime before 1533 C.E. There is no reason to believe that both parts of the work were written at the same time, however, as there seems to be very little connection between them. The second part, called "Sketch of the Greatness of Goloka" (*Goloka-māhātmya-nirūpaṇa*), may have been written after Mahāprabhu's death. The *Bṛhad-vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* is dated by Sanātana's nephew, Jīva to 1554 C.E. in the final portion of his *Laghu-vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*.<sup>4</sup> This would make it Sanātana's last work, as he is thought to have died shortly thereafter. Apart from this there are a few stray verses and short hymns that appear to be the work of Sanātana. A couple of Sanātana's verses are found in Rūpa's collection of Vaiṣṇava verses called the *Padyāvalī* (233-234) identified as those of Prabhupāda. Another verse is given in Rūpa's *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* (1.3.35) also as that of Prabhupāda. There are, in addition, twelve Sanskrit poems identified as the works of Sanātana Gosvāmin in Rādhāmohana Ṭākura's collection of Vaiṣṇava songs, the *Śrīpadāmṛtasamudra*, which was compiled in the second half of the 18th century (3-5, 147, 167, 187, 640-42, 652-3, and 664).<sup>5</sup>

There is one major problem with this account of Sanātana's works. Jīva Gosvāmin credits his uncle with the authorship of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*. Unfortunately, every manuscript we have of that work gives Gopāla Bhaṭṭa as the author of the text.<sup>6</sup> Various scholars and members of the tradition have tried to resolve the problem in a number of ways. Some say that the text *was* written by Sanātana, but out of humility he put it in Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's name.<sup>7</sup> Some scholars have suggested, in a version of the first solution, that Sanātana was reluctant to put his name on a text like the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* which deals with ritual because of his own questionable caste status.<sup>8</sup> Others say that he put together an early, briefer version of the work and Gopāla Bhaṭṭa completed it.<sup>9</sup> Nareścandra Jānā claims in support of this last idea that there are manuscripts of a text in Sanātana's name called the *Laghu-hari-bhakti-vilāsa* in a number of regional manuscript collections. Haridāsa Dāsa puts it the other way. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa wrote the short version and Sanātana expanded it and added his own commentary to create the expanded

<sup>4</sup>Jānā, pp. 78-9.

<sup>5</sup>See the Appendix for the texts and translations of these stray verses and poems of Sanātana.

<sup>6</sup>See Nareścandra Jānā's discussion of the problem in his *Vṛndāvanera Chaya Gosvāmī*, pp. 74-77.

<sup>7</sup>Narahari Cakravartin, *Bhakti-ratnākara*, 1.197-8.

<sup>8</sup>Dīnēścandra Sen and others. See Jānā, pp. 74-5.

<sup>9</sup>Manohara Dāsa, *Anurāgavallī*, First Mañjarī.

version.<sup>10</sup> Of the possible ways to resolve this problem, the idea that Sanātana wrote a short version of the text that was later expanded by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa may be the most likely.<sup>11</sup> There is some evidence to suggest that Sanātana did a similar thing with the Vaiṣṇava grammar completed by Jīva Gosvāmin called the *Hari-nāmāmṛta-vyākaraṇa* (Grammar of the Nectar of the Names of Hari). He may have written an early, short version of the grammar that Jīva later expanded into its current shape and size.<sup>12</sup> In the Vṛndāvana circle, therefore, Sanātana seems to have been the “pointer of the way” or *digdarśin*. His younger brother Rūpa, his nephew Jīva, and friends Gopāla Bhaṭṭa and Raghunātha Dāsa traveled more fully down some of the paths he pointed out.

## Śrī Kṛṣṇa-līlā-stava

Sanātana Gosvāmin’s *Kṛṣṇa-līlā-stava* is by far the shortest of his works. It consists of 432 stanzas, mostly of the type called *śloka* or *anuṣṭubh*. The *śloka* has thirty-two syllables divided into four similar quarters of eight syllables each and is relatively easy to compose. The rules for where long and short syllables can be placed in the *śloka* are fairly brief. The rules for the *śloka* require that the fifth syllable of each quarter be short, the sixth long, and the seventh alternately long and short. This is the most common form of stanza in Sanskrit prosody. There are less than a dozen stanzas in the work in longer meters and those usually occur at particularly poignant junctures, such as when the most important forms of Kṛṣṇa are described, for instance (as in 28 and 30-32, which describe the Man-lion descent (Nṛsiṃha), the Rāma descent and Kṛṣṇa’s descent in his own form). The *Stava* then with 432 stanzas is shorter than the *Bhagavad-gītā* which has nearly 700 stanzas. Sanātana’s major verse composition, the *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta*, is about six times as long. His other works were commentaries and thus were written in prose. The *Stava*’s relative brevity makes it easier to memorize and also easier to recite on a daily basis.

Sanātana’s *Stava* is a rather unusual text. It is essentially a series of names for Kṛṣṇa based on Kṛṣṇa’s birth and early deeds as narrated in the first forty-five chapters of the Tenth Canto of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Almost every name is in the vocative case, though occasionally the dative and rarely the accusative is used. The vocative case, of course, is the form a word takes in Sanskrit when it is used to call to or address someone. Thus, most of the names of Kṛṣṇa out of which Sanātana composed his book consist of calls to Kṛṣṇa. Those portions are often

<sup>10</sup>Haridāsa Dāsa, introd., p.xiv.

<sup>11</sup>Jānā, p. 75.

<sup>12</sup>This idea comes from Harekṛṣṇa Ācārya, one of the two commentators on the grammar. An abbreviated version of the grammar, called the *Samkṣepa-hari-nāmāmṛta-vyākaraṇa*, was published in an appendix of Purīdāsa’s fine edition of the *Hari-nāmāmṛta-vyākaraṇa*.

joined with some form of the plea or request such as “please protect me, please save me.” The whole text, then, is in the form of a series of calls to Kṛṣṇa and requests for his protection. When he uses the dative, which indicates an indirect object or one to whom something is given or offered, Sanātana intends us to understand that he is offering himself by means of offering obeisance or homage to Kṛṣṇa. The accusative case has a similar meaning when joined with certain verbs, such as  $\sqrt{vand}$  (to pay homage to) or  $\sqrt{stu}$  (to praise), etc. Sanātana's text thus needs and indeed has very few verbs in it. The text is primarily a performative text, its recital or reading aloud is meant to be a ritual performance that combines glorification of (*saṃkīrtana*), calling out to, offering respect or homage to, asking for protection from, and, at the same time, recollection of the deeds of Kṛṣṇa. It thus operates on a number of levels and combines a number of religious practices. The performative nature of this text augmented by its being punctuated one hundred and eight times (one hundred and eight is a sacred number in the Hindu tradition) with a pause in which the reciter is expected to offer obeisance to Kṛṣṇa in some physical way, that is, in one of the traditional forms of prostration, ranging from a folding of hands and nod of the head to stretching oneself out full length on the ground. The text facilitates religious practice or *sādhana* which is meant to help the members of the tradition cultivate a sense of humility before Kṛṣṇa, a feeling of dependence on and trust in him, and a strong attraction for his loving nature as disclosed in his relationships with those who lived him in Vraja.

Beyond the formal and practical dimensions of the text, since each name embodies an event or trait disclosed in Kṛṣṇa's early life, it is useful tool for remembering (*smaraṇa*) the divine acts and qualities of Kṛṣṇa. Remembering Kṛṣṇa always and never forgetting him is one of the fundamental principles of Vaiṣṇava practice.<sup>13</sup> The text is thus an aid to meditation, reminding the reader, or rather reciter, constantly of Kṛṣṇa's names, qualities, forms, and acts. Sanātana's *Stava*, thus, may have been an early predecessor of the more elaborate practices of remembering involving visualization that developed among the members of the next generation of the Caitanya tradition, referred to as “remembering the sport of the eight periods (of the day and night)” (*aṣṭa-kālīya-līlā-smaraṇa*). Those later works, however, follow Kṛṣṇa's acts only through a single day and night. Such constant remembering came to be considered conducive to the experience of *bhakti-rasa* or sacred rapture. Sacred rapture, as mentioned before, is a powerful

<sup>13</sup>The Padma Purāṇa is often quoted on this point. पद्मपुराणे:

स्मर्तव्यः सततं विष्णुर्विस्मर्तव्यो न जातुचित्।

सर्वे विधिनिषेधाः स्युरेतयोरेव किङ्कराः ॥

Viṣṇu is to be remembered always and never forgotten. All injunctions and prohibitions are the servants of these two.

religious experience occurring in *bhaktas* that has been described in great detail by Sanātana's younger brother, Rūpa Gosvāmin. Based on the religious ecstasies of Mahāprabhu, Rūpa has borrowed some of the terminology and theory from the discussion of the aesthetic experience (*rasa*) in Sanskrit literary criticism, and applying it to the context of religious belief, practice and literature, created a framework within which religious experiences that are overpoweringly emotional can be understood and reduplicated.

As mentioned earlier, this text was probably Sanātana's first work as a disciple of Caitanya. The reason for thinking this is that towards the end of the text Sanātana wonders whether Caitanya will ever remember him again (406):

O Great ocean of the ambrosia of love  
for the lotus-like feet of Śrī Kṛṣṇa,  
my obeisance be unto you.  
Will you ever remember me,  
who am low even among the low?

The feelings of humility and separation expressed here and the idea that Mahāprabhu was still capable of remembering him at the time the stanza was written suggests that Sanātana wrote it while Mahāprabhu was still living in Purī. As suggested earlier, Sanātana probably wrote this work a year or two after beginning his permanent residence in Vṛndāvana, relatively soon after his one year stay with Mahāprabhu in Purī. I described this work previously as a transitional text, a text written to ease Sanātana's transition from his former life to his new life as a homeless wanderer in wilds of the land of Vraja. One senses in the text a kind of existential immediacy. The *Stava*, for instance, is sprinkled with pleas for help and protection. The world into which Sanātana had moved was very different from the one from which he came in Bengal. The Vraja in those days was nothing like it is today. Then, it really was wild. It was nearly uninhabited and covered with large, dense areas of forest and wild jungle. It was largely inhabited by dangerous snakes, crocodiles, poisonous spiders, tigers, and probably wild elephants. The human occupants were often tribals or outlaws who lived by banditry. To be thrown into such an environment must have been very frightening for a cultured gentleman from Bengal like Sanātana. Sanātana's frequent appeals to Kṛṣṇa for protection in the *Stava* may have had, therefore, more immediate incitements than the usual desire of the devotee for protection from his god. The wild and lonely nature of his new home, too, may have been an important factor in his relatively short first stay there and his quick departure from Vṛndāvana to visit Mahāprabhu in Purī. Nevertheless, with it now perfectly clear that Mahāprabhu wanted him to stay in Vraja, his only hope was to appeal for divine protection. As time went on other followers of Caitanya joined him and his brother and other Vaiṣṇava communities, such as the Vallabha commu-

nity<sup>14</sup> and the Nimbārka community began to settle in the area. Vraja gradually became more civilized and less dangerously forbidding.

## **Editions and Commentaries**

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<sup>14</sup>In actuality, the Vallabha community had already begun to settle in parts of Vraja by the time the Gosvāmins arrived. Their leader Śrī Vallabhācārya and Śrī Caitanya were contemporaries who, according to the hagiographies, met on occasion. Sanātana and Rūpa were on friendly terms with Vallabha's son, Viṭṭhala.



## Chapter 4

# Kṛṣṇa's Vṛndāvana Sport

As mentioned before, Sanātana describes the life of Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana by creating a set of names, generally in the vocative case, but also sometimes in the dative or accusative cases of the Sanskrit language. Those names refer to one of Kṛṣṇa's actions, or qualities, or feelings, or forms. He then strings them together like pearls strung together in a necklace. The order in which he puts them allows him to tell the story of Kṛṣṇa's life from his birth up to the time when he returns to Mathurā to kill the evil king Kāṁsa. What is more, Sanātana adds a layer of commentary to the narrative by the way in which he forms the names or by the way he combines them together with other names. He thus provides a theological interpretation of Kṛṣṇa's "self-revelation." He, for instance, often highlights Kṛṣṇa's control over the events of his life in Vṛndāvana by putting key names in the causative grammatical form, indicating that Kṛṣṇa is intentionally causing the events to unfold the way he wants them. Occasionally, the lesson we are to take from one of Kṛṣṇa's acts is supplied by a juxtaposed names, as when Kṛṣṇa allows himself to be tied to a large mortar by his mother. Sanātana calls him *svabhakta-vaśyatā-darśin*, "revealer of his submissiveness to his bhaktas."

The story of Kṛṣṇa's descent as it is given in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* begins with the image of a demon-burdened earth who assumes the form of a cow and goes Brahmā, the creator god, to complain. He and the other universal gods in turn pray to Viṣṇu for help and learn that he will soon make a descent to earth himself. They are all instructed to take birth there before him in order to assist him in ridding the earth of its heavy burden of evil kings and demons. The scene then switches to the kingdom of Mathurā on earth, ruled by Ugrasena. Vasudeva and Devakī have just been married and the crown prince Kāṁsa is driving their wedding chariot (Devakī is his cousin). A voice from the heavens warns Kāṁsa that the eighth son of Devakī will kill him and he immediately wants to kill her.

Vasudeva pleads for Devakī's life and ultimately agrees to deliver their children to him as they are born. An immediate crisis is averted and Kāṁsa spares his cousin's life. Vasudeva, true to his word, delivers all of his children to Kāṁsa who at first decides to spare them since it is only the eighth son who is a threat to him, but he has a change of heart. Instead, he seizes the throne, imprisons his own father (Ugrasena) as well as Vasudeva and Devakī, and kills their first six children as they are born. As the seventh pregnancy progresses, Kṛṣṇa instructs the goddess Māyā to transfer Devakī's child, a descent of Kṛṣṇa's facilitator named Ananta or Saṅkarṣaṇa, from her womb into the womb of another of Vasudeva's wives, Rohiṇī, who is living safely in a community of cowherders miles from the capital. Thus, Devakī's seventh child appears to be miscarried. After that Kṛṣṇa enters Devakī's womb as her eighth child.

Kṛṣṇa was born at midnight in the prison chamber of his parents as all of nature celebrated the divine event. He first appeared in his four-armed form, but then assumed his two-armed, human form. As Kṛṣṇa was born the doors of the prison mysteriously opened and the guards fell into a deep sleep. Vasudeva knowing the real danger for his child picked him up and carried him out of the prison into the rainy night and across the River Yamunā to the cowherding village of his friend Nanda. Nanda's wife had also just given birth that night to a daughter who was a descent of the goddess Māyā. He found everyone asleep in the village so he exchanged his child Kṛṣṇa for the sleeping baby girl and returned to the prison unnoticed. As he entered his prison chamber all the doors locked again and the guards awoke. Kāṁsa, hearing that the eighth child was born, rushed to prison, grabbed the baby by the leg as was about to bash her against a stone when she slipped out of his hands and flew up in the air assuming the eight-armed form of the great goddess. She laughed at him mockingly, announced that his death had already been born somewhere else, and then disappeared. Kāṁsa convened a council of his advisers and demonic friends and told them what had happened. They reassured him of their support and urged him with their help to systematically kill all babies who are about ten days old. They warned him to act in haste lest his enemies gain strength in his indecision. Kāṁsa agreed and the demons spread out through the capital and the surrounding countryside to carry out their brutal plan.

Back in Vraja, the whole cowherding community rejoices over the birth of Nanda's son. Nanda is the chieftan of the cowherders and, thus, the whole community shares in his joy. After giving away lots of gifts and celebrating, Nanda has to leave for Mathurā to pay his taxes to King Kāṁsa. After completing his official business there he meets with Vasudeva who congratulates him on his new son and asks about the welfare of his own son (Rohiṇī's son, Balarāma) and the other residents of Vraja. Vasudeva also urges Nanda to return to Vraja quickly because he fears trouble may strike there. While Nanda is away a beau-

tiful woman arrives in Vraja. It is the wicked demoness Pūtanā on a mission of infanticide for Kāṁsa. She enters Nanda's house and while the Mother Yaśodā and the other women are overwhelmed by her beauty she takes baby Kṛṣṇa on her lap and begins to breast feed him. Though her breasts are covered with a dangerous poison, Kṛṣṇa sucks from them without harm and instead sucks the very life out of the demoness. She screams and as she dies assumes her natural gigantic and hideous form. The women are shocked and at the same time happy that Kṛṣṇa is somehow unharmed. A number of other miraculous events occur in Vraja during Kṛṣṇa's babyhood and childhood. Mother Yaśodā places him under a heavy cart for protection and then doesn't hear him cry. Seemingly in anger he kicks the cart with his small foot causing it to tumble over. On another day there is a windstorm and he is carried off on a whirlwind. It turns out to be caused by another of Kāṁsa's demons, Trṇāvarta, who is trying to kill Kṛṣṇa. Suddenly Kṛṣṇa becomes very heavy and the demon is dragged back to earth and crushed under the weight of the baby. Another time Mother Yaśodā glances into baby Kṛṣṇa's mouth as he yawns and sees the whole universe there.

In a few days the sage Garga arrives, sent by Vasudeva, to perform the naming ceremonies for both Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa's older brother, Balarāma. Knowing the suspicious nature of Kāṁsa who might come to hear of the naming ceremony of Nanda's son and suspect that the son is really his nemesis, Vasudeva's eight son, Garga is reluctant to perform the ceremony. Nanda suggests that the ceremony be performed in secrecy in his cowshed. Garga agrees and gives them the names by which the two boys become famous, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. While describing Kṛṣṇa he notes that the baby has come before in the previous ages with different colors of complexion, that he has many names and forms, and that he is "equal" to Nārāyaṇa.<sup>1</sup> As time passes the boys begin to crawl and then to walk. Kṛṣṇa in particular makes something of a menace of himself, untying the calves before their mothers have been milked, stealing milk and curds from the neighbors and either eating it or distributing it to the monkeys and then breaking the pots in which the curds were stored. Once when the other boys accuse Kṛṣṇa of eating dirt, his mother looks into his mouth to see if it is true. There in his mouth she sees the whole universe. She is overwhelmed by the vision and wonders if she is dreaming or if her son is really the lord on whom all depend. Kṛṣṇa extends his enchanting power and suddenly the cowherd lady forgets all she has seen and thought in that moment of extraordinary vision and becomes his affectionate mother again.

On another day, Mother Yaśodā was busy churning curds when Kṛṣṇa, hungry for her breast milk, stopped her in order to suckle. While she was feeding him, some milk on the fire began to boil over. Yaśodā immediately put Kṛṣṇa down and ran to save the milk. Kṛṣṇa became angry, broke the curd container,

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<sup>1</sup>Bhāg. 10.8.13,15,19.

ate some butter, and left carrying away more butter. When Yaśodā came back she saw what her son had done and that he was gone. Outside she found him standing atop a large mortar for grinding grain feeding butter to a monkey. She chased after him with a stick and eventually caught hold of him by the hand. She decided to tie him to the big mortar and brought some rope to do it with. The rope turned out to be two inches too short, so she brought some more rope, but that too turned out to be too short. Finally she brought all the rope she could find in the house and still that was too short. Seeing her laboring so hard to tie him up, Kṛṣṇa took pity on her and finally allowed himself to be tied to the mortar like an ordinary boy. She then returned to her household chores. Kṛṣṇa seeing a pair of trees nearby began to drag the mortar towards them. When he reached them he went between them catching the mortar sideways between them. With a quick tug he pulled down the trees with a loud crash. Out of the two trees came two ethereal beings, two sons of Kuvera who previously had been cursed to stand naked as those trees by the sage Nārada. Seeing Kṛṣṇa, they offered him their homage and thanks for releasing them from their curse. After praying to him, the two beings disappeared. Meanwhile, hearing the loud sound of the falling trees, the cowherds came running and seeing the two fallen trees wonder how it happened. Some of the other cowherd children who witnessed the event tried to tell them that it was Kṛṣṇa himself who pulled the mortar between the trees and made them fall. They dismissed their story as childish make belief and freed Kṛṣṇa from the mortar, happy that whatever happened, he was not hurt. Shortly thereafter Nanda and the other cowherders decided to shift their settlement to the forest of Vṛndāvana with its sandy banks along the Yamunā. There had been too many near tragedies in their current abode. Before that however a fruit seller came by one day. Kṛṣṇa went running to her to buy fruit, his little hands filled with grain to pay for the fruit that diminished as it slipped between his fingers as he approached. She filled his hands with fruit anyway and in return the fruit remaining in her basket turned into jewels.

After their move to Vṛndāvana, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma became old enough to begin herding the calves in the nearby fields with the other boys. While minding the calves they would also play with the other boys in a number of ways. One day while they were herding the calves by the bank of the Yamunā another demon came to kill Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. Vatsāsura had assumed the form of a calf in order to mix in with the herd. Kṛṣṇa spotted him and, sneaking up behind him, grabbed him by the hind legs, spun him around forcing the life out of him, and threw his dead corpse to the ground in front of a wood apple tree. His body regained its naturally huge demonic form. On another occasion they went to a pond to water the calves. There they saw a huge crane, the form that the demon Bakāsura had assumed. It suddenly attacked and swallowed Kṛṣṇa with its bill. Seeing that the other boys fell down as if deprived of their lives. Just as sud-

denly, the huge crane spit Kṛṣṇa out because Kṛṣṇa had begun to generate heat causing his throat to burn like fire. The crane then attacked Kṛṣṇa with its beak and Kṛṣṇa took hold of its lower and upper halves and handily tore the crane in two. Hearing of those deeds later the cowherd men of the settlement were astounded.

One day Kṛṣṇa wanted to have a picnic in the forest. He called all of his friends together and they went herding the cows in front of them. As they went through the forest some played flutes and others blow horns. They danced like peacocks and raced each other to be the first to touch Kṛṣṇa when he went off alone to look at the beauty of the forest. At that time the demon Agha spotted them. He was a follower of Kāṁsa and the younger brother of Pūtānā, the witch who tried to poison Kṛṣṇa with her breasts, and Bakāsura, the crane demon. He vowed to avenge his sister and brother's death and kill Kṛṣṇa and all the boys. He took on the form of a huge python and lay across the path of the boys with his lower jaw on the ground and his upper jaw high in the clouds. His fangs looked like the peaks of mountains and his tongue stretched out like a path. Seeing these things in front of them the boys thought it was all part of the beauty of Vṛndāvana and were amused by how much it looked like the gapping mouth of a python. Hearing their words, Kṛṣṇa marvelled at how easily something real can be made into something false and determined to prevent them from entering the mouth of the python. Seeing that the boys and cows had already entered into the gapping mouth of the python, Kṛṣṇa entered, too, in order to protect them. Once in Kṛṣṇa expanded in size in the throat of the snake and blocked the passage of air through the snake's throat. The python twisted this and that, his eyes rolling in his head, and finally the air blocked by Kṛṣṇa burst open his head and came out of the python that way. When Kṛṣṇa got all of the boys and calves out of the serpent, with a glance he brought them all back to life. While the boys and calves were recovering, a great light rose up out of the thick body of the dead serpent and, lighting up all directions, entered into Kṛṣṇa. Though this happened when Kṛṣṇa and the other boys were five, the boys did not tell about the event until they were six.

The reason the story was not told for a year is the following. After killing Agha, Kṛṣṇa brought the boys and calves to the bank of the Yamunā and suggested they have their lunch there in that beautiful setting while the calves graze nearby. Thus, they untied their sacks sat down in circles around Kṛṣṇa, like petals around the whorl of a lotus, and began to enjoy their food. While the boys ate the cows wandered off into the forest in search of more grass. Seeing that they had wandered and were lost, Kṛṣṇa told his friends to continue eating and went off to find them and bring them back. While Kṛṣṇa was away looking for the strayed calves, Brahmā, the creator god, who had been watching Kṛṣṇa's killing and liberation of the demon Agha, wanted to see more of Kṛṣṇa's great-

ness. He thus stole away all of the boys and calves and disappeared from sight. Not finding any of the calves, Kṛṣṇa returned to the river bank and found all of the boys missing, too. He searched for both the boys and calves in the forest and not finding any of them realized suddenly what had happened. In order to please the mothers of the boys and the calves Kṛṣṇa made himself into both groups. He became exactly like each of the boys and each of the calves down to the smallest detail. Kṛṣṇa then returned to the village with all of the calves (who were actually him) and all of the boys (who were also actually him), playing among themselves as they were when they left. The mothers of the boys and the calves responded to them with even greater affection and love than usual, considering, as they were (though without knowing it), Supreme Brahman to be their offspring. Because of this, their affection for their offspring increased enormously and they developed feelings for him as his mothers. This situation continued for a year.

After a year Brahmā returned to see how his trick worked out and was amazed to see all of the cows and boys that he thought had stolen playing with Kṛṣṇa in the forests of Vṛndāvana. He checked and saw that the boys and cows he had stolen were still lying under his power. As Brahmā was observing all of the boys and cows playing with Kṛṣṇa suddenly he saw them all as Kṛṣṇa with dark complexions and yellow silk clothes. Then he also saw all the living beings and all the elements of the cosmos take forms and worship those many forms of Kṛṣṇa. He saw Kṛṣṇa as the supreme Brahman who lights up the whole the world. For a moment he was stunned and silent and then Kṛṣṇa removed his power and Brahmā found himself in Vṛndāvana again with that supreme Brahman before him in the form of a cowherd boy surrounded by calves and boys. He descended from his vehicle and bowed at Kṛṣṇa's feet over and over again. Brahmā then began to offer prayers to Kṛṣṇa honoring him as the supreme being and begging his forgiveness for his trick. Concluding his prayer, Brahmā returned to his abode and Kṛṣṇa restored the boys and calves just as they were on the bank of the Yamunā a year earlier. Though a year had past they thought only half a moment had gone by. They welcomed Kṛṣṇa back and invited him to finish his meal. Then together they all returned to the village and the boys told their parents and relatives the story of the killing of the huge python Agha.

Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma were now old enough to herd the cows instead of the calves and this they did each day in Vṛndāvana with their friends, enjoying the natural beauty of the forest and surrounding pasture lands. Sometimes they would sing with the bees, honk with the geese, and dance with the peacocks. Kṛṣṇa's voice, deep like the sound of thunder, could be heard calling stray cows by their names. When they were tired from their play they would lie down under the trees massaging each others' feet and fanning each other. One day a boy named Śrīdāmā told Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma about a forest near by called Tālavana

where there were many delightful types of fruit, but which was guarded by a terrible demon named Dhenuka who had the form of a donkey. Humans were afraid to go there because of that demon and the others like him who ate humans when they caught them. Encouraged by the other boys who were desirous of the fruit there, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma decided to visit the forest. The brothers went to the forest and Balarāma began to shake the date trees to make the fruit fall. The demon Dhenuka heard the noise Balarāma made and came running to attack him. Dhenuka kicked at Balarāma with his hind legs and Balarāma caught his legs, spun him about, and threw him down. The donkey lost his life when he was spun around and his body crashed into a tree knocking it into another and another. Dhenuka's relatives heard the commotion and came running to kill the brothers, but Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma easily dispatched them all. The nearby villagers were then free to eat the fruit and their cows to graze in the forest that once belonged to Dhenuka and his kind. Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and the boys returned to the herders' village driving the cows before them.

One day Kṛṣṇa went with his friends and the cows down to the bank of the Yamunā. The boys and cows feeling hot and thirsty went to the water to drink. The place they approached happened to be a deep pond in the river that was polluted by the poison of a powerful snake who lived in it. When the boys and cows entered the water to drink the poison overcame them and they all fell down dead. Seeing his dead friends and cows, Kṛṣṇa immediately glanced upon them and brought them all back to life. They rose up and left the water of the river amazed. Kṛṣṇa then decided he wanted to purify the poisonous waters of that pond and drive the serpent away. He climbed a tree on the bank of the river and jumped into the middle of the poisonous water causing waves to spread across the pond. The noise and disturbance aroused the serpent whose name was Kāliya. The serpent seeing a young boy swimming around in the water of his pond without any fear, became filled with anger and wrapped his body around him. Kṛṣṇa's friends and the cows on the bank began trembling with sadness and fear when they saw the huge snake wrapping itself around him. Noticing the signs of inauspiciousness on the earth, in the sky, and in their hearts the villagers, too, suddenly became fearful. They knew that Kṛṣṇa had gone herding the cows without Balarāma and they thought he might be in trouble. They all came running, following Kṛṣṇa's footprints to the river bank to see if anything had happened. When they saw Kṛṣṇa in the water in the grips of the serpent they all began to cry. Seeing his friends and family on the verge of death from their grief, Kṛṣṇa slipped out of the grip of the serpent. The serpent, now very angry indeed, raised his many hoods and glared at him with his forked tongues licking about in the air. Kṛṣṇa playfully moved around him looking for his opportunity. When the serpent lowered one of his hoods as he turned to keep his gaze on Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa jumped on top of it and began to dance. He danced on

all the serpent's one hundred heads, battering them and causing them to sink down with the kicks of his feet. Kāliya weakened, his eyes began to bulge out of his heads and he began to vomit blood. Seeing him thus on the verge of death, Kāliya's many wives rose up out of the waters and began to pray to Kṛṣṇa for the life of their husband. Pleased with their humble prayers, Kṛṣṇa spared the serpent's life. When Kāliya, who had by then become unconscious, came back to consciousness again, he too prayed to Kṛṣṇa, asking him to do with him as he will. Kṛṣṇa sent Kāliya back to the island in the sea that he had come from and assured him that his eagle servant Garuḍa, from whom Kāliya had fled that island in the first place, would not harm him. The serpent then with his wives departed and the waters of Yamunā became again like nectar.

Kāliya had taken up residence in that pond in the Yamunā in the first place because he wanted protection from Garuḍa, Viṣṇu's servant and vehicle. The snakes generally made regular offerings to Garuḍa for protection, but Kāliya became arrogant and stopped making those offerings. A vicious battle ensued between Garuḍa and Kāliya in which Kāliya was severely rattled by a powerful blow from Garuḍa's left wing. He slipped into to pond in the Yamunā where he knew Garuḍa could not pursue him because of a prior curse cast by the sage Saurabhi who wanted to protect the fish in that pond from Garuḍa. Now that he had been granted safety by Kṛṣṇa he was glad to return to his home. Meanwhile, all the members of Kṛṣṇa's community who had watched in horror as he fought the serpent decided they were too tired to return to the village that night, so they spent it on the bank of the Yamunā. They woke in the middle of the night to find themselves surrounded by a forest fire. To protect his family and friends Kṛṣṇa swallowed up the fire before it did any harm.

Then summer arrived, a season ordinarily difficult for living beings, but because Kṛṣṇa was present it seemed more like spring. The sounds of mountain waterfalls remained loud and the trees remained moist from their sprays. The residents of Vraja did not feel the heat of the sun because of the moist breezes scented with the pollen of white lotuses and lilies and the poison like rays of the sun were not able to dry up the ground and the grasslands. Kṛṣṇa with Balarāma by his side entered the forests then, surrounded by the cowherd boys and cows, playing on his flute. They danced, wrestled, and sang, sometimes Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma dancing while others sang and played and sometimes Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma singing and playing while others danced. At that time a demon named Pralamba joined the group in the form of a cowherd boy in order to kidnap Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. Kṛṣṇa recognized him and, thinking of how to kill him, permitted his friendship. He suggested that the boys divide up into two groups, one lead by Balarāma and the other by Kṛṣṇa, the groups competing with each other in various games. The winners of the competitions were to be carried around on the shoulders of the losers. Playing in this way they



came to the foot of a fig tree called Bāṇḍiraka. There the group led by Balarāma defeated the group led by Kṛṣṇa. Thus, Kṛṣṇa carried Śrīdāman, Bhadrasena carried Vṛṣabha and Pralamba carried Balarāma. Pralamba, seeing his opportunity, quickly carried Balarāma a distance away, but Balarāma's weight, like that of the fabled cosmic mountain, slowed Pralamba down and he was forced to change back into his own form. Seeing Pralamba's hideous form Balarāma was momentarily frightened. Then coming back to himself he struck that demon on the head with his fist like a bolt of lightning striking a mountain. Demon's head separated from his body, blood poured from his mouth and he fell down dead. Seeing the slain body of the demon Pralamba, the cowherd boys were astounded.

While the boys were playing, cows had wandered far off in search greener pastures. When the astonishment of Pralamba's killing passed, the cowherd boys realized that the cows were gone and started searching for anxiously for them. After much searching the cows were found wandering in lands covered by tall grass. The joy of finding their cows was short-lived, however, for the boys soon realized that they were surrounded by a raging grass fire. They called to Kṛṣṇa for help and he asked them all to close their eyes for a few minutes. When their eyes were closed Kṛṣṇa swallowed up the fire and freed them all from danger. When they opened their eyes again they found themselves back at the base of the huge fig tree. Seeing themselves and the cows thus spared they were amazed and began to think of Kṛṣṇa an immortal. Then, Kṛṣṇa returned with Balarāma and all the boys to the village. There the cowherd girls, for whom a moment of Kṛṣṇa's absence was like a hundred ages, became filled with joy at the sight of him. All of the elders were amazed to hear the boys' accounts of the killing of Pralamba and their mysterious salvation from the wild fire.

Shortly, thereafter the rainy season began with its dark blue clouds, bright flashes of lightning, and deep, rumbling thunder. After eight months of drinking the earth's watery wealth, the rain clouds began to return it to the earth. Kṛṣṇa with Balarāma entered those rain-washed forests to enjoy them with the cowherd boys. The slow-moving cows, their udders filled, would come quickly and affectionately to him when he called them. He saw the pleased forest tribes, the trees dripping with honey, the streams running briskly from the hills and the caves near them echoing their sounds. Sometimes he enjoyed sitting in the laps of the trees or in caves while it rained, munching on fruit, tubers, and roots. Or, sitting on a rock near the water he ate rice and yogurt with Balarāma and the other boys. Seeing the beauty of the rainy season Kṛṣṇa was very pleased.

Gradually the autumn arrived with its clear waters and subdued fires. The rivers and ponds lost their rainy season muddiness; the skies became clear and the earth dry. The clouds, having delivered their all, became radiant white. The streams and ponds became still and silent with the coming of autumn. When the moon was full it ruled the clear heavens surrounded by the bright stars like

the king of the Yadus surrounded by the the Vṛṣṇis on earth. In the autumn, as the breezes picked up the sweet fragrance of the lotus ponds, Kṛṣṇa entered the forest with the cows and cowherd boys playing his flute. Hearing the sounds of his flute the girls of Vraja became aroused and some secretly described the sounds of Kṛṣṇa's flute to their friends. They said things like: there is no higher achievement for those who have eyes, we think, than seeing the faces of those two sons of the lord of Vraja (Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma) as they follow the cows with their friends, their flutes pressed to their lips, casting loving, sidelong glances here and there. Another said: what good things has this bamboo flute done such that it enjoys the nectar of Kṛṣṇa's lips, which belongs to the cowherd girls. Its parents, the streams and trees, seem to be horripilating and shedding tears [at their child's good fortune]. In ways like this the cowherd girls expressed their strengthening desires for Kṛṣṇa.

In the first month of winter, the unmarried girls of Nanda's village performed a ritual vow for the goddess Kātyāyanī, eating offering food (rice mixed with ghee). After bathing in the Kālindī they worshipped an image of the goddess made of sand on the bank of the river. Offering fragrances, garlands, incense, lights, fruit and other gifts, they each prayed: "O Kātyāyanī, great power, great yoginī, o goddess, please make the son of Nanda my husband. Obeisance unto you!" In this way they performed the vow for a month, their minds fixed on Kṛṣṇa, so that Kṛṣṇa would become their husband. One day the cowherd girls rose early and went to take their baths in the river usual. They left their clothes on the bank as did before, and entered the water singing Kṛṣṇa's name. Kṛṣṇa came to know of this and he went to the river that day with his friends to fulfill the cowherd girls' desires. He gathered together their clothes and, climbing a nearby tree, said with a smile on his face: "Come here, dear girls, and get back your clothes. I am not joking with you since you are worn from your vow. Nor have I ever told you anything untrue before. Therefore, one by one or all together come and get your clothes, slim-waisted girls." Hearing his playful words the cowherd girls were filled with love for him and at the same time embarrassed. They looked at one another with smiles, but did not leave the water. Then, shivering a bit in the cold water they replied: "Don't do this; it is wrong. You are the son of Nanda. We love you and you are praised by all of Vraja. Give us back our clothes; we are freezing. Śyāmasundara, we are your servants. We will do whatever you say. Give us back our clothes, otherwise we will report this to the king." Kṛṣṇa replied: "If you are my servants then you should follow my orders. Come here sweetly smiling and get back your clothes, otherwise I will not return them. What can your angry king do?" Then they all came out of the water shivering, covering their genitals with their hands. Seeing them defeated, Kṛṣṇa took their clothes on his shoulders and said with a smile: "Since bathing naked while undertaking a vow is disrespectful to the gods, you should fold

your hands on your heads and bow them in respect in order to remove that sin as you come to get your clothes.” So advised by Kṛṣṇa, the girls of Vraja fearing that their vows would become fruitless bowed their heads as instructed. Seeing them before him with with folded hands and bowed heads, Kṛṣṇa returned their clothes to them. They came forward in shame like puppets operated by another and took back their clothes. They, in love with Kṛṣṇa, did not hold any of his tricks against him. However, putting on their clothes they did not leave immediately, but instead looked at him bashfully. He then told them that he knew what they wished for and that their wishes will be fulfilled shortly. They then returned to the village pleased.

Shortly after returning the cowherd girls’ clothes to them, Kṛṣṇa and the cowherd boys herded the cows a distance away from Vṛndāvana. They sought shelter in a shady grove of trees and Kṛṣṇa praised the trees as examples of selfless generosity, examples of lives well lived. After they watered the cows and refreshed themselves in the cool Yamunā river, the boys complained to Kṛṣṇa about being hungry. He sent them to beg some food from some *brāhmaṇa* who were performing a long sacrifice nearby. The boys asked the *brāhmaṇa* in the names of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma for some of the food prepared for use in the sacrifice, but the *brāhmaṇa* were arrogant and narrow-minded and refused to spare any. When the cowherds returned disappointed, Kṛṣṇa smiled and sent the boys to the wives of the *brāhmaṇa*, instructing them to tell the wives of his presence nearby and ask them for some of the food. They affectionate towards him will give plenty of food. This the boys did and when the wives heard that Kṛṣṇa was nearby and that he was hungry, they became anxious to go see him and bring him food. They put four types of delicious food into containers and started out to go to him. Though they were forbidden by their husbands, brothers, friends, and sons, they went to visit Kṛṣṇa anyway surrounded as he was by Balarāma the cowherds in a grove of Aśoka trees by the Yamunā. Seeing that they had given up all other desires to come see him, he said with a smile: “Welcome fortunate ladies. Please be seated. What can we do for you?” He praised them for coming to him, for recognizing in him the source of the dearness of all things, and then sent them back to their husbands so that they would be able to complete their sacrificial rites successfully. They responded by suggesting that he was being cruel to them and stated that all they wanted was to be his servants. Their husbands, they said, would not accept them back now and thus he was their only hope. Kṛṣṇa nevertheless sent them to their homes saying that their husbands, fathers, brothers, sons, and so forth would not despise them. He added that the best way to attain him is by fixing one’s mind on him, not by personal physical contact. The wives returned to their homes and their husbands completed the rites successfully without despising them. Then Kṛṣṇa fed the cowherds with the food brought by the wives and then he himself ate. Meanwhile the *brāhmaṇa*

themselves had a change of heart and began to curse their own arrogance, the pride they had in their high births, in their cultivation of knowledge, and in their achievements in austerity. Because of that pride they had refused a request from the lord himself (Kṛṣṇa) and so had failed to please him. They marveled at how their simple wives, without any of their high qualifications, had shown such love and affection for Kṛṣṇa and they regarded their lives blessed because of their wives. Finally, however, though they wanted very much to go see Kṛṣṇa personally, out of fear of what Kāṁsa might do to them, they stopped themselves from going to visit him.

Shortly after the incident with the *brāhmaṇa* and their wives, Kṛṣṇa noticed his father and the other elder cowherds preparing for a sacrifice in honor of Indra. He asked his father Nanda what the sacrifice was for. Nanda replied that it was a sacrifice to please Indra who supplies the world with rain. Humans offer sacrifices to Indra and he in turn supplies the world with the waters of life. Those who neglect such offerings do not fare well in the world. Kṛṣṇa in reply said that the world is really dependent on karman (past action) and that Indra had no control over that. He could not change a living being's karman into another kind of karman. In other words, Indra was not really the controller of anything and did not need to be appeased. It is karman itself that is the guru and the controller. Therefore, Kṛṣṇa advised his father instead to honor the people and things in their lives that were important to their welfare: the cows, the *brāhmaṇa*, and the mountain (Govardhana) all of which directly impact their lives. Moreover, he said, let food be offered to all no matter what their social standing. Nanda, taking the advice of his son, brought offerings to Mount Govardhana and with the cows in front circumambulated the mountain. Kṛṣṇa then expanded into another enormous form which, saying "I am the mountain," ate all the many offerings. Then Kṛṣṇa with all the other people of Vraja offered respect to that form, saying: "See how the mountain has taken form and shows us his mercy. Taking any form he likes, he kills those who neglect it. Let us honor him, then, for the good of ourselves and our cows." When they, thus, had honored the mountain and made offerings to the cows and the *brāhmaṇa*, the cowherds all returned to Vraja.

When Indra realized that his worship had been stopped he became very angry with Kṛṣṇa and all of the cowherds. He sent his most fierce clouds and in anger said: "See the greatness of arrogance. Those cowherds listening to that mortal Kṛṣṇa have disrespected the gods. Leaving aside reason they think they can cross the ocean of existence with those weak actions and rites. They have displeased me by listening to that talkative fool Kṛṣṇa who thinks he is learned. Knock down the pillar of their arrogance and carry off their animals. I will go the Vraja myself on my elephant Airāvata with the desire to destroy the pastures of Nanda with my powerful winds." By the order of Indra the clouds were released and they pounded Nanda's cow settlement with powerful rains. The torrents of

rain were lit up by lightning and brought down by intense winds. The clouds rained down pillars of water and the earth quickly became flouded. The animals shivered in the fierce winds and the cowherds and cowherd girls, suffering from the cold, took shelter of Govinda.

Seeing the people being struck almost unconscious by the hail-stones falling in the rain Kṛṣṇa recognized it as the work of a very angry Indra. Thinking “I will remove the arrogance of these petty lords who think they are almighty,” he vowed to protect the cow settlement with his own power. Then with one hand Kṛṣṇa easily lifted Mount Govardhana and held it up like an umbrella. He addressed the cowherds: “Mother, Father, People of Vraja! Please enter the trench beneath this mountain with your cows. Don’t be afraid of the mountain slipping from my hold. Fear not the wind and the rain. You will be safe from them.” Re-assured by Kṛṣṇa the cowherds and their families and cows entered the trench. Without regard for hunger or thirst Kṛṣṇa held the mountain for seven days without moving a foot, watched by the residents of Vraja. When Indra heard of the power of Kṛṣṇa he was amazed and humbled and, having lost his will, he halted his destroyer clouds. The sky became clear, the sun appeared, the wind and rain ceased and Kṛṣṇa said to the cowherds: “Go on out. Don’t be afraid. The wind and rain have stopped. The streams have gone down.” They gradually left with shelter of the mountain with their wives, children and cows. The lord replaced the mountain where it was in before while all the creatures watched. All of the people of Vraja came near to Kṛṣṇa and each person according to that person’s relationship with him expressed his or her love for him. Yaśodā, Rohiṇī, Nanda, and Rāma (Balarāma) all embraced him affectionately. The gods showered flowers from the sky.

When the cowherds saw this amazing act of Kṛṣṇa, they began to wonder who he really was and how he took birth among them. How can a seven year old boy lift up a mountain like an elephant holding up a lotus? Even when he was a baby he sucked the very life out of the demoness Pītanā. When he was barely a month old he kicked over a heavy cart. When he was a year old he killed the demon in the guise of a twister. Then tied to the heavy mortar he pulled down the two Arjuna trees. Herding the calves in the forest with his brother Balarāma he killed the Crane demon. Then there was the demon in the form of a calf who snuck into the herd and with whose body he easily knocked down some wood apple trees. Then he killed the donkey demon and his friends and made the Palm forest safe again. And through Balarāma he killed the demon Pralambha and saved the cows and boys from the forest fire. Taming the poisonous king of serpents he drove him from the Yamunā and made the river’s water safe again. All the residents of Vraja seem to have an unstoppable attachment to him. They asked Nanda: “How was such a one born among us? How can a seven year old boy lift such a big mountain?”

Nanda replied by telling them what the sage Garga had told him during the Kṛṣṇa's name-giving ceremony, that in previous births he had three other complexions, white, red and yellow, but now he was dark (*kṛṣṇa*). Previously he was the son of Vasudeva and thus he is now known as Vāsudeva, but he has many names and many forms and, though Garga knew his qualities, actions and forms, people in general did not know them. Moreover, Garga said: "He will bring about your well being and by him you will cross over all difficulties. Previously he protected the good and they defeated the thieves. Those fortunate ones who love him are not conquered by their enemies. This son is equal to Nārāyaṇa in quality, fortune, fame. Don't be surprised at what he is able to do." Thus, Nanda told the cowherds: "I think this Kṛṣṇa is a portion of Nārāyaṇa." Hearing Nanda's words recounting Garga's statements, the cowherds of Vraja became overjoyed, they honored Nanda and became reassured about Kṛṣṇa.

When the mountain Govardhana had been lifted and Vraja thus protected from the raging storms, the divine cow Surabhi came from Goloka along with the king of the gods, Indra. Indra in shame came to Kṛṣṇa and touched his feet with his crown and, his pride as the lord of the three worlds crushed, addressed him with folded hands: "Your abode is one of pure goodness, of the power of austerity, free of the qualities of passion and ignorance. The influences of the qualities of *māyā* do not exist here. Therefore, the flaws created by them like greed and so forth are also absent. Still you take up the rod of punishment in order to protect dharma and chastise rogues. You are the father, the teacher, the lord of the universe, unsurpassable time, the raised rod. To benefit the world you assume many forms and to destroy the pride of those who fancy themselves as lords of the universe." In this way Indra prayed to Kṛṣṇa and asked his forgiveness and for the blessing that his understanding not be confused again. He concluded by saying: "I have been blessed by you. My arrogance destroyed; my wicked efforts frustrated. I surrender to you, the self, the teacher, the lord." Kṛṣṇa replied: "I stopped your sacrifice in order to remind you of me, you who had become so intoxicated with the opulence of being Indra. One blinded by the pride of lordly affluence cannot see me. Therefore I separate one from his fortune whom I wish to bless. Return to your place. Good luck to you. Just follow my guidance and may you remain in your proper office free of arrogance." Then the divine cow spoke: "Kṛṣṇa, great yogin, self of the world, source of the world, by you are we protected. You are our highest deity, not Indra. Take care of the cows, the *brāhmaṇa*, and the gods and those who are good. You are our Indra" Then she sprinkled Kṛṣṇa with her milk and Indra sprinkled him with the water of the heavenly Gaṅgā. Thus they anointed him with name 'Govinda.' The streams became full of water, the trees full with honey, the herbs and plants ripe without cultivation, and the mountains full of jewels. Then Indra and Surabhi returned to their homes.

One day not long after the lifting of Govardhana, Nanda, after observing Ekādaśī and worshiping Janārdana, went early the next day to bathe in the Kālindī (Yamunā). As he entered the water he was grabbed by the servants of Varuṇa and taken to him. Without realizing it he had entered the water during the demonic period of the night. Kṛṣṇa, hearing that his father had been arrested by Varuṇa, went to see him. Seeing Hṛṣīkeśa [Kṛṣṇa] arrive, the world protector [Varuṇa] and his companions first honored him and then addressed him thus: "Today at long last my body has achieved something really valuable, Lord. Those who worship your feet complete the path. Obeisance to you, lord, brahman, the higher self, on whom the power māyā who creates the worlds has no effect. My foolish servant, not knowing what he was doing, brought your father here. Please forgive him. Please show me your mercy, too. Govinda, please take your father home." Kṛṣṇa then took his father and returned home bringing joy to his family. Nanda, however, having seen the invisible protector of the worlds honor his son was amazed and told his relatives of it. They with joyful minds began to consider him the supreme being and to think that he will deliver them to their supreme goals. Understanding what they hoped for, Kṛṣṇa thought of a way to fulfill their desires. Thinking to himself "a person in this world wanders to so many destinations, both high and low, because of that person's ignorance, desires, and actions and thus doesn't know her own true destination." Therefore the most compassionate Kṛṣṇa showed the cowherds his own abode beyond darkness. That real, cognizant, unlimited, Brahman, light eternal that the sages, their minds fully concentrated, see beyond the material qualities, they, too, led to the lake of Brahman, immersed and raised up again by Kṛṣṇa, saw that world of Brahman where Akrūra previously had gone. Nanda and the others seeing that world were infused the highest joy and seeing Kṛṣṇa there being praised by hymns they were simply awestruck.

Kṛṣṇa saw the fragrant autumnal nights and set his mind to taste love. The moon rose dispelling the suffering of the people and coloring the face of the eastern sky red with its rays like a lover who anoints the face of his beloved on his return after a long separation. Seeing the full moon like the face of a woman reddened with fresh kumkuma and the forest lit by its light he played a soft song with his flute. Hearing that song, their sexual desires were aroused and the women of Vraja, whose hearts were stolen by Kṛṣṇa, went to where he was without knowing each other was upto. Some were milking at the time, but they left without finishing; others had just put milk on the stove and without taking it off the departed. Some were serving meals, some breast-feeding their children, some serving their husbands, and some eating. Some were anointing their bodies, some bathing, some decorating their eyes. Some went to Kṛṣṇa with their clothes reversed or in the wrong place. Though they were forbidden by their husbands, fathers, brothers, and family members, their hearts had been stolen

by Kṛṣṇa and they did not stop. Some who were inside their houses and were not able to get out began to meditate on him with their eyes closed. The results of their inauspicious past deeds were burned up by the fire of separation from their loved one and the results of their auspicious past deeds diminished by the joy of embracing Kṛṣṇa in their meditations. Gone to that supreme self [Kṛṣṇa] as their paramour, they suddenly gave up their bodies, made of the material qualities.

When Kṛṣṇa saw the cowherd women arrive he said: "Welcome, fortunate ones! What can I do for you? Tell me the reason for your auspicious arrival here? This night, though, is fearful and filled with frightful things. Therefore you should return to the village and not stay here. Your mothers, fathers, sons, brothers, and husbands, not finding you anywhere, will be worried. Don't cause trouble for your relatives like this. You've seen the flower-filled forest, illumined by the light of the moon, and beautified by the branches of the trees swaying in the breezes of the Yamunā. Therefore, go back to the village now and serve your husbands. The calves and children are no doubt crying. Go comfort them. Indeed, your coming here out of affection for me is fitting for you. Living beings are very affectionate towards me. The highest duty of wives, however, is guileless service to their husbands, bringing goodness to family, and nourishing all the living beings. Even a husband who is ill-behaved, unfortunate, old, dull, ill, or poor is not to be abandoned by women who desire the best, unless he is a sinner. Infidelity is not conducive to heaven or good reputation; it is useless, mean, wicked, fearful, and always disgusting. From hearing about me, seeing me, meditating on me, and praising me, love for me arises, not by physical contact. Therefore, go back to your homes."

Hearing these unpleasant words of Govinda, the cowherd women became despondent and felt that their hopes had been dashed. Their faces became sad; their lips became dry because of their sighs. They scratched the ground with their toes and their tears caused the kumkuma on their breasts to run. They stood there silently filled with sadness. Then wiping their eyes they began to speak, stuttering a bit at first. They said: "Lord, you should not say such cruel things. We have given up everything for you. Don't reject us. Accept us, your servants, the way the primal person accepts those desiring liberation. Your instruction about how women's true duty is the service of their husbands, children, and friends is fine, but you are the beloved, the friend, and the self of all living beings. When some fortunate ones give their love to you, the eternal lover, what need is there for husbands, sons, and so forth who just give pain? Therefore, be kind to us, lord. Don't smash the hope we have placed in you for so long, Lotus-eyes. You have stolen the minds and hands that we have engaged in our houses and in household chores. Our feet do not move one step away from your feet. How can we then return to Vraja? What can we do? Sprinkle with the ambrosia of your lips, dear one, our fires of love ignited by your smiles, glances,



and soft songs. Otherwise, friend, we will offer our bodies in the fire of separation, like yogīs [burning their bodies] through meditation, and will travel the path to your feet.” With these words and others like these the cowherd women appealed to Kṛṣṇa. Hearing their forlorn words Kṛṣṇa, the lord of the lord of yoga, smiled and began to enjoy with the cowherd women, though he was satisfied in himself. Kṛṣṇa surrounded by the cowherd women, their faces radiant from his glances, looked like the full moon surrounded by the stars. Being sung of and himself singing, Kṛṣṇa, wearing his Vaijayantī garland, ornamented the forest at the head of hundreds of women. Arriving with the cowherd women at the bank of the river, made of cool sand and served by soft breezes laden with the fragrance of lilies, Kṛṣṇa aroused the sexual desires of the beauties of Vraja with his outstretched arms, embraces, hand-holding, touches on their thighs, buttocks, and breasts, playful scratches, glances and smiles and thus he enjoyed with them. Having in these ways captured the attention of Lord Kṛṣṇa, the great one, the cowherd women became proud and began to think of themselves as better than all the women in the world. Seeing them so intoxicated with their good fortune and full of pride, Keśava suddenly disappeared from among them to bring them back to their senses and to show them his grace.

When Kṛṣṇa suddenly disappeared, the women of Vraja became distressed, like female elephants who have lost sight of their lord. Their minds, disturbed by the recollection of his way of walking, his gestures, his smiles, his glances, his charming words, and his games, they identified with him and took on his various actions. His lovers, identifying with him, began to imitate their beloved in his movements, smiles, glances, and ways of speaking. Thinking “I am him,” the women began to enact the various sports of Kṛṣṇa. Singing loudly they searched for him from forest to forest as if they were mad. They asked the tress about that person who like space exists inside and outside of all beings. They asked the tall trees like the *aśvattha*, *plakṣa*, and the *nyagrodha* if they had seen the son of Nanda who had stolen their hearts with his loving smiles and glances. They asked the flowering tress like *karavaka*, the *aśoka*, the *nāga*, the *pannāga*, and the *campaka* if they had seen the younger brother of Rāma whose smile steals away the pride of even conceited women. They then asked the sacred basil plant (*tulasī*) if she had seen that Acyuta, so very dear to her, who likes to carry her along with him with the bees attracted to her fragrance trailing behind. They told the *mālatī*, the *mallikā*, the *jāti*, and the *yūthikā* that they must have seen Mādhava since by the touch of his hand as he passed had pleased them. They asked other trees as well, those standing on the bank of the *Yamunā* and by nature kind to others, to show them the path that Kṛṣṇa took. They asked the earth what great auterities she performed in order to always be in contact with the feet of Kṛṣṇa. They informed some does that they came across that they knew Kṛṣṇa had been there with his beloved, bringing joy to their eyes, because they

could smell the aroma of his garland mixed with the kumkuma from her breasts. Addressing some trees that were bowed low, their branches laden with fruit and flowers, they asked if Kṛṣṇa with his arm on the shoulder of his love and a lotus in his hand, pursued by intoxicated bees, had been pleased with their respectful bows. They inquired about Kṛṣṇa's whereabouts of some vines they saw clinging to trees because they were sure Kṛṣṇa had touched them since they were all in the process of budding. In this way the cowherd girls, speaking as if they were mad and pained by their unsuccessful search for Kṛṣṇa, again identified with him and began to imitate the events of his life.

One girl became Pūtanā and another became Kṛṣṇa and suckled at her breast. Another became an infant and while crying, struck with her foot another who had become a cart. One became a demon and stole another who had become Kṛṣṇa. Another crawled around on all fours to the ringing sound of ankle bells. Two became Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma and others became their cowherd friends. One cowherd girl became the demon Vatsa, another the demon Baka, and yet another pretended to kill them. Another, imitating the way Kṛṣṇa calls cows that have wandered far away, playing the flute and sporting was praised by others saying "well done, well done." One placing her arm on another walked around saying "I am Kṛṣṇa. Look at my playful gait." "Don't be afraid of the wind and the rain. I have saved you." Saying this a cowherd woman raised up a cloth with one hand. One climbed on the head of another and said to her "Evil snake! leave this place. I am born to punish rascals." Another said "Hey cowherds! Look at the fearsome forest fire. Quickly close your eyes so that I may take care of it." One bound by another with a garland to a pretend mortar pretended to be afraid covering her face with her hands.

As they were questioning the vines and tress of Vṛndāvana about Kṛṣṇa, they spotted the footprints of the supreme lord in one part of the forest. Those footprints were clearly the footprints of the son of Nanda because they showed the markings of the flag, lotus, thunderbolt, goad and so forth. As the women went forward searching for his path by means of those prints they spotted the footprints of a woman close by his and feeling troubled said: "Whose footprints are these of someone walking with the son of Nanda with her arm on his shoulder like a female elephant walking with her bull elephant? Lord Hari is certainly pleased with her since Govinda has left us behind and taken her off to be alone. Fortunate are these particles of dust from Govinda's feet; even Brahmā, Śiva, and Rāmā sprinkle them on their heads to destroy sin. Those footprints of hers are disturbing to us since she alone from among the women has been singled out and enjoys privately the lips of Acyuta. Her footprints are not visible here. Her lover must have lifted her up because her soft feet are tortured by sharp blades of grass. Ladies, note the deeper footprints of that lusty, more heavily burdened Kṛṣṇa, as he carries the woman. Here his beloved was put down by the great

one because of these flowers. Here he gathered blossoms for her. Notice this; in going to get them his prints are incomplete. The lover arranged the hair of his beloved here; here is surely where he sat as he placed the flowers in lover's hair. Here he, lover of the self, self-satisfied, unfragmented, made love to her showing the depravity of lust-laden men and the baseness of women." Seeing that the cowherd women wandered about almost senseless. The cowherd woman whom Kṛṣṇa took with him leaving behind all the others in the forest began to think of herself as the best of all women because her lover had rejected all the other desirous cowherd women and accepted her. Then going to some other part of the forest the proud woman said to Keśava: "I am unable to walk anymore. Carry me wherever you want." He said to her: "Climb up on this branch." Then when he disappeared, that woman began to cry out: "Lord, lover, dearest! Where are you? Where are you, great-armed? Show yourself to me your poor servant, friend." As the cowherd women were searching for Kṛṣṇa they saw from afar their sad friend who was bewildered by separation from lover. Hearing what she said and about the respect she received from Mādhava and then her abandonment because of her weakness they were thoroughly amazed. They entered the forest as long as there remained moonlight. When they saw darkness setting in the women came out of there. Their minds on him, their conversations about him, acting like him, fully absorbed in him, they sang of his qualities and forgot about their own homes. Contemplating Kṛṣṇa they arrived at the bank of the Kālindī and gathered together they sang of him, desiring his return.

The cowherd women sang: "This Vraja is more glorious because of your birth. The goddess of fortune always resides here. Beloved, just see how your lovers whose very lives rest on you search for you in all directions. Lord of love, granter of wishes, you are killing your poor servants with your eyes that defeat the beauty of the inner whorls of best, most highly cultivated lotuses that blossom in the autumn. Isn't that a kind of murder too? You have saved us repeatedly from the flow of poisonous waters, from wicked demons, from rain and wind, from lightning and fire, from bulls disguised as sons, from fears all around, best one. You are certainly not the son of a cowherd woman. You are the seer of the inner selves of all embodied beings. Friend, at the request of the creator (Brahmā) you have appeared in the family of the Sātvata to protect the universe. Chief of the Vṛṣṇis, place your wish-fulfilling, lotus-like hands on our heads, the hands by which you bestow freedom on those who seek shelter at your feet, fearing of cycle of worldly existence. Hero, destroyer of the troubles of the people of Vraja, smiler of the smile that wipes out the smiles of the families of women, accept us, your servants; show us your beautiful lotus-like face." With these and similar sentiments of love the cowherd women sang to Kṛṣṇa and asked him to return to them quickly.

In that way the women sang, chattered madly, and cried sweetly, all desirous

of seeing Kṛṣṇa. At that moment he suddenly appeared among them, his lotus face smiling, wearing a yellow cloth and forest garland, the very enchanter of the enchanter [Cupid] himself. Seeing that their lover had appeared, their eyes abloom with love, all the women rose up suddenly as if life had returned to them. One of them joyfully took his lotus-like hand with her folded hands; another held his arm, decorated with sandalwood, on her shoulder. Yet another slim woman accepted his chewed betel nut in her folded hands. One overheated woman placed her breasts on his lotus-like feet. One, overcome by the anger of love, arching her brows into a bow and biting her lips, glared at him as if to kill him with her sidelong glances. Another drinking in his lotus-like face with her unblinking eyes was not able to find satisfaction, though she drank deeply, like the holy ones who are never satisfied when glancing at his feet. Someone else, taking him into her heart through her eyes and then closing them, embraced him there, her body covered with goose bumps, like a yogī flooded with bliss. All of the them thrilled by the great pleasure of seeing Keśava gave up their suffering born of separation like people who had found wisdom. Lord Acyuta, surrounded by those women whose sadness had disappeared, looked more like the Primal Person surrounded by his powers. Taking them he went to the bank of the Kālindī which was filled with bees and breezes fragranced by blossoming kunda and mandāra flowers, where the darkness of the night was destroyed by the light of the autumn moon, and where the auspicious soft sands were piled up by the quivering hands of the Kṛṣṇā.

The pain in their hearts washed away by the sight of Kṛṣṇa, the cowherd women reached the end of their desires like the Vedas. They made a seat for their dear friend with their own upper garments marked with the rouge of their breasts. The Lord seated there, the controller seated in the hearts of the best of yogīs, was radiant surrounded and honored by the cowherd women and he assumed a form in which all the opulence of the three worlds was concentrated. Paying him, the awakener of erotic desire, due respect they, with smiles, playful glances, and restless eyebrows, praised him by touching his hands and feet and then, slightly annoyed, spoke. "Some honor those who honor them, some honor those who don't honor them, and some honor neither. Explain this to us, sir."

Kṛṣṇa replied: "Those who only honor those who honor them, friends, are interested only in their own benefit. There is no friendship there; their dharma is for their own benefit not otherwise. Those, however, who honor those who do not honor them are like parents, compassionate. Here their dharma is blameless and theirs is real friendship, too, beautiful hipped girls. Some do not honor those who honor them nor those who do not honor them. They are the self-pleased, those who have achieved their desires, the ungrateful, and those who despise their elders. But I, friends, do not honor creatures who honor me in order to encourage them to search for me, like a poor man who has lost his wealth. Filled

with the thought of that, he knows nothing else. Thus, ladies, in order to fix your hearts on me, you who have given up society, the Veda, and your own selves for my sake, though honoring you from afar, I disappeared. You must not hate the one you love for that, dear ones. I am not able to repay you who are blameless, even with a lifetime as long as that of a god, since you have cut the ever strong chains of the household and honored me. May that good deed itself be your reward.”

Hearing those charming words of the Lord the cowherd women gave up their sufferings born of separation, their desires increased by [the closeness] of his body. There Govinda began his circle dance (*rāsa-kṛīḍā*) in the company of those jewel-like women, who were pleased and who joined hands with one another. The festivity of the circle dance got underway adorned by the circle of cowherd women with Kṛṣṇa, the lord of yoga, entering in between each pair of them holding each around the neck such that each woman thought that he was with her. The sky above was filled with hundreds of the vehicles of the gods with their wives, their minds carried away with anticipation. Then drums sounded, flowers rained down, the lords of the Gandarvas with their wives sang of his pure fame. The sound of the bangles, ankle-bells, and other bell ornaments of the women with those of their lover became loud in the circle of the dance. There the Lord, the son of Devakī, was radiant among them like a great emerald among so many golden jewels. With their foot movements, the trembling of their arms, their smiles, the playfulness of their eyebrows, their gyrating middles, the slipping of the shawls covering their breasts, their earrings swinging across their cheeks, their faces glistening, their braids and girdles coming undone, the lovers of Kṛṣṇa shined brightly like flashes of lightning on a background of clouds.

They sang loudly, the red throated dancers, lovers of love-making, pleased by touching him, and by their song all the world was filled. One woman led an unmixed melody with Mukunda and being pleased he honored her with “Well done, well done!” Then she led the refrain and again he gave her great honor. Another woman tired by all the dancing rested her arm on the shoulder of that bearer of a club [Kṛṣṇa] who was close by her side, her bangles and flowers hanging loose. She smelled the sweet lily fragrance that arose from one small part of Kṛṣṇa’s arm and with her hair standing on end she kissed him. Another placed her cheek, beautified by her earring which was tossing back and forth from the dancing, on his cheek and gave him her chewed betel nut. Another one, dancing and singing, her ankle and girdle bells ringing, became tired and placed on her breasts the aspicious, lotus-like hand of Acyuta who was by her side. The cowherd women having attained as their lover, Acyuta, so completely precious to Śrī, enjoyed being with him, embraced by his arms and singing his praises. The cowherd women danced with the lord in the circle dance, their faces beautified by the blue lotuses in their ears, curly locks of hair, perspiration

on their foreheads, garlands slipping down from their hair, to the loud ringing of their bracelets and ankle bells. In this way, the Lord of Rāmā took pleasure with the beauties of Vraja through embracing, fondling with his hands, passionate glances, uninhibited amorous foreplay and laughter, like a child bemused by his own reflection. The senses of the women of Vraja were so overwhelmed by the joy of physical contact with him that they were unable to rearrange their hair, their skirts, or the cloths covering their breasts and their garlands and jewelry had fallen off.

Seeing the play of Kṛṣṇa the wives of the gods, overheated with desire, fainted. The Moon with his companions was also astonished. Expanding himself into as many as there were women, the Lord playfully enjoyed love play with them even though he is self-satisfied. Compassionate, he lovingly wiped their faces, exhausted as they were by the exertions of love play, with his cool hand. The cowherd women, seeing his smile made sweeter by the illumination of his cheeks and hair by his shining golden earrings, became filled with respect and began to sing of the lord's pious deeds, overjoyed by the touch of his fingernails. In order to take away their fatigue, he entered with them into the water, which became littered with garlands crushed by their closely pressed bodies and colored by the red powder from the women's breasts, chased by singing bees, like an unrestrainable bull elephant surrounded by his female elephants. In the water, being splashed by the laughing women from all directions and gazed at lovingly and being honored by those in sky with showers of flowers, he whose water play was like that of a king of elephants enjoyed splashing them back himself. Then they wandered into the groves of the Kṛṣṇā (Yamunā) on the bank filled with breezes bearing the fragrances of water flowers (lilies), surrounded by groups of female bees, like an elephant oozing with rut in the company of his females. In this way he, whose every wish comes true, with whom the women were ever enamoured, and who withheld his love inside himself, relished all those nights which were lumined by the light of the moon and which were filled with feelings like those found in stories from autumnal poetry.

The king (Parīkṣit) then asked his informant (Śuka): "the Lord, master of the universe, descended with a portion (of himself) in order to establish the Law and to quell its opposite. How could he, the speaker of the institutes of Law, the Agent, the Protector, do something the reverse (of the Law), o brahman, sexual contact with the wives of others? For what purpose has the King of the Yadus, whose desires are all fulfilled, done something disgusting? Destroy this doubt of mine?"

Śuka responded by saying that transgression of the Law is sometimes seen among masters; cruelty is not a fault for the powerful, like with fire which consumes everything. One who is not a master should never perform such deeds even in his mind. He who out of foolishness drinks the poison produced from

the ocean like Rudra is destroyed. The statements of the masters are true and so sometimes are their actions. A wise man should perform the deeds that are in agreement with their words. A good work does not benefit nor does its opposite produce an ill-effect for these who are without egotism. What to speak of the master of all beings, animal, human, and divine; what connection can good and bad have with his powerful acts ? When even sages who are satisfied with the mere dust from his lotus feet, whose bonds of action have been destroyed by the power of yoga can wander about freely without being affected, taking their bodies at will, how can one speak of his (Kṛṣṇa's) bondage? He who moves inside the cowherd women, their husbands, and all embodied beings is the overseer who takes a body here for amusement. He takes a human body to show mercy to all beings and performs the kind of play which when heard of makes one devoted to him. The men of Vraja did not envy Kṛṣṇa since they, charmed by his māyā, were thinking that their respective wives were by their sides. When Brahma-rātra<sup>2</sup> arrived, encouraged by Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa) the cowherd women, so dear to the Lord, not wanting to return to their homes, departed. One who listens with respect to this play of Viṣṇu with the wives of Vraja and who describes it obtains the highest bhakti to the Lord and easily and quickly destroys the disease of the heart, lust.

Once on the holy day Devayātrā the cowherds went happily to Ambikāvana in carts pulled by oxen. There they bathed in the Sarasvatī and worshiped the god Paśupati (Lord of Domesticated Beasts, Śiva) with offerings and also the goddess Ambikā (Śiva's wife). They gave cows, gold, cloth, honey, and sweet food to the brāhmaṇas and all prayed "May God be pleased with us." The greatly fortunate, Nanda, Sunanda, and the others spent that night on the bank of the Sarasvatī drinking only water. By chance an enormous, hungry snake arrived in that grove and seized Nanda as he was lying down. He cried out when the snake took hold of him "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa, this great snake is swallowing me, son; free your surrendered one." Hearing his cries the cowherds jumped up quickly and seeing him being swallowed, they became frightened and struck at the snake with touches. Though burned by the firebrands the serpent did not release Nanda. Then the Lord, Master of the Sātvat, came and touched him with his foot. His inauspicious past karman was destroyed by the touch of the Lord's foot and he gave up his serpent's body and took the form of a Vidyādhara. Hṛṣīkeśa (Kṛṣṇa) asked him as he bowed with his shining body wearing jewelry of gold: "Who are you who are amazing to behold shining with such wealth and how have you been brought to this deplorable condition?"

"I am some Vidyādhara by the name of Sudarśana. With luster, personal beauty, and opulence I wandered about in all directions in my sky chariot. Proud

<sup>2</sup>The night of Brahma, aka. Brahma-muhūrta, the last half of the last period of the night.

of my beauty I laughed at some ugly Aṅgiras seers and they put me into this (snake) womb provoked by my own sin. That curse was initiated by compassionate souls to show me their grace, since I was freed from my wickedness by being touched by the foot of the teacher of the worlds. Freed from that curse by the touch of your foot, I bid you now farewell, destroyer of afflictions, who removes the fears of those who are surrendered to you, frightened by mundane existence. I too am surrendered, great yogin, great being, master of the good. Allow me to go, lord, controller of the controllers of all the worlds. I am suddenly freed from the punishment of the *brāhmaṇas* by unfailing sight of you. By simply repeating your name all hearers and oneself are suddenly purified; how much more by the touch of your foot?" Making this submission he mounted a chariot and praising him Sudarśana went to heaven and Nanda was freed from danger. Hearing about Kṛṣṇa's personal might the residents of Vraja were astounded. Then completing their observances they returned to Vraja, discussing that respectfully.

Then sometimes Govinda and Rāma, whose prowess was awe-inspiring, sported in the forest at night in the midst of the women of Vraja. Being praised by the women who were bound to them by love, the two were well adorned, perfumed, garlanded and dressed in spotless clothes. Honoring the beginning of the night, with its rising moon and stars and filled with bees intoxicated by the fragrance of jasmine and lily-breezes, they sang songs simultaneously that were auspicious to the minds and ears of all of the beings of the universe, creating rising and falling modulations in the cycle of notes. The cowherd women hearing their songs became faint and did not know that their clothes were slipping off and their hair and garlands had fallen down. While they were thus playing freely and singing as though intoxicated, a follower of Dhanada (Kuvera) known as Śaṅkhacūḍa arrived there. While they were looking on he fearlessly drove the women, for whom they the protectors, crying for help to the northern direction. Seeing their loved ones crying out 'Kṛṣṇa, Rāma,' the two brothers chased after them as if they were cows taken by a thief. Shouting out 'don't be afraid,' with Śāla sticks in their hands, and moving very rapidly they quickly caught up with that lowest of Guhyakas. Seeing them closing in on him like time and death, he became afraid and, releasing the women, the fool ran away to save his life. Govinda chased after him wherever he ran desiring to take his crown jewel and Balarāma stayed to protect the women. Catching up with him not very far away, Lord took off the scoundrel's head, along with its crown jewel, with his fist. Killing Śaṅkhacūḍa in that way and taking the shining jewel he gave it to his older brother with love while the women looked on.

When Kṛṣṇa has gone to the forest (to herd cows), the cowherd women, their minds chasing after him, sing songs about his sports and thereby pass the day with difficulty. They say: "When Mukunda, his left hand placed on his left cheek,



his eyebrows twisting and turning, flute at his lips, his soft fingers in their places, agitates (with his playing) the cowherd women, the women in the sky vehicles with the Siddhas hearing that become astonished and bashful and with their minds running down paths of sexual desire they fall into a swoon, the loose state of their clothes forgotten. Isn't it wonderful ladies! Listen to this: when this son of Nanda whose necklace is like a smile, on whose chest abides stationary lightning, who gives relief to people who are pained, plays his flute, the herds of bulls in the pasture, of deer and cows, their minds carried off by the sound of his flute, become like an etched picture, chewed grass sitting in their mouths, ears erect, and standing still as if asleep. Friend, sometimes when Mukunda, who resembles an athlete's companion, adorned with flowers, gold ornaments, and peacock feathers, calls the cows with Balarāma and the cowherd boys, the rivers, who like us are short on pious acts, interrupt their flowing, desiring the wind-born dust from his lotus feet, their arms trembling with love, their waters stilled. When he, whose prowess is described by his followers like the primal person whose majesty is undiminishing, while wandering in the forest calls with his flute the cows that are moving about on the slopes of the hills, the forest vines and trees as if manifesting Viṣṇu in their selves become filled with flowers and fruit and bowing down under their burdens, their bodies in the thrill of love, rain down showers of honey. When he whose sandalwood markings are worth seeing imitates with his flute the loud, pleasing songs of the bees who are intoxicated by the honey of tulasī and the divine fragrance of his forest garlands, the cranes and birds on the ponds come forward, their hearts stolen by the beautiful songs, and worship Hari, their minds controlled, their eyes closed, maintaining strict silence. Ladies of Vraja, when, filled with joy, he with Bala, garlanded and diademed, on the peaks of the mountain causes the world to resound joyfully with the sound of his flute, the clouds, afraid of drowning out the great one, thunder very softly, sprinkle flowers on their friend, and with their shadows create an umbrella for him.

"Chaste lady (Yaśodā), when your son who is clever in the various skills of cowherds places his flute to his lips and plays tunes, that he has learned completely by himself, from time to time the lords of the gods headed by Indra, Śiva, and Brahmā, who are themselves great artists, hear them and, uncertain of their principles, their necks lowered and minds humbled, become confused. When he, playing his flute, walks about with that gait of an elephant, overcoming the pains of Vraja's hoofprints with his own lotus-like feet, marked by flag, thunderbolt, lily, goad and various other marks, then we, the force of our desires given to watching him playfully, are brought to the same condition as the trees (motionlessness); in our confusion we know nothing about our braids or garments. Sometimes that wearer of gems counts the cows with a garland of tulasī, whose fragrance he loves, and when, placing his arm on the shoulder of a dear friend,

he plays his flute the does who are wives of the black deer, their hearts stolen away, come to serve the Dark One (Kṛṣṇa), following that ocean of good traits around like cowherd women, freed from their interest in homelife. O sinless (Yaśodā), when your dear child, the son of Nanda, whose dress is made festive by jasmine flowers, surrounded by cows and cowherds, plays on the Yamunā, giving joy to those who love him, a slow breeze blows making all pleasant with a touch of sandalwood and semi-divine beings, honoring him, surround him with music, songs, and offerings of flowers. The benefactor of the cows of Vraja who lifted up the mountain and whose feet are praised by the elders (Brahmā, etc) on the path, after collecting together the entire wealth of cows at the end of the day, playing his flute and being praised by his companions, causes joy to the eyes even when fatigued, his garland covered with dust from the hooves of the cows. He comes desiring to fulfill the wishes of his friends, born of the womb of Devakī, king of the stars (the moon). His eyes slightly fluttering with joy, honoring his own and his friends and wearing a forest garland, face pale like a jujube, soft cheeks adorned by the beauty of his gold earrings, the Lord of the Yadus, moving like the king of elephants, comes close at the end of the day, his face filled with pleasure, freeing the cows of Vraja from the harsh heat of the day like the king of the night (the moon).

Then a bull-demon named Ariṣṭa came to the cow settlement in the body of a huge buffalo, shaking the earth which was cut by its hooves. He roared harshly, scratched the earth with his hoof, raised up his tail, lifted up embankments with the tip of his horns and passed urine and stool, his eyes fixed and unmoving. By his piercing roar the embryos of both cows and men out of fear fell before their time and were aborted. Thinking the buffalo a mountain the clouds gathered about him. Seeing his sharp horns the cowherd men and women became frightened and the animals, also frightened, ran off leaving behind the herd. Calling "Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa," they all took shelter with Govinda. "Hey dummy, what do you want with these frightened cowherds and animals, phoney, when I am here, the chastizer misbehaved rascals like you?" said Acyuta clapping loudly and angering Ariṣṭa with sound of his claps. Hari stood there with his arm on the shoulder of a friend and stretched out to his full stature. Ariṣṭa, thus provoked, pawed the earth with his hoof, and waving about his raised tail, the angered ram charged toward Kṛṣṇa. With his horns placed directly in front, his blood red eyes unmoving, he, throwing a sidelong glance, charged Acyuta rapidly like a thunderbolt thrown by Indra. Grabbing ahold of his horns, the Lord threw him back eighteen steps like an elephant tossing back an opposing elephant. He, being thrown down by the Lord, rose up again quickly and charged him again, his whole body covered with sweat, breathing heavily, blinded by his rage. He (Kṛṣṇa) grabbed the charging buffalo by the horns and, throwing him to the ground and stepping on him with his foot, wrung him out like a wet cloth. Then he struck the

demon with the demon's own horn and the demon collapsed. Vomiting blood and passing urine and stool, thrashing about with his legs, his eyes unsteady, he painfully went to death's destruction. The gods showered Hari with flowers and praised him. After thus killing the buffalo and being praised his family, Kṛṣṇa with Balarāma entered the cow settlement, he who is the joy of the eyes of the cowherd women.

When the demon Ariṣṭa had been killed by Kṛṣṇa, whose actions are amazing, the fortunate Nārada, sage of the gods, spoke this to Kaṁsa: "The daughter of Devakī was really Yaśodā's daughter and Devakī's Kṛṣṇa and Rohiṇī's Rāma were placed by fearful Vasudeva with his friend Nanda. They are the ones who have killed your people. " Hearing that, the lord of the Bhojas out of anger, his senses being churning, took up a sharpened sword with the intent of killing Vasudeva. He was stopped by Nārada. Knowing his (Vasudeva's) sons to be his death, Kaṁsa instead had him (Vasudeva) put in chains along with his wife. When the sage of the gods (Nārada) had departed Kaṁsa spoke to Keśin and sent him off saying "May you kill Rāma and Keśava." Then the King of the Bhojas called his companions, Muṣṭika, Cāṇūra, Śāla, Tośala, and the rest, and his elephant keepers and said: "Hey all. Listen to this. Cāṇūra and Muṣṭika, in Nanda's pasture reside the two sons of Ānakadundubhi (Vasudeva), Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. Therefore, my death is revealed to me. When they arrive here, please kill them through the sport of wrestling. Let various rings be constructed for the contests of wrestling so that all the citizens and towns' people may freely watch. Good Minister! Let the elephant Kuvalayāpīḍa be brought to the gate of the arena and kill my two enemies with him. Let the Sacrifice of the Bow begin on the fourteenth according to rule and immolate some choice animals for the king of ghouls who grants bons."

Having given his orders, the knower of science of diplomacy called for the best of the Yadus and taking his hand in his own spoke to Akrūra: "Greetings, Lord of Gifts, do me a friendly turn. There is no one other than you who is so respected and well-disposed among the Bhojas and Vṛṣṇis. Therefore I seek your help, excellent man, who are able to undertake weighty charges just as great Indra sought out Viṣṇu and thus achieved his goal. Go to Nanda's pasture. There live the two sons of Ānakadundubhi. Bring them here with this chariot right away. My death has been sent forth by the gods sheltered by Vaikuṇṭha. Bring them here with the cowherds headed by Nanda bearing gifts. I will kill those two with an elephant equal to death and if they escape I will kill them by means of the wrestlers who are like the fires of lightning. When they have been killed I will kill their friends, the Vṛṣṇis, Bhojas, and Daśārhas, beginning with Vasudeva, who will be suffering from their loss, and also my old father who wants the kingdom, his brother Devaka and anyone else who are my enemies. Then this earth will be freed of its thorns. Jarāsandha is my teacher, Dvidiva my

dear friend and Śambara, Naraka, and Bāṇa are my friends. With them I will kill the kings who are partisans of the gods and will enjoy the earth. Knowing this bring the boys, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa here quickly to attend the sacrifice of the Bow and to see the beauty of Yadupura."

Akrūra replied: "King, you should perform your desired action, clearing away your death, remaining completely equal in success or failure. The provision of results is up to fate. A person strives intently for his desired goals even though they are controlled by fate and is met with either joy or sadness. I shall do your bidding." Having thus ordered Akrūra and sent away his ministers Kāṁsa entered his house and Akrūra went to his home.

Sent by Kāṁsa, Keśī, in the form of a huge horse, wearing out the earth with his hooves, as fast as the mind, breaking up with his mane the crowds of clouds and vehicles in the sky, by his whinnies frightening all, went to Nanda's pasture, wishing to help Kāṁsa, his eyes large, a huge gaping cavity in his monstrous face, large-necked, looking like a huge blue cloud and filled with ill-intent. The Lord called him who was scaring his cow settlement with his neighing, churning the clouds with his tail, and hunting for him and his older brother to fight and then he (Kṛṣṇa) roared like a lion. Hearing that, he (Keśī) faced towards him and as if drinking the sky raced towards him thoughtlessly and then the indomitable, frightfully quick, and difficult to approach horse struck at the lotus-eyed one (Kṛṣṇa) with his hooves. Dodging them, Adhokṣaja<sup>3</sup> angrily grabbed ahold of his legs with his arms and swinging him about threw him with contempt a hundred bow-lengths away like Garuḍa throwing away a snake. When Keśī regained consciousness he again rose up and, opening his mouth, charged quickly towards Hari. Smiling, he pushed his left arm into his mouth like a snake going into a hole. Keśī's teeth, touched by the arm of the Lord, fell out as if they had been struck by iron. The great soul's arm inside the horse's body swelled up as if it had dropsy. His breath blocked by the enlarging arm of Kṛṣṇa, kicking his legs, his body in a sweat, his eyes rolling about, he passed stool and fell to the ground dead.

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<sup>3</sup>He who is beyond the senses.

## Chapter 5

# A Sketch of Sanātana's Theology

Sanātana Gosvāmin deserves recognition as the father of the main current of theology that developed among the followers of Caitanya. Not only was he among the first of Caitanya's followers to write in sophisticated Sanskrit, the language of philosophy and theology in those times, he was also among the most learned of Caitanya's immediate followers. His intense and nearly life-long study of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, his solid background in many of the traditional areas of study like logic, literary criticism, Vedānta, and so forth, as well as his erudition in the textual traditions relating specifically to *bhakti* made him ideal for laying the foundation for a Caitanya Vaiṣṇava theology. His brother Rūpa, perhaps the most influential writer of the Caitanya tradition, refers to him with the highest respect and often recognizes his own deep indebtedness to him. As far as I know, however, no one has ever tried to present his theology in any systematic way. Such an undertaking would require a thorough and careful study of all of his works, including his enormous commentary on the Tenth Canto of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The presentation of Sanātana's theology given here is only a tentative step in the direction of a more thorough and systematic discussion of his theology. This presentation is based primarily on the work translated here and on a general reading of Sanātana's major work, the *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta*.

Perhaps the best place to start is with Sanātana's belief in Caitanya as a descent of Kṛṣṇa. Interestingly, that belief is not clearly expressed in this his first text, except perhaps by pun. In the beginning of the work, Sanātana lists the colors of the descents in each of the four ages that are recognized by the Hindu tradition (26-27):

White in the Age of Truth,  
 red in the Triadic Age,  
 but green in the Diadic Age,  
 O great lord, you are black in the Age of Quarrel.

Śrī Kṛṣṇa, I praise you,  
 the world's only ocean of mercy,  
 who make limitless playful descents  
 for the pleasure of your devotees.

The Age of Quarrel is the age we currently live in according to the Hindu cycles of time and the one that Sanātana believed he lived in. He says that the color of the descent in the Age of Quarrel is black (*kṛṣṇa*). One can take this in the straight-forward way or read it in another way. In the original text, the words *kṛṣṇa* and *mahāprabhu* are side by side suggesting the possibility that Sanātana is implying an identification between Kṛṣṇa and Mahāprabhu (Caitanya).

When Sanātana refers explicitly to Caitanya towards the end of this text, he makes no clear identification of him with Kṛṣṇa. The names he gives him could just as well apply to a great *bhakta* (403-6):

I praise you Śrī Caitanyadeva,  
 Beautiful with your golden body,  
 O Son of Śacī deliver me,  
 Lord, Crown jewel of renunciants!

Your arms down to your knees,  
 Smiling face, Ornament of Nīlācala,  
 Promoter in the world of glorification  
 of the sweet names of the Lord,

Giver of praise to Advaitācārya,  
 Giver of enjoyment to Sārvabhauma,  
 Shower of affection to Rāmānanda,  
 Friend of all Vaiṣṇavas,

Great ocean of the nectar of love  
 for the lotus-like feet of Śrī Kṛṣṇa,  
 obeisance to you.  
 Do you ever remember me,  
 one lower than the low?

Here, Caitanya's beauty is extolled and his activities as a devotee of Kṛṣṇa, but not his being a descent of Kṛṣṇa. That changes sometime between this text and his next work, the *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta*. Sanātana begins that later text with an auspicious verse explicitly recognizing Caitanya as a descent of Kṛṣṇa with a special gift for the world(1.1.1):

Victorious is that youthful one, who has descended in order to bestow the gift of love for himself, a veritable ocean of multitudinous sweetnesses, from whose form as Caitanya is revealed the love, which has reached the highest limit of its highest stage, found eternally among the cowherd women.<sup>1</sup>

Caitanya is clearly identified in this verse as that youthful Kṛṣṇa and, in turn, Kṛṣṇa is seen as having descended into the world for two reasons: to bestow the gift of divine love (*preman*) for himself and to reveal the highest form of that love in the love for Kṛṣṇa found among the cowherd girls of Vraja. It is hard to say how many years separated those two works of Sanātana, but since both were apparently written while Caitanya was still living, no more than fifteen years separates them (1518-1533 C.E.). It is possible too that as few as four or five years separates them. In those five years or so, Sanātana's somewhat tentative view of the identity of Caitanya had changed into the conviction that Caitanya was one of Kṛṣṇa's descents. For Sanātana, then, deity meant a multifaceted, multiformed being who is profoundly engaged in the world through countless descents and numberless self-revelations. Caitanya was only the most recent of those descents for Sanātana. Moreover, Sanātana's deity was one whose highest concern was with the spreading of love (*preman*) and whose highest form was possessed of the quality of sweetness (*mādhurya*). These two concepts, love and sweetness, naturally enough, become central threads in the fabric of his theology and, of course, color much in that theology. Knowing the specific meanings of those terms is thus very important to understanding his theology.

The main framework for Sanātana's understanding of deity was provided, no doubt, by the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. There one finds the concept of a God who is infinitely expandable, that is, capable of assuming numerous forms and personalities so that he may play a variety of roles in order to save or support the cosmic manifestation. These forms are generally referred to as descents (*avatāra*). In the third chapter of the First Canto, for instance, some twenty-seven descents of Bhagavān, the supreme deity, are listed and most of the rest of the purāṇa is devoted to telling the stories of those descents. Though not explicitly mentioned, Caitanya Mahāprabhu fits well into that framework as one of those descents, the "hidden" descent, and starting with Sanātana the tradition finds plenty of references in the text which its members feel can only point to Caitanya. Those same descents are listed briefly in the beginning of Sanātana's *Praise*.

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<sup>1</sup>बृ. भा., (१.१.१),

जयति निजपदाब्जप्रेमदानावतीर्णो  
विविधमधुरिमाब्धिः कोऽपि कैशोरगन्धिः ।  
गतपरमदशान्तं यस्य चैतन्यरूपाद्  
अनुभवपदमाप्तं प्रेम गोपीषु नित्यम् ॥ १ ॥

The main function of Sanātana's theologizing is to construct out of the plethora of divine names and forms a hierarchy that reflects his own hierarchy of ultimate concern. The instruments of measurement that Sanātana uses to determine this hierarchy are none other than the principles of love and sweetness, which for our purposes here might be characterized as intimate reciprocity (love) and intimate approachability (sweetness). At the top of the hierarchy stands Kṛṣṇa because he excels all others in the degree of his intimate reciprocity and approachability. In this Sanātana appears to be supported by the purāṇa in which it is claimed, reversing the priorities of numerous other purāṇa and itihāsa, that Kṛṣṇa is not just another descent, but is himself the source of all of the other descents.<sup>2</sup>

In his *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta*, Sanātana chooses to introduce his hierarchy by means of a narrative. We follow the travels of the itinerant mythological sage Nārada as he climbs the ladder of *bhakti* in search of the one who is the best of Kṛṣṇa's lovers, or, in the second part of the text, we accompany Gopakumāra as he wanders through the various levels of the universe, guided by the Gopāla mantra, in search of God's most intimate and loving form. Sanātana's brother Rūpa has extracted the essence of Sanātana's system and combined it with proof-texts from the *Bhāgavata* and other purāṇas in his *Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta* (The Shorter Ambrosia of Devotion to the Lord).<sup>3</sup> I will use Rūpa's brief summary and logical organization of the materials in Sanātana's longer work in order to present Sanātana's theological hierarchy.

Rūpa divides his summary work into two parts, one pertaining to Kṛṣṇa and the other to the *bhaktas* of Kṛṣṇa. In the first part he takes up the various forms of Kṛṣṇa beginning from the highest and moving down the scale divine being. He begins, therefore, with a discussion of Kṛṣṇa's forms beyond the cosmic manifestation. These are not properly speaking descents because they exist outside of the cosmos and do not descend or appear in the world. Rūpa organizes them into three categories: Kṛṣṇa's own essential form, his forms that are one-in-nature with that form, but different in appearance, and his empowerment forms, that is, the forms that result when he takes possession or control of a living being, investing that living being with some of his own power.<sup>4</sup> Kṛṣṇa's own form (*svayaṁrūpa*) stands at the very top of the hierarchy, of course, as the very pinna-

<sup>2</sup>एते चांशकलाः पुंसः कृष्णस्तु भगवान् स्वयम् (१.३.२८).

<sup>3</sup>Rūpa says (Lb., 1.5):

ल. भा., (१.५):

श्रीमत्प्रभुपादाम्बोजैः श्रीमद्भागवतामृतम्।

यद्वातानि तदेवेदं संक्षेपेण निषेव्यते॥

"The *Bhāgavatāmṛta* that was composed by Prabhupāda (Sanātana) will be restated here in brief."

<sup>4</sup>Rūpa Gosvāmin, *Samkṣepa-bhāgavatāmṛta*, 1.11.



cle of excellence and the source of all of the other forms.<sup>5</sup> That form, says Rūpa, is completely independent of all other forms.<sup>6</sup> and he cites the following verse from the *Brahma-saṃhitā* (5.1) as evidence:

Kṛṣṇa is the lord supreme,  
eternal, conscious, and blissful in form,  
without a beginning, the beginning of all  
Govinda by name, the cause of all causes.<sup>7</sup>

The one-in-nature forms (*tadekātmā-rūpa*) are forms that are not different from Kṛṣṇa's own form but which appear to be different because of possessing different features, shapes, or names. Rūpa divides this type of divine form into two sub-types: sportive (*vilāsa*) and partial (*svāṃśa*).<sup>8</sup> The sportive type is Kṛṣṇa's form when it appears in a different shape for purpose of performing some specific sport or pastime. Otherwise those forms are practically the same in terms of power as Kṛṣṇa's own form.<sup>9</sup> Rūpa gives as an example the Lord of the Higher Heaven<sup>10</sup> and he holds up Vāsudeva as a one-in-nature form of the Lord of Higher Heaven in turn. The Lord of Higher Heaven is a one-in-nature form of Kṛṣṇa and Vāsudeva is a one-in-nature form of the Lord of Higher Heaven. The Lord of Higher Heaven is best known in the Hindu mythology as the four-armed Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu who is the master of and resides in the heaven named Vaikuṇṭha. Vāsudeva here refers to the first expansion of that Lord of Higher Heaven as he prepares to create the cosmos. They are nearly equal in power, but have different bodily features, names, and functions.

The partial one-in-nature forms are, according to Rūpa, like the sportive forms, that is, they are different in appearance, name, and function, but have less power. Examples are the expansion form known as Saṅkarṣaṇa and the Fish form (Matsya). They all have their own heavens beyond the empirical universe, according to Rūpa, and thus are classified with the others as outside the cosmic manifestation.<sup>11</sup>

The empowerment forms occur when Kṛṣṇa empowers or infuses a living being with some of his power. Śeṣa, Nārada, and the four Sanas in Vaikuṇṭha

<sup>5</sup>ibid., 1.10.

<sup>6</sup>ibid., 1.12.

<sup>7</sup>ब्र. सं., (५.१):

ईश्वरः परमः कृष्णः सच्चिदानन्दविग्रहः ।  
अनादिरादिर्गोविन्दः सर्वकारणकारणम् ॥

<sup>8</sup>ibid., 1.14.

<sup>9</sup>ibid., 1.15.

<sup>10</sup>Paramavyomanātha, also known as Vaikuṇṭhanātha, the Lord of Vaikuṇṭha, or Nārāyaṇa, the Supporter of Mankind or He who is Supported by the Primal Waters.

<sup>11</sup>ibid., 1.17.

and Akrūra on earth, as described in the Tenth Canto of the *Bhāgavata*, are all examples of this type of form of Kṛṣṇa.<sup>12</sup> Rūpa adds that a Manifestation (*prakāśa* of Kṛṣṇa is not counted among the different forms because Manifestations are not separate from Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa can manifest himself in many places at the same time, but those forms are all equal and the same. An example of a Manifestation of Kṛṣṇa is found in his appearing in each of his houses in Dvārakā at the same time. This is described in the Tenth Canto of the *Bhāgavata*, Chapter Sixty-nine.<sup>13</sup> These expansions of Kṛṣṇa, because they exist beyond the manifest universe, occupy the highest rung in the hierarchy of divinity. Rūpa turns next to the descents, those forms of Kṛṣṇa that enter into the cosmic manifestation for some specific purpose.

Descents (*avatāra*) are those same previously described forms when they enter into the world, or as Rūpa puts it, come out (of the Higher Heaven), as if they were not preexistent to the world. Kṛṣṇa may come either himself or indirectly through various channels, in order to perform some functions within the cosmos. The channels by which he may descend, if he does not come himself, are his one-in-nature forms or his *bhakta*. The One who Reclines on Śeṣa (Nārāyaṇa) is an example of the former and Vasudeva (Kṛṣṇa's father) is an example of the latter. There are three types of descents: the Puruṣa or Primal Person descents, the Guṇa or Quality descents and the Līlā or Sportive descents. Rūpa remarks that these are mostly partial one-in-nature forms or empowerment forms.<sup>14</sup>

The Puruṣa descents are the descents that get the cosmos rolling. Puruṣa is a primal being or giant whose glance sets material nature in motion and who is the source of all the other descents into the material world. There are three Puruṣa descents: the first who sets material nature in motion, the second who enters into each universe, and the third who enters into the hearts of all living beings as their witness. Thus, each aspect of the cosmic manifestation is believed to have an overseer. These Puruṣa descents are derived from the ancient Vedic hymn (10.90) called the *Puruṣa-sūkta*, the Hymn to Puruṣa, which presents the creation of the universe in terms of the self-sacrifice and dismemberment of a primordial giant. To that is added the teaching of Vyūha or Divine Expansion found in the Pañcarātra texts. The Guṇa descents are what has been referred to sometimes as the Hindu trinity: Brahmā, the creator god, Viṣṇu, the preserver god, and Śiva, the destroyer god. They are called Guṇa descents because each is associated with one of the three *guṇa* or strands of material nature: goodness-clarity, passion-energy, darkness-lethargy. Brahmā the creator is associated with passion, Viṣṇu, the preserver with goodness, and Śiva the destroyer with darkness.

The Līlā or Sportive descents are descents in which Kṛṣṇa assumes various

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<sup>12</sup>ibid., 1.18-19.

<sup>13</sup>ibid., 1.20-22.

<sup>14</sup>ibid., 1.25-29.

forms to enact some sort of sport or divine play. Those forms act in ways that are beneficial or bring illumination to the living beings of the universe, but which are not directly involved with creating, maintaining or destroying the cosmos. They bring knowledge, teach or spread *bhakti*, save the earth from becoming submerged, save the Vedas, and so forth. Rūpa lists twenty-five of them, mostly following the list given in the *Bhāgavata*(1.3). To these descents he adds the Manvantara descents of which there are fourteen. The Manvantara descents are periodic descents aimed at assisting the king of the gods (*deva*), Indra, who with the other gods controls certain aspects of the operation of the universe. They are often under attack by demonic forces which wish to take away their powers and use them for their own benefit and aggrandizement. A *manvantara* is a period of time in the Hindu ideology of cyclic time in which a leader named Manu, recognized as a father of mankind, is in power and in each there is a descent. Each day of Brahmā is divided into fourteen *manvantaras*. Beyond that there are the Yuga or Age descents. Each *manvantara* is divided into four ages and in each age there is a descent to teach the proper form of worship of the deity for that age. Altogether there are forty-one descents, Rūpa tells us, forty-one instead of forty-three because two, the descents named Yajña and Vāmana are counted as both Sportive and Manvantara descents. Sanātana names these descents in verses eighteen through twenty-seven of this text.

This brief account of the Caitanya Vaiṣṇava hierarchy of divinity gives some sense of the type of hierarchical thinking that informs the theologizing of Sanātana and the Vaiṣṇava who followed him. Every religious phenomenon within the Hindu sacred horizon must find its proper place in such a hierarchy, its proper distance from the fullest expression of divinity that occupies the hierarchy's highest position and its proper connection the other elements of that hierarchy. Nothing can be left out, otherwise the hierarchy is viewed as flawed. Thus, we find Śiva, the god of an opposing Hindu sect called Śaivism, represented here among the descents of Kṛṣṇa. Though not explicitly stated, the goddess, referred to as Śakti or Devī, is also incorporated into the hierarchy. Each of the descents has his *śakti* or female power who is an expansion or descent of the primal śakti, Kṛṣṇa's consort, Rādhā. Thus, there is a parallel structure of comparable forms and descents on the female or goddess side of the divine equation. In this way, the third major form of Hindu sectarianism called Śāktism, the worship of the Goddess, is also incorporated into the hierarchical structure of the Vaiṣṇava theology. The same honor is extended to Buddhism in that the Buddha is recognized as one of the sportive descents of Kṛṣṇa and Jainism, too, is represented by Ṛṣabha who is similarly viewed as a sportive descent. The Vaiṣṇavas, however, do not attempt to step beyond the Hindu horizon to consider other religious traditions such as Islam or Christianity. Certainly, Sanātana and Rūpa must have known much about Islam and its practices and maybe even a little about Chris-

tianity. Nevertheless, their analyses extended only to the Hindu sacred texts, and then primarily to the Purāṇic texts.

The most important aspect of this hierarchical theology is certainly the principle or principles by which the hierarchy has been constructed. In the case of Sanātana's hierarchy, the main principle is the fullness of the deity's self-revelation, the fuller the self-revelation the higher the form is placed in the hierarchy. The form with the fullest self-revelation is placed at the top. The superiority of some forms is referred to as "the highest state or degree" (*parāvastha*). Rūpa refers to a passage in the *Padma Purāṇa* that identifies three forms as the highest degree of divine self-revelation:<sup>15</sup>

In the Man-Lion form (Nṛsiṃha), in Rāma, and in Kṛṣṇa, the six qualities are completely full.<sup>16</sup> They have the highest degree of that like lamps being lit from another lamp.<sup>17</sup>

Apart from the fact that these three forms are probably the most popular forms for iconic worship in Vaiṣṇava temples around India, they each emphasize a certain aspect of deity. Nṛsiṃha represents deity as protector of his devotee or worshipper; Rāma represents the deity as ideal and just ruler, and Kṛṣṇa represents deity as an overwhelming attractive force. Rūpa, however, points to an interesting passage of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* to establish Kṛṣṇa as the fullest self-revelation of deity even among those three.<sup>18</sup> That passage traces the history of a single demon who, in successive reincarnations, is killed by all three of those forms. When Nṛsiṃha is present that demon was Hiraṇyakaśipu, the demon father who tried to kill his own son, Prahlāda, when he discovered that he was a worshipper of Viṣṇu. During the Rāma descent the demon was Rāvaṇa, the king of Laṅkā who kidnapped Rāma's beautiful wife Sītā. When Kṛṣṇa was present the demon was Śiśupāla, Kṛṣṇa's most vitriolic foe among the allies of the Kurus. Though that demon was killed by all three, he only received liberation when Kṛṣṇa killed him. This means that he only recognized divinity clearly in Kṛṣṇa and this is taken as evidence that Kṛṣṇa, among those three, is the fullest manifestation of deity. It is believed in Vaiṣṇava thought that when one is killed by God, one is liberated provided one recognizes the divinity of one's killer. Part of what brought about Śiśupāla's liberation was his constant inimical absorption in his

<sup>15</sup>ibid., 1.281.

<sup>16</sup>The six divine qualities are sovereignty or supreme might, prowess, fame, opulence, knowledge, and detachment.

<sup>17</sup>प. पु., ?:

नृसिंहरामकृष्णेषु षड्गुण्यं परिपूरितम्।  
परावस्थास्तु ते तस्य दीपादुत्पन्नदीपवत्॥

<sup>18</sup>V.P., 4.15.1-2, 4-10.

foe, uttering his name constantly in hatred and thinking about him everywhere and at all times. This constant repetition of Kṛṣṇa's names, in fact, was what purified him of the sins resulting from his hatred and allowed him at the moment of death to know who his killer really was. Thus, Rūpa concludes, although all three forms are full, all of deity's many powers are not manifest in them all. It is the manifestation or lack of manifestation of those powers that is the cause of the hierarchical ordering. He gives an example from experience to drive the point home. The power of fire to burn things down is the same in a lamp or in a campfire. However, in decreasing the discomfort of feeling cold and so forth one gains greater happiness from a campfire. In a similar way, one gains greater happiness through the destruction of worldly bondage in accordance with the manifestation of the divine qualities and so forth in the divine forms.<sup>19</sup>

It is a good idea to remind ourselves, at this point, that this is Rūpa's representation of his brother Sanātana's line of thought and that, therefore, there are likely to be some of his own enhancements in what he presents as Sanātana's. In addition, Rūpa bases his enhancements on Sanātana's later work, the *Bhāgavatāmṛta*. The text presented here, Sanātana's first work, represents the stage before that in Sanātana's thinking. There is, therefore, just a hint of the idea of varying manifestation of powers, which is the basis for his hierarchical theology, in this work. When Sanātana, after describing the various partial forms, comes to the top of the hierarchy and refers at last to Kṛṣṇa, Sanātana says (32):

O Śrī Kṛṣṇa, may you be victorious,  
 descending to Mathurā,  
 the bestowing of love for yourself  
 your one great objective,  
 O great reservoir of many fine sweetnesses,  
 the greatness of your might and mercy well revealed.

Here, "the greatness of your might and mercy well revealed" (*svvyañjitaiśvarya-kṛpā-mahattva*) implies that those were not well or not fully revealed in the other descents. Rūpa characterizes the "power" he has in mind as the divine qualities, might (sovereignty), sweetness, mercy, valor, and so forth.<sup>20</sup> Thus, manifestation of power means manifestation of qualities, presumably qualities other than those six that set the three highest forms apart from all the others in the first place.<sup>21</sup> There are several relatively clear statements of idea of varying manifestation of powers in Sanātana's second work, especially when he comes to descriptions of

<sup>19</sup>This is a rough summary of Rūpa's argument in the *Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta*, verses 1.319-362.

<sup>20</sup>*ibid.*, 1.361.

<sup>21</sup>Rūpa, however, specifically mentions sovereignty as a power and it is also one of the six qualities. There appears to be some overlap, therefore.

Kṛṣṇa's full appearance as himself in Mathurā. Sanātana says through the words of Hanumān:

That [grace] is now found with his descent in the city of Mathurā, in which the powers of his sovereignty are manifest at their highest limits; even a portion of the grace shown to the great Pāṇḍavas cannot be compared [with that shown me] just as a particle of mud cannot be compared with the great cosmic mountain Sumeru.<sup>22</sup>

A little later on, too, Sanātana says through Hanumān:

But what was not revealed about the Lord then in Ayodhyā is shown in that portion of Mathurā called Dvārakā now, the variety of his supreme sovereignty and sweetness, incomprehensible to Brahmā, Rudra, and the others and yet enhancing the *bhakti* of his bhaktas.<sup>23</sup>

Here it is clearly claimed that something about the supreme being is revealed in Mathurā in Kṛṣṇa that was not revealed in Ayodhyā in Rāma. That something is described as the variety of his sovereignty and sweetness, that is, Kṛṣṇa's various powers or potencies understood as various attractive personal traits and qualities. Rūpa is then merely rephrasing points made by Sanātana and scattered through his text. In addition, Rūpa seems largely concerned with adding scriptural support for the doctrines that Sanātana narratively presents in his work. Sanātana, of course, provides some of that support in his own commentary on his work and points to various lines of interpretation, but supporting texts are not given to the degree or with the flair for organization that Rūpa provides.

It is also important to note that the sources for this theology are primarily the Vaiṣṇava sacred texts, mostly Purāṇas, but also some Tantras and Āgamas, aided by hermeneutical techniques and reasoning. The role of personal experience is either greatly diminished or at best unemphasized. Thus, of the major sources of knowledge that are recognized and discussed by Hindu philosophers, the

<sup>22</sup>वृ. भा., १.४.४९:

सोऽधुना मथुरापुर्यामवतीर्णेन तेन हि ।  
प्रादुष्कृतनिजैश्वर्यपराकाष्ठाविभूतिना ॥  
कृतस्यानुग्रहस्यांशं पाण्डवेषु महात्मसु ।  
तुल्यार्हति नो गन्तुं सुमेरं मृदणुर्यथा ॥

<sup>23</sup>वृ. भा., १.४.६५:

अयोध्यायां तदानीं तु प्रभुणाविष्कृतं न यत् ।  
मथुरैकप्रदेशे तद्द्वारकायां प्रदक्षितं ॥  
परमैश्वर्यमाधुर्यवैचित्यं वृन्दशोऽधुना ।  
ब्रह्मरुद्रादिदुस्तर्क्यं भक्तभक्तिविवर्धनं ॥

primary source of this theology is verbal testimony (*śabda*), that is, the testimony of the sacred texts deemed authoritative. Inference (*anumāna*) and perception (*pratyakṣa*) are used merely as ancillary sources to aid in the proper interpretation of the texts. This can be seen illustrated in Rūpa's use of inference in discussing the various passages of scripture and in the examples drawn from perceptual experience, as in the example of the power of fire in a lamp and a campfire. Sanātana's nephew will develop this epistemology further in his series of works called the *Ṣaṭ-sandarbha* (The Six Treatises). He will also pick up and develop the idea of the relative manifestation and non-manifestation of divine powers as a way of hierarchically ordering divine manifestations. Brahman, for instance, the great sacred impersonal subject of monistic Vedānta, will be cast in terms of the realization of divine substance without any realization of the divine powers.<sup>24</sup>

Rūpa adds one more wrinkle to this idea of the variable manifestation of divine powers. He adds the word *acintya* which means "inconceivable" to his characterization of those powers. It is by the inconceivable powers of the supreme being that contradictory traits such as being one and many and being a part and a whole at the same time and in the same way are possible in the deity. He points to a passage in the Tenth Canto of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (10.69.2) in which amazement is expressed at Kṛṣṇa's ability to be simultaneously in each of his palaces at the same time with the same body. Again, the *Padma Purāṇa* is cited in which Hari (Kṛṣṇa) is praised for his ability to become many and yet remain one. The *Bhāgavata* (10.40.7), too, says that Kṛṣṇa's worshipers worship him who has one form by means of many forms.<sup>25</sup> This idea of inconceivable powers accounting for mutually contradictory qualities or traits in the supreme being may have been the source of the line of thought that Jīva later developed into the defining idea by which the Caitanya tradition came to be known as a school of Vedānta. The Caitanya tradition is recognized as the Acintya-bhedābheda or Inconceivable Difference and Non-difference school of Vedānta. The roots of that line of thinking may be found in Sanātana's work, though it is unclear where at present. It may be a refinement of Sanātana's thinking by Rūpa.

Along side of this hierarchy of divine forms is constructed a hierarchy of *bhaktas* (lovers of Kṛṣṇa), some invented and some taken from the mythology, to illustrate the various levels and states in the development of *bhakti*. In Sanātana's narrative we travel around the universe and beyond in search of the person who is the greatest recipient of Kṛṣṇa's blessing, for it is felt that one develops *bhakti* as an end in itself (i.e., not as a mere means to mokṣa or liberation) and as the result the blessing of the supreme deity. On the lowest level is the devout Vaiṣṇava *brāhmaṇa* who worships the image of Kṛṣṇa and spares no costs to make offerings of food, to encourage the singing of Kṛṣṇa's praise, and to distribute

<sup>24</sup>Jīva Gosvāmin, *Bhagavat-sandarbha*, para. 3.

<sup>25</sup>Rūpa, L. bh., 1.365-8.

those offerings to all in form of Kṛṣṇa's grace. The *brāhmaṇa*, however, denies that he is the recipient of Kṛṣṇa's blessings and points beyond him to a pious king in the south he has heard of. That pious king centers his kingdom around its temples of Viṣṇu and institutes vast programs of charity and encourages by means of the temple the redistribution of food and wealth to all of his subjects. This is significant because it shows the caste system to be an external institution to which *bhakti* must be added in order to produce sanctified results. That king in turn points beyond himself to Brahmā, the creator god, Kṛṣṇa's active agent in this universe. On his shoulders fall the well-being of all living beings in the universe. Brahmā is like that earthly king only his power is vastly greater for his kingdom is the whole universe. Brahmā, however, points beyond himself to Śiva or Mahādeva as one who has received far greater blessings than himself. Śiva's abode is beyond the cosmic manifestation, yet he is also profoundly involved with the cosmic manifestation as its eventually destroyer.

In the cases of all of the *bhakta* mentioned so far, *bhakti* is mixed with knowledge and action and thus is not free of egotism and self-pride. It is for this reason that such *bhakta* are placed lower in the hierarchy. Moreover, each of the *bhakta* is correlated with a form of Kṛṣṇa, those same forms that make up the hierarchy discussed before. Śiva is connected with Saṅkarṣaṇa, Brahmā with Puruṣa, the king with a temple image of Viṣṇu and the *brāhmaṇa* with the Śālagrāma stone, a stone with unusual markings thought to be a form of Viṣṇu. Thus, there is a progression in the forms of divinity from the most elementary form (or perhaps even formlessness) of the Śālagrāma stone, to the fully formed image in stone or metal of the temple, to the thousand-headed soul of sacrifice Puruṣa, to Saṅkarṣaṇa, the source of the Puruṣa form; a gradual movement from partial forms to fuller and fuller forms.

Śiva, of course, points beyond himself to the residents of the transcendent world known as Vaikuṇṭha, the world ruled by four-armed Nārāyaṇa mentioned earlier, as greater objects of Kṛṣṇa's grace, but before Nārada can go there, Śiva pulls him aside and directs him to the lower regions of the universe where the great *bhakta* Prahlāda resides. Here we move from the partial forms of deity to the forms that Rūpa referred to as full: Nṛsiṃha (the Man-Lion form), Rāma, and Kṛṣṇa. Prahlāda is the *bhakta* that Nṛsiṃha saved from the persecution of Hiraṇyakaśipu. Prahlāda excuses himself, saying that he only worships his lord in his mind by remembering him, and points to Hanumān, the great *bhakta* of Rāma, who does physical service as well. Hanumān sends Nārada on to the Pāṇḍavas, friends and supporters of Kṛṣṇa. The Pāṇḍavas bow to the Yādavas, the family members of Kṛṣṇa and among them, one stands out as especially dear to Kṛṣṇa. He is Uddhava, Kṛṣṇa's closest friend. Here we are approaching the top of the hierarchy of lovers of Kṛṣṇa.

On the highest level are the residents of Vraja, the simple cowherding folk



of Kṛṣṇa's childhood home. They are the ones Sanātana feels Kṛṣṇa has shown the greatest grace, because they have loved Kṛṣṇa the most intensely and the most selflessly. Among them, Rādhā and her girlfriends stand out above the rest as the best of all for they have risked everything to love Kṛṣṇa. Thus, on the *bhakta* side of the equation we have an ordering of the lovers of Kṛṣṇa beginning from the remote and distant admiration and ritual worship of the earthly *brāhmaṇa* worshiping Kṛṣṇa through the Śālagrāma stone, moving up through greater forms of intimacy, such as that of Indra for whom Kṛṣṇa appeared as the younger brother, Upendra, to the even greater forms of intimacy manifest in Kṛṣṇa's relationship with Prahlāda as Nṛsiṃha and with Hanumān as Rāma, to the most intimate form of all in Rādhā's relationship with Kṛṣṇa as his amorous lover. The greater the intimacy the greater the *bhakta* and the higher that *bhakta* is placed in the hierarchy.

Thus we have two hierarchies in Sanātana's theology, standing parallel to each other like twin columns, the hierarchy of the forms of deity and the hierarchy of the worshippers or lovers of deity. Naturally, the various levels in these hierarchical structures are intimately correlated with each other. Each of the various forms of the deity corresponds to a type of lover of the deity. The glue that holds these two columns together is this thing called *bhakti* which culminates in love (*preman*) for Kṛṣṇa. Thus, *bhakti*, too, has a hierarchical structure, but Sanātana does not discuss or develop it in any organized way in his works. That is a job left for and accomplished by Rūpa who does so admirably in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and *Ujjoala-nīlamanī*, based largely on the hierarchical architecture of Sanātana's theological constructions. But why did Sanātana not discuss or describe *bhakti*? *Bhakti* is an inward attitude, a complex of feelings, and a powerful set of experiences. As such it cannot be known directly, but only indirectly, through its expressions, symptoms, and outward signs, through its actions and effects. Like some Twentieth Century European phenomenologist, Sanātana supplies his readers with the phenomena of *bhakti* as he has gleaned them from the literature and, perhaps, from his own personal experience, the outward signs and expressions that reveal the nature of deep inner feelings and experiences. But he shies away from describing or trying to define *bhakti* itself. Perhaps Sanātana felt that this is the only way the something as diverse and private as *bhakti* can effectively be presented. *Bhakti* remains in the background of Sanātana's narrative, mysterious and perhaps elusive, yet ineluctably drawing the two, worshipper and deity, together and tying them into an unfragmentable unity.

A brief summary of Rūpa's hierarchical presentation of *bhakti* is needed here to complete the picture of Sanātana's theology. Rūpa presents his understanding of *bhakti* in his classic work, the *Ocean of the Nectar of the Rapture of Bhakti* (*Bhakti-*

*rasāmṛta-sindhu*).<sup>26</sup> There he sees practical *bhakti*, that is, *bhakti* as a set of physical and mental practices or cultivations, as culminating in experiential or emotional *bhakti* (*bhāva-bhakti*). This emotional *bhakti* he describes in this way (Brs, 1.3.1):

Emotional *bhakti* is a special form of pure goodness (or being, *śuddha-sattva-viśeṣātmā*), comparable with the first beams of sun-like divine love (*preman*), which softens the heart with its rays.<sup>27</sup>

Emotional *bhakti* is a prelude to the rise of divine love, which is called *preman*, in the heart of the practitioner. It has the effect of softening the heart of the practitioner, that is, it makes the practitioner more prone to experience powerful emotions in response to things connected with Kṛṣṇa. It is described as pure goodness in order to distinguish it from other mental or emotional responses that are evoked by mundane things. Pure goodness (*śuddha-sattva*) is a way of referring to the trans-material states of being associated with Kṛṣṇa's trans-material existence. Rūpa describes divine love with (Brs., 141):

Emotional *bhakti* that has become intensified, completely melting a person's heart and endowing that person with a sense of possession (with respect to Kṛṣṇa), is called divine love by the wise.<sup>28</sup>

Emotional *bhakti* when intensified becomes divine love and causes the heart of the practitioner to melt completely. This means that the practitioner experiences frequent states of intense emotion and sometimes ecstatic trance. Such ecstatic trances often occur in Sanātana's narratives in his *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta* and possibly reflect his own ecstatic experiences after retirement to Vṛndāvana. A person also develops a sense of possessiveness towards Kṛṣṇa, a sense that Kṛṣṇa somehow belongs to him or her. The powerful state of emotional intensity that characterizes divine love for this tradition is called love for Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇa-rati*). That love becomes the basis for what Rūpa calls *bhakti-rasa* or sacred rapture, conceived of on the model of aesthetic rapture or *rasa* in Sanskrit aesthetic theory.

<sup>26</sup>The text has recently been published with a translation by David Haberman. See the bibliography for the details.

<sup>27</sup>ब. र. सि. १.३.१ः

शुद्धसत्त्वविशेषात्मा प्रेमसूर्यांशुसाम्यभाक्।  
रुचिभिश्चित्तमासृण्यकृदसौ भाव उच्यते ॥

<sup>28</sup>ब. र. सि., १.४.१ः

सम्यङ्मसृणितस्वान्तो ममत्वातिशयाङ्कितः।  
भावः स एव सान्द्रात्मा बुधैः प्रेमा निगद्यते ॥

Rūpa in another part of his work discusses love for Kṛṣṇa in more detail. There he describes it as having five forms. He is what he says (Brs., 2.5.6):

That love for Kṛṣṇa, whether promoting itself or some other, is the primary (enduring emotion) and is of five types: pure love, affectionate love, friendly love, parental love, and amorous love. It becomes diverse due to the diversity of its bearers, just as the sun reflected in objects like crystal and so forth becomes diversified.<sup>29</sup>

The point Rūpa makes here is that the love for Kṛṣṇa is in all cases the same, just as the sun is the same. It appears in different ways because of the differences in the bearers or reflectors of that love. He divides those bearers into five broad categories: those who love Kṛṣṇa from a distance as either passive, meditative sages or ordinary people who by chance come into contact with Kṛṣṇa, those who love him as a servant loves a master, those who love him as a friend loves a friend, those who love him as a parent loves a child, and those who love him as an amorous lover. After defining and giving examples of all these ways of loving Kṛṣṇa, Rūpa has this to say (Brs, 2.5.38):

That (love) is according to order more delightful; some form appears more sweet to someone because of their deep inclinations.<sup>30</sup>

The five types of love of Kṛṣṇa are ordered from least delightful (pure love) to most delightful (amorous love). The hierarchy here moves from distant, detached admiration and respect to proximate, passionate intimacy, from peaceful contemplation on Kṛṣṇa's divine form to erotic interaction with him, each level representing a more delightful flavor to the lover. This hierarchy coincides with Sanātana's discovery of better and better lovers of Kṛṣṇa, or as he puts it, recipients of Kṛṣṇa's mercy, in the first part of his *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta*. At the top is the form of love that possesses the fullest of delights, the amorous love of Rādhā and the cowherd girls (*gopī*). It is a delight so full that it includes all of the other, lesser forms and thus is the fullest manifestation of *bhakti* possible. Rūpa has,

<sup>29</sup>ब. र. सि., २.५.६-७:

शुद्धा प्रीतिस्तथा सख्यं वात्सल्यं प्रियतेत्यसौ।  
स्वपरार्थैव सा मुख्या पुनः पञ्चविधा भवेत्॥  
वैशिष्ट्यं पात्रवैशिष्ट्याद्रतिरेषोपगच्छति।  
यथार्थः प्रतिबिम्बात्मा स्फटिकादिषु वस्तुषु॥

<sup>30</sup>ब. र. सि., २.५.३८:

यथोत्तरमसौ स्वादविशेषोल्लासमय्यपि।  
रतिर्वासनया स्वाद्वी भासते कापि कस्यचित्॥

as it were, extracted the juice (*rasa*) from those loving relationships in Sanātana's pseudo-purāṇic narrative and presented it separately with lots of examples from the literature and his own writings. Rūpa's presentation is an extension of the work first undertaken by his brother Sanātana. Rūpa fills in the gaps and smooths out the rough edges and, no doubt, his formulation is much more finished, refined, and more beautifully expressed, but the inner structure is that provided by Sanātana.

Before concluding this section on Sanātana's theology, a few words should be said about practice. In India one never finds theology divorced from practice. One is rather more likely to find complex forms of practice without much in the way of theology or philosophy, as in some of the Tantric traditions. In Sanātana we find a relatively well developed theology balanced by a solid set of religious practices. Sanātana's *In Praise of Kṛṣṇa's Sport* is a particularly good example of this. It is a work that combines theology with a particular set of practices. There are three practices combined in this text: chanting loudly the names of Kṛṣṇa (*nāma-saṅkīrtana*), offering prostrations or obeisances (*praṇāma*), and remembering the sports of Kṛṣṇa (*līlā-smaraṇa*). These practices might be said to be the backbone of Caitanya Vaiṣṇava practice. The most important of all the forms of practice is the glorification of the names of Kṛṣṇa. This entire book consists of various names of Kṛṣṇa and Sanātana intended them to be memorized, understood, and recited loudly which loud recitation is called *kīrtana*. Sanātana, in fact, recommends this clearly in the last verse of the text (431-432):

May that *bhakta* who,  
after understanding its meanings,  
recites loudly this lifeboat-like hymn  
named *Praise of the Sport*,  
and performs the one hundred and eight obeisances,  
quickly attain, O Kṛṣṇa, by your grace,  
the greatest possible love for your figure,  
your name, your games, your home.

Along with this loud glorification is mentioned the regimen of one hundred and eight prostrations. This is not surprising considering what we have heard about Sanātana from the various biographers. One of his most prominent and widely reported traits was humility and, indeed, humility is a highly valued quality among the members of the Caitanya tradition. The practice of offering prostrations to Kṛṣṇa is meant to help practitioners cultivate this important trait. Prostrations, in the beginning perhaps empty or half-hearted, with time become sincere and genuine. It is felt that the greater is one's insight into and love for Kṛṣṇa becomes, the greater one's humility grows.

Finally, the element of remembering is present because the names of Kṛṣṇa that Sanātana has strung together in this long hymn remind one of Kṛṣṇa's earthly

sport (that is, the activities of his descent), his beauty, his good qualities, his homeland, and so forth. Thus, glorification and remembering are closely intertwined in this text. In the later Caitanya tradition these two manners of worshipping Kṛṣṇa, glorification and remembering, loudly chanting his names and remembering his sport, were sometimes separated and occasionally placed at odds with each other. Here, though, both take place simultaneously and, in fact, the practices support each other, the chanting bringing about memory and memory enhancing the meaning of the names and thus their power over the chanter. Since this text is based on part of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (Tenth Canto, Chapters 1-45), it also embodies another important practice, the practice of reading or listening to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, which Rūpa in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* (1.2.238) ranks among the five most powerful practices of *bhakti*. Another couple of those five practices are applicable to Sanātana's practice, though they are not specifically embodied in his text. Residence in Mathurā, that is, in greater Mathurā, Mathurā and its surrounding area (the pasture lands called Vraja), and viewing or worshipping the image of Kṛṣṇa are both practices that we know Sanātana engaged in from his biographies. Since the particular names of the image of Kṛṣṇa that Sanātana worshipped, Madanagopāla or Madanamohana, are not present in this text or the next one, it can be assumed with some confidence that that part of his practice had not yet begun when those books were written.

The image developed from Sanātana's own writings and other biographical accounts that touch upon him fits quite well with a representation of him and the other members of the Gosvāmin circle by Śrīnivāsācārya, a disciple of the group who joined them in Vṛndāvana probably towards the end of the lives of Sanātana and Rūpa. In verse 6 of a hymn he wrote glorifying the Six Gosvāmin of Vṛndāvana called the *Ṣaḍ-gosvāmyaṣṭa* (Eight Verses on the Six Gosvāmin) he says:

They spent their time in counted names, songs, and prostrations, having conquered sleeping, eating, and other forms of enjoyment, being extremely humble and enchanted by the joy of the sweetness of remembering the good traits of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. I praise in Rūpa and Sanātana, the two Raghus, and Śrī Jīva and Gopāla.<sup>31</sup>

Here Sanātana and the other Gosvāmin are portrayed as chanting a counted number of names, singing a counted number of songs, and offering a counted

<sup>31</sup>श्रीषड्गोस्वाम्यष्टक, ६:

सङ्ख्यापूर्वकनामगाननतिभिः कालावसानीकृतौ  
निद्राहारविहारादिविजितौ चात्यन्तदीनौ च यौ।  
राधाकृष्णगुणस्मृतेर्मधुरिमानन्देन सम्मोहितौ  
वन्दे रूपसनातनौ रघुयुगौ श्रीजीवगोपालकौ॥

number of prostrations as part of their daily worship of Kṛṣṇa. The numbers that they performed of each were usually set by the taking of vows to perform just so many. Certainly, the elements of such practices are visible in this text. So, too, is the conjunction of chanting the names of Kṛṣṇa and remembering the traits of Kṛṣṇa. Thus, the text translated here has a practical dimension that transcends its informational or intellectual dimensions. This text was probably a text that Sanātana created in the context of his own practice, perhaps even the one he started out with as he adjusted to his new life in the holy land of his tradition.

This brief and somewhat tentative presentation of the theology of Sanātana Gosvāmin is not based on a complete and comprehensive reading of his works. It is based on the work translated here, the first part of his other major work, the *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta*, and Rūpa's summary of that work called the *Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta*. A thorough presentation of Sanātana's theology would require a more careful reading of his major work along with its auto-commentary and of Sanātana's massive commentary on the Tenth Canto of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* called the *Bṛhad-vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī*, the *Full Pleaser of the Vaiṣṇavas*. Such a huge undertaking was not possible for the purposes of including a section of Sanātana's theology in this introduction. This short presentation, nevertheless, has captured some of the major features of Sanātana's hierarchical manner of theological reflection. In a fuller presentation of his theology those features are likely to remain mostly as they are, albeit enhanced by various refinements and adjustments. It is hoped that this introductory presentation, however, will provide encouragement and a reliable starting point for future work on Sanātana's theological thought.

**Part II**

**Text and Translation**





## Chapter 6

# In Praise of Kṛṣṇa's Sports

*Obeisance to Śrī Kṛṣṇa!*

A brief summary [*sūtra*]<sup>1</sup> of the story of Śrī Kṛṣṇa  
in the sequence of the *Bhāgavata*  
is here inscribed to accomplish the joy  
of one hundred and eight prostrations.<sup>2</sup> (1)

O Brahman of Brahman, I bow to you,  
O Self, Lord of the Lord of Nandī,  
Performer of numerous descents, Kṛṣṇa,  
Giver of the fullest sweetness and joy.<sup>3</sup> (2)

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<sup>1</sup>*Sūtra*, which literally means thread or string, means here a brief statement or aphorism. The commentator glosses *sūtra* with the word "seed" (*bīja*) and gives an unidentified traditional verse defining *sūtra* in its technical sense:

स्वल्पाक्षरमसन्दिग्धं सारवद् विश्वतोमुखम् ।

अस्तोभमनवद्यच्च सूत्रं सूत्रविदो विदुः ॥

Knowers of *sūtra* know them to be very brief, undoubted, unsifted, faultless [statements] that contain the essence of a topic and are universally applicable.

<sup>2</sup>The commentator says that there are four types of prostration: salutation (*abhivādana*), eight-limbed (*aṣṭāṅga*), five-limbed (*pañcāṅga*), and joining the hands to the head. Salutation involves rising, introducing oneself by name, and touching the saluted person's feet. The eight-limbed variety involves bowing down with one's feet, hands, knees, chest, head, speech, eyes, and mind. The five-limbed form involves bowing down with one's arms, knees, head, speech, and mind.

<sup>3</sup>Here Sanātana places Kṛṣṇa above all of the competing conceptions of the supreme being. He is the Brahman of Brahman, which means to say that he is higher than the Brahman that described as the transcendent absolute in the Upaniṣads. He is the Self, which is the immanent absolute described in the Upaniṣads. He is the lord of Śiva who is also called the Lord of Nandī, the sacred bull of Śiva. He is the source of numerous other divine descents or incarnations. Finally, he is given an epithet

[Obeisance unto you! - 1]

Victory to Kṛṣṇa, Highest Brahman,  
Principle of the Universe, Source of the Universe,  
Without a Second, Existence-Consciousness-Joy,  
Self-manifesting, Shelter of All.<sup>4</sup>

(3)

O Unchanging, Unlimited,  
Without Distinction, Unblemished,  
Unmanifest, Truth, By Nature Existent,  
Highest, Light, Undiminishing. (4)

[Obeisance to you! - 2]

Supreme self, Son of Vasudeva,  
Lord of nature and person,  
Giver of all knowledge, activity, and power,  
to you repeated obeisance! (5)

Dweller in the whorl of the heart-lotus,  
Cowherd, Highest person,  
Abode of beings, Lord of senses,  
obeisance unto you, Indweller! (6)

[Obeisance to you - 3]

Highest lord, Lord of Lakṣmī,  
Shaped of being, consciousness, and joy,  
Possessor of all good traits,  
Ever-renewed youth, (7)

that possibly contains the seed of an argument embedded in it: he is the giver of the most complete sweetness and joy. Why is Kṛṣṇa superior to the other potential expressions of the absolute? He has the fullness of sweetness and joy. This is why, Sanātana might argue, Kṛṣṇa is above all of the others.

<sup>4</sup>This verse and the next are addressed to Kṛṣṇa as the Brahman of the Vedānta, considered by this tradition to be a less complete manifestation of the supreme truth. As justification for this the commentator points to a stanza from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (1.2.11) that teaches that that absolute truth is described by three words: Brahman, Paramātmā, and Bhagavān:

वदन्ति तत्तत्त्वविदस्तत्त्वं यज्ज्ञानमद्वयम् ।

ब्रह्मेति परमात्मेति भगवानिति शब्द्यते ॥

Verses 5 and 6 are references to Kṛṣṇa as the Paramātmā, or the all-pervading, indwelling self that accompanies the living beings on their journey through the cycle of reincarnation.

Beautiful in every limb,  
Dark like shining rain clouds,  
Lotus-eyed, Yellow clothed,  
Ever smiling lotus-face,  
obeisance to you! (8)

Most astonishing beauty,  
Ornament-defeating sweetness,  
Ever compassion-softened gaze,  
victory to you! Ornament of ornaments. (9)

Beauty of millions of gods of love,  
Effulgence of millions of suns,  
World-soother like millions of moons,  
Blessed ruler of *Vaikuṇṭha*, (10)

Four armed holding  
conch, lotus, mace, and discus,  
Worshipped by your companions headed by Śeṣa,  
Transported by Blessed *Garuḍa*, (11)

Your Companions so similar to you,  
Endowed with all good qualities,  
O Lord, beyond mind and speech,  
Filled with the great majesty, (12)

Lord of the dispossessed, Sole shelter,  
Provider of more than wealth to the poor,  
Deliverer from all misfortunes,  
Bestower of results beyond desire, (13)

[Obeisance to you! - 4]

Obeisance to you, seed of all descents,  
consisting of the three *guṇa*,<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>The three strands or fibers: clarity or goodness (*sattva*), heat or passion (*rajas*), and darkness or lethargy (*tamas*). According to the *Sāṅkhya* tradition of Indian philosophy, these three fibers compose, in varying mixtures, the fabric of all material things. The next three verses give examples of how Viṣṇu is manifested through each of the three strands. They are called the Strand Descents (*guṇāvatāra*).

the creator Brahmā,<sup>6</sup>  
the destroyer in the shape of Śiva.<sup>7</sup> (14)

O Lord, Pure *sattva* condensed,<sup>8</sup>  
Anxious to fulfill the desires of your devotees,  
I praise you, primal god of gods,  
Merciful, Protector of the universe. (15)

To you the founder of all pious acts,  
the destroyer of all impious acts,  
the destroyer of all demons,  
to Mahāviṣṇu be my obeisance.<sup>9</sup> (16)

To you of many sweet forms,  
of many sweet abodes,  
of many sweet sports,  
of many [sweet] names,  
let there be my obeisance. (17)

[Obeisance to you - 5]

To you in the form of the four Sana,  
as Nārada, as Varāha, as Yajña,  
as Kapila, repeated obeisance.<sup>10</sup> (18)

Obeisance to you as Dattātreya.  
I worship Nara and Nārāyaṇa.  
o Hayagrīva, o Haṁsa,  
Beloved of Dhruva, obeisance to you. (19)

I praise you Pṛthu and Rṣabha

<sup>6</sup>This the example of Viṣṇu as revealed in through the strand of heat.

<sup>7</sup>Viṣṇu through the strand of darkness.

<sup>8</sup>Viṣṇu himself is revealed through the strand of pure clarity. The pureness of the clarity is exemplified by his desire to fulfill the desires of his devotees.

<sup>9</sup>Mahāviṣṇu is the source of all descents. According to the Caitanya tradition Kṛṣṇa is the source of Mahāviṣṇu.

<sup>10</sup>In this and the next seven stanzas Sanātana, honors Kṛṣṇa in his descents during the Manvantara, or periods of the reign of the Manu. There are fourteen Manu, progenitors and lawmakers of men, and during the period of each there is at least one descent of Viṣṇu. These are called the Manvantara descents (*manvantarāvatāra*). Some of those descents perform unusual sports and are thus counted among the Sport descents (*līlāvatāra*), too.

in the Svāyambhuva epoch,<sup>11</sup>  
 In the second epoch  
 by the name of Vibhu,  
 in the third as Satyasena. (20)

In the fourth I praise Śrī Hari,  
 and in the fifth Vaikuṇṭha,  
 in the sixth Ajita, Mahāmāna,  
 and Śeṣa, holder of the world, (21)

And Nṛsiṃha, Kūrma, as well as  
 Mohinī along with Dhanvantari.<sup>12</sup>  
 In the seventh I praise Vāmana.<sup>13</sup>  
 Obeisance to you Paraśurāma. (22)

Śrī Rāmacandra, Vyāsa,  
 obeisance to you, Halāyudha.  
 O Buddha and Kalkī, please protect me,  
 You Thunderbolt-skeleton of the surrendered! (23)

[Obeisance to you - 6]

In the eighth you are Sārvabhauma,<sup>14</sup>  
 in the ninth you are Ṛṣabha,  
 and Viśvaksena in the tenth  
 and then Dharmasetu, (24)

Sudhāmā in the twelfth,  
 the future Yogeśa in the thirteenth,  
 in the fourteenth Bṛhadbhānu;  
 Victory to the thirty-seven! (25)

You who are white in the Age of Truth,<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup>This is the name of the first epoch or period of Manu. The manu of that period was named Svayambhuva, thus the name of the epoch.

<sup>12</sup>These two are considered part of the same descent, not two separate ones.

<sup>13</sup>We are said to be in the Seventh Manvantara called the Vaivasvata Manvantara.

<sup>14</sup>These are believed to be future descents of Viṣṇu. Not much is known about them.

<sup>15</sup>This stanza describes the Descents of the Ages or *yugāvatāra*. Each age has a descent in which Viṣṇu teaches and practices the form of religious observance that is appropriate for that age. They are color-coded.

red in the Triadic Age,  
but green in the Diadic Age,  
O great lord, are dark in the Age of Quarrel. (26)

Śrī Kṛṣṇa, I praise you,<sup>16</sup>  
the world's only ocean of mercy,  
who make limitless playful descents  
for the pleasure of your devotees. (27)

[Obeisance to you - 7]

Giver of pleasure to Prahlaḍa,<sup>17</sup> descents  
Affectionate toward devotees,  
Revealer of the power of bhakti,  
Man-lion, Splitting the chests of those who hate you,  
Lord, Embodiment of the desires of the cultivated,

Victory to you, Feared by the wicked, (28)  
Inwardly very soft through mercy,  
Outwardly beautiful in conceit,  
Desiring to lick the body of Prahlaḍa,  
Roaring throughout the manifest universe. (29)

[Obeisance to you - 8]

Lord of Sītā, Son of Daśaratha,<sup>18</sup>  
Best of Raghus, O Śrī Rāma,  
Lotus-eyed son of Kauśalya,  
Elder brother of Lakṣmaṇa,  
Lord of Hanumān, Friend of Sugrīva,  
Elder brother of Bharata, O Lord, (30)

Wanderer in the Daṇḍaka Forest,  
Noble one, Bow in hand,

<sup>16</sup>The Caitanya tradition believes Kṛṣṇa to be the source of the source of all these descents. He is described as *svayam bhagavān*, the lord himself.

<sup>17</sup>Here, Sanātana returns to two of Kṛṣṇa's descents considered specially exemplary, the Man-lion form called Nṛsiṃha and the ideal king Rāma. Nṛsiṃha demonstrates both the way the lord protects his devotees from danger and the power of *bhakti* to win the lord's protection. This stanza and the next are about him.

<sup>18</sup>These two stanzas revisit the form of Kṛṣṇa as Rāma. Rāma demonstrated the noble behavior of the ideal ruler, according to the tradition.

Ender of the ass's misbehavior,  
 Builder of the sea bridge,  
 Provider of Vibhīṣaṇa's shelter,  
 Killer of the Lord of Laṅkā,  
 Victory, Lord of Kośala! (31)

[Obeisance to you - 9]

Śrī Kṛṣṇa, may victory be yours,<sup>19</sup>  
 descender to Mathurā,  
 distributing love for yourself  
 your main great objective,  
 great reservoir of many sweetnesses,  
 revealer of the greatness of your might and mercy. (32)

Your deeds inquired about by Parīkṣit,  
 your ambrosial story to be heard by all,  
 saver of the Pāṇḍava,  
 hider of Parīkṣit's body. (33)<sup>20</sup>

Giver of misery to the bad who look outside,  
 giver of happiness to the good who look inside,  
 inquired about through the many doubts  
 in the heart of the king desirous of listening, (34)

Life-breath of the king who gave up food and water,  
 ambrosial story that burst forth from Śuka,  
 causer of the tears of the Earth,  
 who was tortured by the burden of armies  
 of demons in the guise of kings, (35)

Awaited by Brahmā and the others  
 brought to the ocean of milk  
 by the sound of the Earth's affliction,  
 Pleaser of the Earth and gods by the relay  
 of your orders heard by Brahmā in meditation. (36)

<sup>19</sup>Here we begin with the *Bhāgavata's* account of the divine play of Kṛṣṇa.

<sup>20</sup>Parīkṣit is the king to whom the story of Kṛṣṇa was told by Śuka. He was the grandson of the Pāṇḍavas and was cursed to die by snake bite on a particular day by an arrogant *brāhmaṇa* boy. He decided to spend his last days on earth fasting and listening to the deeds of Kṛṣṇa and his many descents. He was saved as an infant in the womb by Kṛṣṇa who hid him from the weapon called the brahmāstra (missile of Brahman) directed at him by Aśvatthama, son of Droṇa, after the great war of Kurukṣetra.

[Obeisance to you - 10]

Delighter of Śrī Mathurā,  
Surasena's great capital,  
Main cause of the nuptial joy  
of Devakī and Vasudeva, (37)

Increaser of the immorality of Kaṁsa,  
who held the reins of their horses,  
by the words from out of the sky,  
Protector of the life of Devakī  
through Vasudeva's just speech, (38)

Liberator of the son brought to Kaṁsa  
by Śauri, keeper of his word,  
Causer of the acceptance in Kaṁsa  
of his actions by means of the story told  
by the Sage of the Gods, protect me. (39)

Your many relatives,  
headed by Vasudeva,  
imprisoned by Kaṁsa,  
Your our elder brothers,  
the six infants of Devakī,  
killed by your enemy Kaṁsa. (40)

[Obeisance to you - 11]

(End of summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter One)

Knower of the pain of your Yādava clan  
afflicted by the demonic Kaṁsa's strength,  
Your support (Śeṣa) the seventh embryo of Devakī,  
Giver of orders to Māyā, (41)

Your Māyā enthused  
by your becoming the son of Devakī,  
Your own portion placed in Rohiṇī,  
Delighter in the son of Rohiṇī, protect me. (42)

Your power appeared in Vasudeva,



Eighth embryo of Devakī,  
Shining light of your mother,  
Creator of fear and depression in Kaṁsa. (43)

Ever present in the mind of Kaṁsa,  
Praised by Brahmā, Rudra, and the rest,  
Essence of Truth, Lord of the Universe,  
Bearer of a form of pure goodness. (44)

Your all only available to the devotee,  
Your body providing all things to all,  
Inside of those sheltered in your names and forms,  
Remover of the afflictions of the earth by your birth alone, (45)

Your lotus-feet the ornaments of earth and heaven,  
Born for the main purpose of play,  
Victory! Remover of Earth's burden,  
Your mother encouraged by the gods. (46)

[Obeisance to you - 12]

(End of summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Two)

Born on the dark-eighth of Bhādra,<sup>21</sup>  
Your appearance in constellation Rohiṇī,  
Expander of the Earth's auspiciousness,  
Gladdener of the minds of the holy. (47)

Joy of the great sages' hearts,  
Satisfier of the gods,  
Born in the dead of night,  
Vasudeva's dear son, (48)

Priceless jewel of Devakī's womb,  
Dear younger brother of Balabhadra,  
Elder brother of Gada, be easily pleased!  
Subhadra's older brother, favor me. (49)

Wondrous infant, protect me,

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<sup>21</sup>The lunar month falling in August-September.

Revealer of your divine form,  
 Destroyer of prison darkness,  
 Ornament of the birth chamber. (50)

[Obeisance to you - 13]

Praised by Vasudeva,  
 Direct revealer of the invisible Self,  
 Present and not present in the world,  
 I adore you, cause of [all] causes! (51)

Celebrated as non-doer and doer,  
 Arisen to bring benefit to the world,  
 Compassion that gives liberation to demons,  
 Increaser of the love of your own folk. (52)

Joy of Devakī's eyes, Victory!  
 Praised by your frightened mother,  
 Without [material] Quality, Light of the Intellect,  
 Causer of the Great Dissolution,  
 Creator of Time, (53)

Killer of death for those sheltered at your feet,  
 Unseeable by the sight of eyes of flesh,  
 Remover of your divine form  
 at the request of your mother  
 frightened by the ridicule of the people. (54)

[Obeisance to you - 14]

Describer of your parents previous birth.  
 Bound by the boons you have given,  
 Satisfied by their great worship,  
 Becoming their son for three births, (55)

Great the joy of your mother and father,  
 For sport a human infant,  
 Supreme Brahman in human form,  
 O Excellent in form, Beautiful, (56)

Instructor of the way to your father,

Your Māyā born to Yaśodā,  
The watchmen and citizens put to sleep,  
Enchanted the prison guards, (57)

Limitless doors opened by your power,  
Carried by your father,  
Your umbrella the hood of Sesa,  
Good path given by the Yamunā, (58)

Embodiment of the great fortune of Vraja,  
Laid down on the bed of Yaśodā,  
Nanda and the rest by sleep enchanted,  
The deed unknown to Yaśodā. (59)

[Obeisance to you - 15]

(End of summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Three)

You do I praise for whom  
Durgā was struck by Kaṁsa,  
whose birth Durgā announced,  
Causer of Kaṁsa's astonishment,  
Loosener of the bonds of your father and mother, (60)

Giver of Discrimination to Kaṁsa  
whose mind was cleansed by fear and recollection,  
Bestower of the forgiveness of your mother and father  
who praised the self- knowledge of Kaṁsa, (61)

Augmenter of Kaṁsa's ill will  
by the net of advice of evil ministers,  
Decreaser of the lives of the demons  
by bad counsel overstepping the good. (62)

[Obeisance to you - 16]

(End of summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Four)

Come to a land worthy of consecration  
in the giving of a love for you not bestowed before.  
Joy greater than that of Brahman to your servants,

Treasury of love, Playful one, homage unto you. (63)

Son of Nanda, Your birth rites greatly celebrated,  
Your father a giver of many multitudes of gifts,  
Good fortune of Śrī Gokula, (64)

Celebrated by cowherd men and women in their finest,  
Object of the love, joy, and blessings of cowherd women,  
Filled with the milk of Vraja's cows! (65)

Pleaser of the people of Nanda's Vraja,  
Causer of Nanda's reverence for Vraja,  
Bestower of great wealth on Vraja,  
Drinker of the breasts of Yaśodā, (66)

Great jewel-like son,  
by your father anxiously guarded,  
Protected in his house  
as Nanda went to pay taxes in Mathurā. (67)

Because of you was Nanda thoroughly pleased  
by Vasudeva's auspicious inquiries,  
be pleased with me, O pleaser of Vasudeva  
through Nanda's truthful words. (68)

[Obeisance to you - 17]

(End of summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Five)

Auspicious shelter of Nanda  
fearing the catastrophes Vasudeva mentioned,  
Spotted by the crane demoness with poisoned breasts,  
well-dressed enchantress of all of Vraja. (69)

Lotus-eyes closed out of bashfulness,  
Placed on the lap of Pūtanā,  
Drinker of the milk of Pūtanā's life,  
Squeezer of the breasts of Pūtanā, (70)

Instigator of Pūtanā's screams,

Drier up of the life of Pūtanā,  
Feller of the frightening body,  
six krosa long, of Pūtanā, (71)

Protected by those cowherd women  
knowing many methods of protecting,  
Shielded with the dust of cows,  
Bathed in cow dung and cow urine. (72)

Charmed all over by the placement  
of the seed-names, Aja and the rest,  
by the cowherd women,  
Filler of the earth with sweet fragrance  
from the burning body of the crane. (73)

Freer of Pūtanā,  
Giver of good destination  
to a hateful demoness,  
You whose head Father Nanda sniffed,  
Victory! Astounder of Vraja! (74)

[Obeisance to you - 18]

(End of summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Six)

Besprinkled by your mother in ceremonial "rising,"  
Sleep appearing in your eyes,  
Laid down in a cradle  
beneath a wagon tall. (75)

Eyes smeared with black eyeshadow,  
Smile budding in due course,  
Eyes with playful, roaming gaze,  
Toe tucked in tiny mouth. (76)

Victory! Crier for your mother's breast milk,  
while she was busy the ceremony,  
Up your little lotus foot tossed,  
Overturner of the wagon. (77)

Your acts are incomprehensible to Vraja,

Breaker of the wagon demon,  
 Blessed by the brāhmaṇas,  
 Bathed in water purified by incantation. (78)

[Obeisance to you - 19]

Your crib the lap of Yaśodā,  
 Playful revealer of your weight,  
 Astonisher of your mother,  
 Carried off by Tṛṇāvarta, (79)

Sought everywhere by your mother,  
 Unable to be carried by Tṛṇāvarta,  
 Feller of an immobilized Tṛṇāvarta  
 by grabbing his throat. (80)

Bringer of Tṛṇāvarta down,  
 Found by crying cowherd ladies,  
 To your cowherd mother returned,  
 I extol you, Giver of joy to Vraja. (81)

[Obeisance to you - 20]

Pleased by Yaśodā's breast milk,  
 Gazer on the face of Yaśodā,  
 Son of Yaśodā, Cared for by Yaśodā,  
 I am yours — please protect me! (82)

Revealer of the universe  
 in the middle of your mouth  
 when kissed by your mother,  
 be pleased with me,  
 Shower of the greatest wonders,  
 Astonisher of your mother. (83)

Giver of hundreds of doubts to your mother  
 who witnessed the killing of Pūtanā and others,  
 Destroyer of those doubts  
 by the various astounding traits  
 of your true nature. (84)

[Obeisance to you - 21]

(End of summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Seven)

Secreted away by Nanda  
thrilled by Garga's wise words,  
Your name-giving rite the best,  
Your greatness by Garga guessed. (85)

Protector of the good,  
Destroyer of the bad,  
Kind to your devotees,  
Great Nārāyaṇa,  
You I praise, Increaser of Nanda's joy! (86)

[Obeisance to you - 22]

Victory to you! Filled with crawling's fun!  
Eager to move on your knees,  
Scratches on hands and knees both,  
Charming all with your play of innocence. (87)

Thrilled by the sounds of tinkling ornaments,  
Playing in the mud of Vraja,  
Aglow with jewels atop your long hair,  
tiger claws strung 'round your neck,. (88)

Beautiful mud-smeared body,  
Fat little thighs and butt,  
Grabbing at your face's reflection,  
Imitator of reflections. (89)

Sweet and indistinct in speech,  
Beginnings of teeth in your smile,  
Relying completely on your mother's hand,  
Your movements stumbling and wobbly. (90)

[Obeisance to you - 23]

Glory to you! Imitator of childhood play  
for the eyes of the ladies,  
Manifestor of small abilities,  
Beautiful the clumsy tossing of your feet, (91)

Pulled along by tail of calf,  
Pulling back on tail of calf,  
Giver of the greatest enjoyment  
to the cowherds and their wives  
made to forget their chores. (92)

Distractor of your mother  
trying to do household work,  
Your charm desired by Brahmā and the rest,  
Your childhood amazing to the world. (93)

[Obeisance to you - 24]

Be pleased with me, Boy Gopāla!  
Thriller of the cowherd girls,  
Joined with friends just like you,  
Displayer of boyish, restlessness charm. (94)

Freer of calves at the wrong time,<sup>22</sup>  
Laughing at the angry cries of Vraja's folk,  
Master thief of fresh butter,  
Giver of treats to the monkeys. (95)

Mounter of bench and mortar stairs,<sup>23</sup>  
Breaker of pots filled with milk,  
Extractor from hanging pots,  
Enterer of darkened houses, (96)

Your lamps the jewels on your body,  
Denier of misbehavior before the cowherd women,  
Eyes wandering about out of fear  
of the statements of the cowherd women,  
Giver of joy to your mother. (97)

<sup>22</sup>Kṛṣṇa frees the calves before the cows are milked.

<sup>23</sup>He climbs on top of benches and mortars to reach hanging pots of milk and butter.



[Obeisance to you - 25]

Enjoyer of the scolding of devotees,  
 Eater of mud by desire,  
 News of the mud  
 told by Rāma and the others,  
 Scolded by your mother  
 concerned for your welfare, (98)

Your eyes moving back and forth with fictitious fear,  
 Your form hidden among your friends,  
 Denier of the statements of Baladeva and the rest,  
 Reassurer of your mother, (99)

O Revealer of the universe to your mother  
 inside your small lotus mouth opened wide,  
 Your might realized by your mother,  
 Victory to you! Wilful bewilderer! (100)

Embraced affectionately by your mother,  
 Increaser of the affection of Yaśodā,  
 Granter of the object of a boon  
 given by your devotee Brahmā  
 to Dharā and Droṇa. (101)

[Obeisance to you - 26]

(End of summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Eight)

Greedy for your mother's breast milk  
 who was busy churning curds,  
 Your acts sung by your mother,  
 Grabber of the churning stick. (102)

Unsated by the nectar  
 of your mother's breast milk,  
 Mother gone to save milk from boiling over,  
 Lips quivering with feigned rage,  
 Smasher of the pot of curds. (103)

Stealer of hanging ghee,

Big eater of butter,  
 Connoisseur of ghee,  
 Thrower of butter in all directions. (104)

Body besmeared with butter,  
 Given away by the tinkling your bells,  
 Generous distributor of butter,  
 Crier of imitation tears,  
 Fearful from your thievery. (105)

Running out of fear of your mother,  
 Enjoyer of the cow village's yard,  
 Knower of the toil of your mother,  
 obeisance to you, Dāmodara!<sup>24</sup> (106)

Clothed by rope,  
 Glances awandering,  
 To a mortar tightly bound,  
 Focus of Yaśodā's affection,  
 O Boundless bound by bonds of rope. (107)

[Obeisance to you - 27]

(End of summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Nine)

Noticer of two arjuna trees,<sup>25</sup>  
 Breaker of the curse upon Kubera's sons,  
 Knower of Nārada's promise,  
 his mercy to uplift offenders. (108)

Attainable by the possessionless,  
 Beyond the reach of those blinded by pride,  
 Puller of the mortar's rope,  
 Victory to you! Dear to Nārada! (109)

Breaker of two arjuna trees  
 to fulfill the word of the god-sage,<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup>"Rope-belly," Kṛṣṇa tied with rope around his belly to a mortar.

<sup>25</sup>A type of tree with a white trunk.

<sup>26</sup>Devarṣi, i.e. Nārada

Praised with sincere hymns  
by the sons of the giver of wealth,<sup>27</sup>  
You lord of all lords! (110)

Your greatness hard to know by living beings,  
Always attentive to your devotees' minds,  
Inferable from your uncommon play,  
Fortune of the world's fortunes. (111)

Pleased by serving your servant,  
Highly affectionate to your devotee's devotee,  
Your worship, asked for by the Guhyakas,<sup>28</sup>  
is nectar for the body and senses. (112)

Your speech rains down  
the nectar of your satisfaction  
at the praises given by Śivamitra's sons,  
Proclaimer of the power of meeting your devotees,  
Giver of the blessings of love. (113)

[Obeisance to you - 28]

(End of summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Ten)

Your play astounding to the cowherders,  
Your acts retold by the boys,  
Watched by bewildered Nanda,  
Full lips split by a smile. (114)

Between the fallen arjuna trees,  
Dragger of a huge mortar,  
Cow-rope shining around your belly,  
Freed from bondage by Nanda, (115)

Revealer of submissiveness to your devotee,  
Made to dance to the cowherd women's songs,  
Singing loudly with the boys,  
Charming, the movements of your arms. (116)

<sup>27</sup>Kubera, god of riches and regent of the north.

<sup>28</sup>The sons of Kubera who are a kind of being called Guhyaka.

Carrier of seats and such  
by order of the cowherd women,  
Expert beggar for butter,  
Ocean of the nectar of play  
mystifying the people of Vraja,  
obeisance to you! (117)

[Obeisance to you - 29]

Your wish accomplished by Upananda,  
Anticipating the *rasas*<sup>29</sup> of Vṛndāvana,  
Mounted on a cart for the journey,  
Your acts sung of by the cowherd women, (118)

Your residence in Vṛndāvana pleasing,  
Moon of Vṛndāvana!  
Lover of Vṛndāvana!  
Ornament of Vṛndāvana! (119)

Remover of the natural enmity  
of fierce creatures like tigers and such,  
Thrilled by the sight of Govardhana  
and the banks of the Yamunā,  
may you be pleased with me. (120)

[Obeisance to you - 30]

Your play brings joy to the people of Vraja,  
Lovely indistinct speech,  
Wandering here and there to protect the calves,  
Moving about on the land not far from the village, (121)

Giver of pleasure to Rama and the other boys,  
Suitably clothed for many sports,  
Attracted to playing the flute,  
Maker of wonderful sounds on the flute, (122)

Flute on your lips,  
Sweet form with three bends,

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<sup>29</sup>Rasa — flavors, aesthetic emotions.

Pleased by knocking fruit down with clods,  
Happy to play with a ball, (123)

Imitator of bulls and calves,  
Reproducer of the sounds of bulls,  
victory to you, Lover of battles with one another,  
Imitator of the calls of all creatures. (124)

[Obeisance to you - 31]

Victory, Destroyer of Vatsasura!  
Feller of loads of woodapple fruit,  
Pleased by the praise of the boys,  
Worshiped by the flower-raining immortals, (125)

Concentrated on protecting the cows and calves,  
Giver of wonder to the other boys,  
Returning to the village in the afternoon,  
protect me, You who are  
covered with the dust of the cows. (126)

Head adorned with sumanas flowers,  
Body covered with garlands of gunja berries,  
Flower earrings, Peacock feather garlands,  
Causer of joy by an feather instrument, (127)

Head ornament of charming shoots,  
Decorated with a forest-flower garland,  
Body spotted with forest minerals,  
Crown ornament of peacock feathers. (128)

[Obeisance to you - 32]

Thoroughly engaged in the morning meal,  
Herd of cows moving before you,  
Eyes trained on the Crane Demon (Bakasura) whose body was as  
large as a mountain peak, (129)

Your friends fainted after being swallowed  
by the sharp beak of the crane,  
Your play house the mouth of the huge crane,

Burner of the crane's palate, (130)

Victory to you who were thrown up by the crane,  
 Splitter of the bill of the crane,  
 Embraced by the boys led by Bala,  
 Worshiped by the flower-raining gods. (131)

[Obeisance to you - 33]

[Thus ends the summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Eleven]

Desirous of eating in the forest in the morning,  
 Caller of the cowherd boys with a horn,  
 Herder of uncountable calves,  
 Joined with innumerable boys, (132)

Extremely pleased by boyish games  
 such as stealing from the hanging stores,  
 Pleased by the boys expert  
 in the game of [racing] to touch your feet, (133)

Not being seen for even a moment  
 is intolerable for your friends,  
 Surrounded by the boys of Vraja  
 whose great fortune is praised by Suka. (134)

[Obeisance to you - 34]

Your followers saw as something else  
 the fat, sleeping snake with evil intent,  
 Knower of the evil acting demon Agha,  
 Desiring to protect the deluded boys, (135)

Performer of the enlargement sport  
 out of concern for what is to be done,  
 Enterer into the insides of the serpent,  
 Finisher of the demon Agha,  
 Lifesaver of the calves and cowherd boys, (136)

Expander of the joy of the immortals,  
 Giver of liberation to the despicable demon,  
 Astounder of the arriving Brahma,  
 Ocean of Wonder, obeisance unto you! (137)

[Obeisance to you - 35]

[Thus ends the summary of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Twelve]

You in the stage of youth known as boyhood,  
Your activities enormously wondrous,  
Delightful stories of you bemuse  
the gods, Suka, and Parikṣit, (138)

Eating in a meadow on the beautiful  
and much praised bank of the river,  
Seated on the fine bank of the river,  
Surrounded by a circle of boys, (139)

Situated between rows of friends,  
Eating with the boys of Vraja,  
Flute placed in the sash of your yellow cloth,  
Adorned with forest decorations, (140)

Your stick and horn placed  
under your left arm,  
be pleased with me,  
Holder of rice mixed with yogurt in your left hand,  
Beautiful while eating a bite of food, (141)

Fruit placed in your palm,  
Stealer of the minds of your boy companions,  
Boys laughing at your jokes,  
Your eating gives wonder to the heavenly ones. (142)

[Obeisance to you - 36]

Searching after the missing cows,  
Destroyer of the fear of the cowherd boys,  
Loser of the group of cowherd boys,  
Searching for the calves and cowherd boys, (143)

Knower of Brahma's actions,  
Assumer of the forms of the calves and cowherd boys,  
Desirous of giving joy to their respective mothers  
and to the stealer of the cowherd boys and calves, Brahma, (144)

Having forms like the boys of Vraja,  
 With actions like the cowherd boys,  
 With forms and actions like the calves,  
 Entering their respective places. (145)

[Obeisance to you - 37]

Regarding yourself as the drinkers  
 of the breast milk of the cows and cowherd women,  
 Increaser of the love of the cows and cowherd women,  
 Your workings surmised by Balarama,  
 Mystifier of the Grand-father, (146)

Revealer of your own many forms  
 of concentrated pure being,  
 Awakener of Brahma who was  
 incapable of registering the extremely amazing, (147)

Giver of pleasure to the external sight  
 of the unborn one who was very poor in seeing you internally,  
 Controlled by the cowherd boys,  
 O Radiant one, with a bite of food in your hand,  
 please protect me! (148)

Absorbing and creating the calves and boys,  
 Embarrasser of Brahma,  
 Your feet washed by the joyful tears of Brahma,  
 Praised by Vidhi who saw the truth. (149)

[Obeisance to you - 38]

[Thus ends the summary of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Thirteen]

O Moon of the ocean of  
 the nectar-like words of Vidhi,  
 Clothed like a cowherd boy,  
 Your divine body a descent of compassion for Brahma,  
 Your true nature one of inconceivable greatness, (150)

Conquered by the singular joy



of bhakti untouched by false knowledge,  
 Giver to those indifferent to the essence  
 of all good fortune [bhakti]  
 only the trouble they encounter trying for poor knowledge, (151)

The best way to you reached by bhakti  
 resorted to by hordes of the liberated ones of old,  
 Your unlimited, amazing, great qualities  
 more difficult to know than the quality-less, (152)

Liberator of one wishing for  
 the sidelong glance of the Lord  
 which is bestowed by mercy alone,  
 Bestower of the request of  
 your extremely frightened son  
 who has confessed his offenses, (153)

Billions and billions of universes  
 spin around in the pores of your skin,  
 Tolerant of all transgressions like those of an embryo  
 O Mother of the universe,  
 O Father of the universe, (154)

You by whom Brahma is born from your navel lotus,  
 O Narayana, Without covering,  
 Demonstrator of the unreality of the world  
 by giving a glance of it to your mother in her own womb, (155)

Real are your descents for sport,  
 Inconceivable the extreme greatness of your sport,  
 Effector of the reality of the unreal,  
 Hey you, forever the highest truth! (156)

Visible by the grace of the guru,  
 Forgetfulness of you produces the world,  
 Maker unreal of bondage and liberation,  
 O mere deliberator, (157)

More manifest as pervading the outer and the inner  
 to your devotees who have rejected the unreal,

Hey You, the grace of whose lotus feet  
reveals the greatness of your lotus feet! (158)

The service of your servant the only request  
of the creator through his enormous good fortune,  
The greatness of devotion to you  
repeatedly glorified in the four mouths [of Brahma],  
please protect me! (159)

[Obeisance to you - 39]

Extremely fortunate the wives and cows of Vraja  
by whom you are satisfied and pleased,  
You have become the friend of the people of Vraja  
whose great fortune is eternally full, (160)

Giver of many joys to the internal deities  
through close contact with the residents of Vraja,  
The lotus-born one desires birth as grass  
so that he may touch the dust  
of the feet of all born in Vraja, (161)

Giver of the everything to your loving devotees,  
In great debt to the villagers,  
Granter of yourself to Putana  
known merely by her fine dress, (162)

Bound by the dissatisfaction of those attached to you  
in the gift of yourself attained by the renounced,  
Embarrassed by inability to repay intimate friends  
for whom you imitation son-hood and the rest, (163)

Greatness beyond the scope of the words and minds  
of those who think they are learned but are not,  
Repeated glorification by your names  
bestows extreme joy, Praised by Brahma, (164)

[Obeisance to you - 40]

Eager to show mercy to Brahma,  
Affectionate towards your devotees,

Pleased with his speech,  
 Brahma overjoyed by your smiling glance,  
 Granter of permission to depart to Brahma, (165)

Killer of the illusion of the calves and cowherd boys,  
 You whose boys and calves were as before,  
 Bringer of the herds of calves to the river bank,  
 Obeisance to you, Worker of wonders! (166)

Your laughter produced  
 by the words of the deluded boys,  
 Celebration in the houses of Vraja,  
 Wonderful in dress and act,  
 Pleaser of hearts of the cowherd girls, (167)

More dear than the self,  
 Best of friends to all living beings,  
 Ocean of love certified by the conversation  
 of Pariksit and Suka, (168)

O Wonderful of sport, protect me,  
 Knower of the sport of hide and seek,  
 Knower of the construction of play dams,  
 Enthusiastic leaper like a monkey, (169)

[Obeisance to you - 41]

[Thus ends the summary of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Fourteen]

Reaching boyhood, Cowherder,  
 Good fortune of the forest of Vṛnda,  
 Wandering about in Vṛndavana,  
 Respectful to your older brother, (170)

Giver of a great boon in the guise of  
 describing the qualities of Vṛndavana,  
 Extremely pleased with Vṛndavana,  
 Expert in many kinds of pleasures, (171)

O Imitator of the bees, protect me!

Your call conquering the kokila's,  
Assumer of the waddle of the goose,  
Imitator of the dance of the peacock, (172)

Pleased by making echos,  
Expert at leaping between branches,  
Caller of the cows by name,  
Wearing a rope as a sacred thread, (173)

Thrilled by the sport of arm wrestling,  
Remover of the tiredness of Balabhadra,  
Excelling at praising the cowherd boys,  
Resting in the shade of trees, (174)

Lying on beds of flowers and buds,  
Using the lap of a cowherd boy as a pillow,  
Feet massaged by a cowherd boy,  
Fanned with a fan by a cowherd, (175)

Sleeping happily to songs of the cowherders,  
Overcoming your godliness, behaving like a villager,  
Land of Vrndavana marked by your lotus feet  
that were massaged by the Goddess Rama. (176)

[Obeisance to you - 42]

Victory! True friend of Śrīdaman,  
Subala and Stokakṛṣṇa,  
O Age-mate of Vṛṣala, Vṛṣa,  
Bhaujasvi and Devaprastha, (177)

Buddy of Varuthapa and Arjuna,  
Dear to Bhadrāsena and Aṁsu,  
Player in the grove of palm trees,  
For you Baladeva throws down cows, (178)

Splitter of palm fruit up high,  
Causer of the destruction of the demon Rasabha,  
Enjoyer of the praises of the cowherd boys,  
Auspicious is hearing and praising you! (179)

[Obeisance to you - 43]

To be thought of as  
the excellent fortune of the cowherd girls,  
with cow dust dappling your curls,  
bound with jasmine flowers and peacock feathers,  
your eyes radiant, (180)

Beautiful with your bashful smiles,  
humility, and sidelong glances,  
your dress alluring to the cowherd girls,  
I praise you, Giver of erotic desires to the cowherd girls. (181)

Victory to you, caused to bathe by your mother!  
With a lotus as ear ornament,  
Your neck shining with pearl necklaces,  
Beautiful with bracelets on your wrists, (182)

Charming the sound of your ankle bells,  
Jewelry and ornaments of gold,  
Wearer of divine garlands, perfumes, and clothes,  
Eater of food brought by your mother, (183)

Lovely smile for your sport,  
Proud and playful gaze,  
Lying happily on a bed,  
Pleased by conversation with Radha. (184)

[Obeisance to you - 44]

Wanderer on the bank of the Yamuna,  
Visitor to the pond of Kaliya,  
obeisance to you, gaze so extremely sweet,  
Returner of life to the poison-pained people of Vraja. (185)

Your actions inferred by the band  
of extremely amazed cowherd boys,  
Victory to you, Revealer of your hidden potency  
for the protection of your own. (186)

[Obeisance to you - 45]

[Thus ends the summary of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Fifteen]

I worship you who climbed into a high kadamba tree,  
player in the pool of the serpents,  
creator of the anger of Kaliya,  
surrounded by the angered serpent, (187)

your friends submerged in swoons,  
tearfully gazed upon by the cows,  
your deliverance desired  
by the people of Vraja  
alarmed by the great danger, (188)

your path recognized by the markings on your feet,  
your friends nearly dead,  
lamented by Nanda and the other people of Vraja  
who were desirous of death  
but were saved by Balarama. (189)

[Obeisance to you - 46]

Obeisance to you, Destroyer of the suffering of your own folk,  
Expert in the play of the snake,  
Dancer on the hood-stage of the Kaliya serpent,  
Crusher of Kaliya, (190)

Lotus feet colored by the jewels  
on the hoods of Kaliya,  
Dancer to the songs and instruments  
of the Siddhas, Gandharvas, and your own companions, (191)

Lowerer of the heads of the king of serpents  
by the blows of your lotus feet,  
Remembered by the afflicted Kaliya  
whose various limbs gushed forth blood, (192)

[Obeisance to you - 47]

Pleased with the prayers of the serpent wives,  
 Giver of punishment suitable for one's welfare,  
 Anger the depth of your mercy,  
 Satisfied only by the greatly pious, (193)

Worker of causeless mercy,  
 Granter of the requests of the serpent wives,  
 Imprinter on the serpent of the lines of your own feet  
 sought for by devotees who have rejected all other things, (194)

Inconceivable the greatness of your sovereignty,  
 Creator of the natures of various life forms,  
 Player with many players,  
 Accustomed to forgiving the offenses of your creatures. (195)

Giver of the husband of the serpent wives as alms,  
 Victory to you, Addressed by Kaliya,  
 Sins and offenses of your creations not to be taken seriously,  
 Unsuitable the punishment of the deluded, (196)

Inscriber of the head of the king of serpents  
 with your own emblems  
 Instructor of Kaliya,  
 Placer of the king of serpents  
 in his previous abode,  
 Remover of his fear of the son of Suparna, (197)

Thrilled by the gifts of the serpent,  
 Extremely merciful toward Kaliya,  
 Purifier of the pools of the Yamuna,  
 Driver of Kaliya from the pools. (198)

[Obeisance to you - 48]

[Thus ends the summary of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Sixteen]

Your vehicle Garuda crushed the pride  
 of Kaliya who ate an offering meant for him,  
 Saver of the pool-abode of the serpent  
 which was off limits to your own

because of the words of Saubhari, (199)

Wearer of sublime garlands, scents, and clothes,  
Adorned with splendid ornaments,  
Bedecked everywhere with great gems,  
Seeing you is the very life of Vraja, (200)

Embraced by a smiling Baladeva,  
Overjoyed by the embraces of the cowherd boys,  
be pleased with me, Drinker of the forest fire,  
Destroyer of the sufferings of your own. (201)

[Obeisance to you - 49]

[Thus ends the summary of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Seventeen]

Wearer of your hair in side braids,  
O Maker of summer into beautiful spring,  
Player of the game of covering the eyes,  
Imitator of the demeanor of a king, (202)

Player in the character of deer and so forth,  
Enjoyer of boats and swings,  
Performer of many worldly sports,  
Player in many places, (203)

Arriver in play at the great fig tree,  
Victory to you, Ornament of the fig tree,  
Recognizer of Pralamba in the form of a cowherd boy,  
Instigator of play in pairs, (204)

Player of carrier and carried,  
Victory to you, Carrier of Śrīdama,  
Powerful Pralamba felled by Balarama,  
Beloved of Balarama. (205)

[Obeisance to you - 50]

[Thus ends the summary of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Eighteen]



Victory Destroyer of the misery  
of the cows lost in the forest of Munja,  
Instructor of the cowherd boys  
frightened by the forest fire  
to close their eyes! (206)

Extinguisher of the fire  
in the forest of Munja,  
Drinker of the blazing forest fire,  
Leader of the cows and cowherders  
to the forest of Bhandira,  
Master of yoga, obeisance to you! (207)

[Obeisance to you - 51]

[Thus ends the summary of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Nineteen]

Your forests decorated with  
the beauty of the rainy season,  
Enjoyer of the rainy season,  
Frequenter of caves  
and the laps of great trees,  
Eater of roots and fruit, (208)

Enjoyer of yogurt and rice  
arranged on large rocks,  
Living beings of your Vraja  
thrilled by the rains,  
Respecter of the beauty of the rains  
and of the eating of green grass,  
obeisance to you. (209)

O Radiance charming  
like the pure skies of autumn,  
Face glowing like the autumn moon,  
Bringer of great love to the cowherd girls,  
be pleased with me. (210)

[Obeisance to you - 52]

[Thus ends the summary of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Twenty]

Pleasing in your autumnal sport,  
 Decorated with autumnal flowers,  
 I worship you, your ears adorned,  
 wearing the attire of a dancer, (211)

Making dance the corners of your eyes  
 in the midst of your lotus face,  
 Round lips offered to your exalted flute,  
 Victory, Sweet singer! (212)

Obeisance to you, Indirectly gazing,  
 Delightful in your three bend pose,  
 Enchanter of the universe with your flute,  
 Your fame sung loadly by the cowherd ladies, (213)

[Obeisance to you - 53]

Seeing your beautiful lotus face  
 makes the eyes completely fruitful,  
 Attire aglow with many garlands,  
 Ornament of the assembly of cowherders, (214)

Nectar of your lips drunk by the flute  
 whose piety is ever great,  
 Beauty and great fame of Vrndavana  
 bestowed by the marks of your lotus feet there, (215)

Peacocks made to dance  
 by the sound of the song  
 of your unmatched flute,  
 Birds on branches as if sculpted,  
 Enchanter of all life forms, (216)

Desired by the family of deer  
 who have forgotten to eat the grass,  
 Gods enchanted by your music  
 as well as your character and beauty, (217)

Cows crying intensely,  
 Calves with ears up-raised from love,

Limitless birds made motionless like sages, (218)

The flowing of the rivers stopped by your song,  
The clouds made into umbrellas,  
Arouser of love in the daughters of the tribals,  
Meadow grasses marked with the  
saffron from your lotus feet, (219)

Worshiped by Mount Govardhana  
with its natural wealth to become  
the best of the servants of Hari,  
Turner of all moving and unmoving beings  
into motionless pictures  
by the extreme joy of love for you, (220)

Pillars budding because of passion for you,  
Bower down of trees by your song,  
Beautifully dressed as a cowherder,  
Increaser of the desires of the cowherd girls, (221)

Transformer of unlimited living beings  
into the nature of pillars,  
Melter of stones and wood,  
Giver of life to the non-living,  
protect me! (222)

[Obeisance to you -54]

[Thus ends the summary of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Twenty-one]

Pleased by the vows of the daughters of the cowherds,  
O Lord of blessing givers, be pleased with me,  
Stealer of the clothes of the cowherd girls  
absorbed in their games in the water! (223)

Obeisance to you, Climber of a Kadamba tree,  
Skilled in picturesque joking statements,  
Excited by the praises of the cowherd girls,  
Beseeched by the cowherd girls for their clothes, (224)

Eagerly desirous of drawing out the cowherd girls  
 radiant with only the stream as their clothes,  
 Pleased with the attitudes of the cowherd girls  
 who rose out of the Yamuna chilled by the cold, (225)

The clothes of the women of the cowherds  
 placed on your shoulders,  
 Speaking with a smile,  
 Orderer of the of the obeisance  
 of the cowherd girls,  
 Praised with one hand by the cowherd girls, (226)

Requester of the particular folding of hands

*withtwohands*

from the cowherd girls,  
 Obeyed by the cowherd girls,  
 Returner of the clothes of the girls,  
 O Giver of what was desired  
 and more to the girls, (227)

Great thief of the cowherd girls' hearts,  
 Serpent of the daughters of the cowherds,  
 give me service to your cowherd girls,  
 O You enchanted by the emotions of the girls, (228)

[Obeisance to you - 55]

Drawn by the emotions of the  
 wives of the brahmanas  
 situated far from Vṛndavana,  
 Thrilled by seeing the many trees  
 acting like

*shade – giving*

umbrellas, (229)

Praiser of the birth of the trees  
 engaged in helping others,  
 Satisfied by the nectar of the Yamuna,  
 Pleased with the cowherd boys and cows, (230)

[Obeisance to you - 56]

[Thus ends the summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Twenty-two]

Increaser of the hunger  
of the cowherd boys  
to show your grace  
to the wives of the sacrificers,  
Disturbed by the complaints  
of the boys troubled by hunger,  
victory to you!  
Begger of food from the sacrificers! (231)

Dismissed by the ignorant sacrificers,  
Desired to be met by the  
devotee-wives of the brahmanas,  
News of you draws the brahmana women,  
Enchanter of the wives of the sacrificers, (232)

Destroyer of the sorrow of the brahmana wives,  
Wonderfully dressed, postured, and decorated,  
Victory to you, Praiser of the chaste twice-born ladies,  
Whose service was desired by the wives of the sacrifice. (233)

Satisfied by the emotional pleas of the brahmana women,  
Giver of the devotion of love to the brahmana women,  
Giver of sudden liberation to the women  
held back by their husbands,  
obeisance to you. (234)

Pleased by the food distributed  
by the wives of the sacrificers,  
Giver of sorrow to the brahmanas,  
Bestower of knowledge on the twice-born  
through association with their own wives,  
Hey! Lord of brahmana lore! (235)

[Obeisance to you - 57]

[Thus ends the summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Twenty-three]

Victory! Knower of the sacrifice to Indra,  
 Asker of your father the purpose of the sacrifice,  
 Hearer of the purpose of the sacrifice from your father,  
 Creator of the doctrine of [sacrificial] action, (236)

Forbidder of the sacrifice for Indra  
 with doctrines of many kinds of opposing arguments,  
 Initiator of sacrifices for the cows  
 and for Mount Govardhana,  
 Obeisance to you! (237)

Giver of the procedures for the sacrifice for cows and mountain,  
 Enjoyer of the offerings given in the sacrifice,  
 Assumer of another huge form  
 in the guise of the mountain  
 to reassure the cowherders, (238)

Crown jewel of Govardhana,  
 Bestower of the greatness of Govardhana,  
 Causer of the circumambulation of the mountain  
 by the cowherders, decorated and bearing offerings of food. (239)

[Obeisance to you - 58]

[Thus ends the summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Twenty-four]

I praise you, O lifter of Govardhana,  
 producer of Indra's anger,  
 intent on stemming the downpour from Indra's pride,  
 possessor of wondrous prowess. (240)

Lifter of Govardhana with ease,  
 Intent on protecting Vraja,  
 Best of mountains placed on one arm  
 like the earth on top of Ananta, (241)

Your arm like the stem  
 of the Govardhana-umbrella,  
 Enormously strong,

Holder of the king of mountains for seven days,  
Breaker of the pride of the cloud-rider, (242)

Stander on one leg for a week,  
Destroyer of the hunger and thirst  
of the people of Vraja with your glance,  
Victory to you, Breaker of the determination of Indra,  
Stopper of the great rain! (243)

Restorer of the mountain to its place,  
Honored by the cowherd women  
with yogurt and whole grains,  
Sprinkled by a rain of sumanas flowers by the gods,  
Giver of Fear to Vasava [Indra]. (244)

[Obeisance to you - 59]

[Thus ends the summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Twenty-five]

Victory to you, doubted by the people of Vraja  
amazed by your astounding great acts,  
Your father questioned by the cowherders,  
Your sport revisited by the cowherders, (245)

Dispeller of the doubts of the cowherders  
by the true statements of Garga related by your father,  
Protector of the cowherd village,  
please protect me, Increaser of the joy of the cowherders! (246)

[Obeisance to you -60]

[Thus ends the summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Twenty-six]

O! You whose feet were touched  
by the crown of the frightened and embarrassed  
lord of the gods, Praised by Vasava:  
Knower of All, Conqueror of Maya, Destroyer of faults, (247)

Protector of the Dharma, Destroyer of the wicked,

Your actions wipe out the pride of the corrupt,  
 Forgiver of offenses to yourself,  
 Affectionate to the surrendered, (248)

Instructor of Sakra [Indra], Bestower of Sakra-hood,  
 O Worshiped by the cow Surabhi,  
 Requested as her Indra by Surabhi,  
 Śrī Govinda, obeisance to you! (249)

Spinkled by the flow of milk of the desire-cow,  
 Worshiped by the immortals,  
 Bathed by water of the sky Ganga  
 brought by the elephant Airavata, (250)

Giver of joy to the cowerd girls, boys, and cows,  
 Maker of the prosperity of all the worlds,  
 Filler of the king of gods with delight,  
 Increaser of the joy of the universe! (251)

[Obeisance to you - 61]

[Thus ends the summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Twenty-seven]

Be pleased with me, Searcher for Nanda  
 submerged in the waters, Your father so dear to you,  
 Arrived in the abode of Varuna,  
 The sight you desired by Varuna, (252)

Your lotus feet worshiped by Varuna,  
 Extremely pleased by Varuna,  
 Forgiver of Varuna's offense.  
 Freer of the bonds of Nanda, (253)

Your greatness told by Nanda,  
 Beyond the power of the knowledge of the cowherders,  
 Knower of the wishes of the cowherders,  
 Mind overflowing with compassion, (254)

Giver of the goals of human life  
 to the cowherders thrilled by seeing your own abode,  
 Bestower [of the sight] of the desired abode of Brahma  
 on the cowherders, first submerged and raised from the lake of Brahma. (255)



[Obeisance to you - 62]

[Thus ends the summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Twenty-eight]

Victory Victory! Bestower of real love  
at your own lotus-like feet,  
Heart and mind of connoisseurs,  
Enjoyer of the Rasa sport,  
Power of your sport increased  
by your manifest sweetness and youth,  
Controlled by your dear ones,  
Your true nature revealed, (256)

Rejecter of the show of being self-satisfied,  
Belittler of your own scriptures,  
Dancer of the Rasa to shower  
the love for you requested by by your devotees, (257)

Looking forward to sporting on the autumn nights,  
Wanting to make love when the moon rose,  
Whose music enchants the cowherd girls,  
Master of the highest forms of attraction, (258)

For whom prohibitions were disregarded  
and the ladies of the cowherds flocked together,  
Meeter with the wives of the cowherds  
who had left aside all duties and cares. (259)

[Obeisance to you - 63]

Be pleased, Increaser of the fire of love  
of the cowherd women held back by their husbands,  
Liberator from the bonds of the body  
of the cowherd wives maddened by desire for you, (260)

The ocean of your greatness described  
by the angry statements of Suka,  
Remembrance of you bestows the goal  
of those worshiping you with anger and other passions,  
please remember me, (261)

[Obeisance to you - 64]

Relished by the eyes of the cowherd girls,  
Clever in speech in order to deceive the cowherd girls,  
Shower of fear of your own dharma  
out of a desire to hear the sweet words of the girls, (262)

Expander of the great anguish of the cowherd girls,  
Increaser of the crying of the cowherd girls,  
Physical contact requested by the cowherd girls,  
Pleased by the emotional words of the cowherd girls, (263)

Rejected ingenuously, Mental agitation aroused,  
O chief of the rascals, Befuddled by lust,  
Face smiling, please protect me. (264)

Sweetness manifest as your nature,  
Eyes wandering with erotic desire,  
Object of the heart-stopping glances of the cowherd girls,  
Protector of hundreds of groups of cowherd girls, (265)

Decorated with the Vaijayanti garland,  
Face like the autumn moon,  
Seated on the bank of the Yamuna,  
O Enjoyer of the cowherd girls, protect me! (266)

Defeater of Cupid, Knower of the secret techniques of love,  
Enlarger of the pride of the cowherd girls,  
Enacter of the sport of disappearance  
to show extraordinary grace to the cowherd girls. (267)

[Obeisance to you – 65]

[Thus ends the summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Twenty-nine]

Victory to you, sought for by the cowherd girls,  
Trees asked if they had seen you,  
Bunches of tulasi, malati, and malli  
asked if they had spotted you, (268)

Your passing inferred by noticing  
 the festiveness of the surrounding earth,  
 Your passing indicated by the pensive watching of a deer,  
 by the bowing of the questioned trees,  
 and by the budding of the unquestioned vines, (269)

Driver of the cowherd girls to insanity,  
 Your acts imitated by the girls,  
 Victory to you, Possessor of the girls,  
 Your nature made to appear in them, (270)

Marks of your lotus-feet spotted by the cowherd girls,  
 Your path found, Giver of pain to the girls  
 by the sight of the marks of the lotus-feet  
 made by another woman. (271)

[Obeisance to you – 66]

Pleased by Radha, Lord of Radha,  
 Dearest lover of Radha, Delighter of Radha,  
 I praise you, Conquered by the love of Radhika! (272)

Giver of all to Radha,  
 Revealer of the feminine ways of women,  
 Your sport of disappearing  
 causes bewilderment and pain to Radha, (273)

Spoken of by Radha found by the cowherd girls,  
 Your actions astounding to them,  
 Again searched for by Radha  
 and the wives of the cowherds,  
 please protect me! (274)

[Obeisance to you – 67]

[Thus ends the summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Thirty]

Your appearance begged for  
 in the songs of the cowherd girls  
 once again on the river bank,  
 Giver of glory to Vraja by your birth alone,

Giver of pain to your own ones who search for you, (275)

Your heart is untroubled with the killing  
of women by your lotus eyes,  
Destroyer of so many miseries like poison and the rest,  
Knower of the pain of your own  
as the seer of the internal self, (276)

Born for the protection of the universe,  
Your hand gives fearless to the devotees,  
Your touch prayed for by your own people,  
Your lotus feet possessed of many qualities, (277)

Your banter charming and sweet,  
Enchanting to your serving girls,  
Your story, auspicious by merely hearing it,  
bestowing all desired things  
and the very lives of those scorched [by separation], (278)

Sweetness agitating to the mind,  
Wandering the forest with your tender feet,  
The slightest separation from you feels like an age of the world,  
Nectar of your lips stealing the mind, (279)

O, Goal prayed for by those who have given up everything,  
Supremely enchanting beauty,  
Your appearance auspicious for Vraja,  
Fulfiller of the prayers of your own folk, (280)

Moving about the thorny forest  
with your extremely soft feet,  
protect me, You whose wandering  
in difficult to follow places is drawing away the lives  
of the wives of the cowherders! (281)

[Obeisance to you - 68]

[Thus ends the summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Thirty-one]

Your senses churned by the very loud  
cries of sadness from the cowherd girls,  
Victory to you, Your smiling lotus-face  
seen once again by the cowherd women, (282)

O Beautiful, arousing cowherd,  
Wearer of a yellow silk cloth,  
Surrounded by the wives of the cowherders  
their eyes blossoming with love, Returner of their lives, (283)

Placer of your feet on the breasts of the cowherd women,  
Bumble bee in the lotus-eyes of the cowherd ladies,  
Destroyer of the pain of separation of the wives of the cowherders,  
Fulfiller of the desires of the cowherd women, (284)

Seated on the borders of the cloths of the cowherd women,  
Honored by the cowherd ladies,  
Victory to you, Shining with even greater beauty  
in the midst of the assembly of cowherd women! (285)

[Obeisance to you - 69]

Giver of answers to the three deep questions  
posed by the clever cowherd girls,  
Knower of the intentions of the cowherd girls,  
O Very ingenious lion! (286)

Remover, by your words, of faults  
like ungratefulness attributed to you,  
Establisher of your extraordinary  
love and compassion, please protect me. (287)

You who do not give up association with your own,  
Your mind unsatisfied by the gift of your self,  
Anxious to help your dear ones,  
Increaser of love through separation. (288)

[Obeisance to you - 70]

[Thus ends the summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Thirty-two]

Skillful in the embracing that takes away  
the cowherd girls' pain of separation,  
Drawn to the joy of the Circle Dance,  
Vistory to you, Giver of pleasure to the cowherd girls! (289)

Initiator of the celebration of the Circle Dance,  
Beautified by the circle of the cowherd girls,  
Sapphire interspersed in a line  
of golden jewel-like cowherd ladies, (290)

Surrounded by ladies overjoyed  
by each one's knowledge that you are by her side,  
Well served by the songs and such of the gods,  
obeisance to you! (291)

Very pleased by the songs of the cowherd girls,  
Expert in song and dance,  
Giver of betal nut from your own mouth,  
Your shoulder held by the exhausted cowherd ladies, (292)

Thrilled by the dances and songs  
of the cowherd wives similar to you,  
Lengthener of the night by stopping  
the enchanted moon and constellations, (293)

O you whose body is etched with the marks of love  
by the clever cowherd women,  
Attentive to wiping the faces  
of the cowherd wives fatigued by love-making. (294)

[Obeisance to you - 71]

Very skillful in water games, Surrounded by bees drawn to your gar-  
land, Splashed by the laughing cowherd girls, obeisance to you!  
(295)

Your body submerged in the water of the Yamuna,  
Trembling with play in the Kalindi,  
Moving about on the bank of the Yamuna,  
The Kṛṣṇa [Yamuna] so dear to you

because of its bowers for love-making, (296)

Victory to you embraced by Radha,  
Victory to you making love to Candravali,  
O Bee drinking from the lotus face of Padma,  
Thrilled by the glances of Lalita, (297)

Greedy for the "wealth" of Visakha,  
Possessor of pure desire for Syamala,  
Controlled by Bhadra's best of the rasas,  
Lord of the wealth of the life of Dhanya, (298)

Ceaseless sporter with your own consorts  
who took birth among the cowherds,  
O Luster after the cowherd girls,  
Decorated with saffron  
from the breasts of the cowherd women (299)

[Obeisance to you- 72]

The purpose of your Circle Dance  
inquired about by Pariksit,  
Your lordly opulences described by Suka,  
Your eternal, conscious, and joyful actions  
performed for those desirous of liberation,  
the liberated, and the devotees. (300)

Giver of great glory to the cowherd women,  
Not the object of envy of the cowherd men,  
O you to whom their houses, children, wives, and lives  
are offered by the cowherd men, be pleased with me! (301)

[Obeisance to you - 73]

[Thus ends the summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Thirty-three]

Victory to you having arrived in the forest of Ambika,  
Flooded by the water of the Sarasvati,  
Toucher with your lotus feet of the great serpent  
that had captured Nanda, (302)

Destroyer of the curse of the king of the Vidyadhara,  
 Victory O Liberator of Nanda,  
 Teller of the history of the serpent,  
 Liberator of Sudarsana! (303)

[Obeisance to you - 74]

Respectful greeter of the coming of night  
 through sport along with Balarama,  
 Surrounded by women enchanted  
 by beautiful songs, (304)

Made to run by the cries of cowherd women  
 frightened by Sankhacuda,  
 Balarama left to protect the women,  
 Remover of the head of Sankhacuda, (305)

Pleaser of your older brother  
 with the crown jewel of Sankhacuda,  
 please protect me;  
 Avoider of envy among the  
 cowherd women for each other,  
 obeisance to you. (306)

[Obeisance to you - 75]

[Thus ends the summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Thirty-four]

Your qualities arise in the songs  
 of the cowherd girls pained by separation in the daytime,  
 Victory to you, whose loud praise  
 is the best way to be saved from the ocean of sadness, (307)

Slightly off-center lotus face,  
 Inverted blossom-like feet,  
 Side glances with dancing eye-brows,  
 Expert in playing the flute, (308)

I praise you whose beauty enchants the universe,  
 who increases the lust of accomplished wives,



who turns all the animals  
of the forest of Vraja into pictures! (309)

Interrupter of the streams' currents,  
Causer of flowing honey from the flora,  
Bringer of geese and such to your side,  
Served by clouds as umbrellas, (310)

Your music beyond the capacities  
of the gods headed by Brahma,  
Your glances filling [all] with desire,  
The suffering of the earth lifted by your feet,  
Transformer of women into trees, (311)

Enchanted deer achieving repose  
and desire for you at the end of the day,  
Your body beautified by bathing in the Yamuna,  
Honored by soft breezes, (312)

Your feet being praised by the gods headed by Brahma,  
Increaser of the joy of your friends,  
Your eyes thrilled and wandering,  
Your lotus face pleased, (313)

Your beauty adorned with a forest garland,  
Beautiful with your elephant's gait,  
Your excellence praised by the cowherd women,  
Your mother thrilled by you, please protect me! (314)

[Obeisance to you - 76]

[Thus ends the summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Thirty-five]

Giver of confidence to all of Vraja  
terrified by the demon Arista,  
please protect me,  
Caller of him by the pounding of your arms,  
Provoker of the anger of the demon bull! (315)

Uprooter of the horns of the bull,

Killer of the fearsome bull demon,  
 Destroyer of Arista of Gokula,  
 Smasher of the demon Arista, (316)

[Obeisance to you - 77]

Increaser of the mis-guidance of Kamsa  
 to whom Narada made known news of you,  
 For you to be brought to the city  
 Akrura was requested by Kamsa, please protect me! (317)

Burdener of King Kamsa with hundreds  
 of evil means and corrupt endeavors,  
 Pleaser of Akrura by the order of Kamsa,  
 Victory to you, Dear to the lord of the gift (Akrura)! (318)

[Obeisance to you - 78]

[Thus ends the summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Thirty-six]

Victory to you, Lord, Thrower of the demon Kesi who was frightening Gokula, Placer of your great arm in the huge mouth of the horse demon! (319)

The great demon dispatched with ease,  
 Victory to you, Killer of Kesi!  
 I praise you, Kesava, the churning of Kesi,  
 who are worshiped by the gods! (320)

[Obeisance to you - 79]

Praised by Śrī Narada, the best of devotees,  
 victory be yours!  
 Your form unfragmented and eternal,  
 Lord of the lords of all living beings, (321)

Creator of the strands and, through maya,  
 performer of creation, maintenance, and destruction,  
 Your mere wishes come true,  
 Reminded by the words of the sage  
 of your objectives for the gods,

the killing of Kamsa and so forth. (322)

Expert at accepting the limitless tasks  
made known by Narada,  
Bowed down to by Narada  
thrilled by the pleasure of seeing you. (323)

[Obeisance to you - 80]

O You whose games involved the stealing  
and protecting of cowherd boys  
who were pretending to be sheep,  
Your friends taken away by the demon Vyoma  
in the guise of a cowherd boy, (324)

Grabber of the evil demon Vyoma,  
Victory to you, Toppler of Vyoma,  
Liberator of the cowherders  
imprisoned in a cave by the son of Maya! (325)

[Obeisance to you - 81]

[Thus ends the summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Thirty-seven]

Victory to you, whose greatness  
is meditated on by the Lord of the Gift [Akrura],  
The sight of you worshiped by Akrura  
because of your great qualities, (326)

Increaser of the joy and longing of Akrura  
who meditates on your lotus feet,  
Reached by the chariot of Akrura,  
Arrived in the village to milk the cows, (327)

Victory to you, Your astonishing footprints  
in the earth spotted by the Lord of the Gift,  
The dust of your lotus feet  
the site of Svaphalki's [Akrura's] rolling on the ground. (328)

Victory to you, increaser of the joy

of the eyes of the son of Svaphalka,  
 Causer of Akrura's coming down off the chariot,  
 Victory to you who are thoroughly praised by Akrura, (329)

Embracer of Akrura out of great affection,  
 Victory to you who are affectionate  
 to those surrendered to you,  
 Fulfiller of all the dreams  
 of the son of Gandini. (330)

[Obeisance to you - 82]

[Thus ends the summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Thirty-eight]

Angered by the endless evil actions  
 of Kamsa narrated by Akrura,  
 Saddened by hearing of the sadness  
 of Devaki and Vasudeva, (331)

Consulter of the King of Cowherds about the trip,  
 Determined to go to Mathura,  
 Gokula pained by hearing of the trip  
 to Madhupuri in the morning, (332)

Giver of hundreds of worries and doubts  
 to the heart of Yasoda,  
 O Thrower of the numberless women of Vraja  
 into the ocean of misery, protect me. (333)

Scorcher of the lives of the cowherd girls  
 for whom the earth became empty,  
 Sweller of the rivers by the showers  
 of tears from the crying of the cowherd girls. (334)

[Obeisances to you – 83]

Victory to you, mounted on Akrura's chariot,  
 Distressed by the crying of the cowherd women,  
 Surrounded by the cowherd men  
 headed by Nanda mounted on wagons, (335)

Pained by separation from the cowherd women,  
 Unable to bear separation from Radhika,  
 Anxious to reassure the cowherd women  
 with sweet words of love through your messenger, (336)

Delayed by the suffering, crying,  
 and outbursts of lamentation of the cowherd women  
 Giver back of life, by embracing and kissing,  
 to the nearly deceased wives of Vraja, (337)

Be pleased, Knower of how to pacify,  
 Maker of promises,  
 Setter of time limits,  
 May you be victorious, Giver of life and hope! (338)

[Obeisance to you - 84]

To you borne along in the vehicle driven by Svaphalki,  
 The path of your vehicle blocked by cowherd women,  
 Pained by the crying of your mother,  
 Held up by the cowherd men headed by the speechless Nanda,  
 I offer my obeisances. (339)

Causar of so many women to become like dead,  
 Causar of so many women to faint,  
 Gladdened by you as a group,  
 Causar of thousands of women to cry, (340)

Cracker of the voices of hundreds of friends  
 by means of their greatly pained sounds,  
 be pleased with me,  
 Causar of some women to fall  
 in the tracks of the chariot, (341)

Victory! Giver of your own praise  
 to some women whose lives  
 were held together by the thread of hope,  
 Surrounded by some women pained  
 by seeing the path to Mathura. (342)

[Obeisance to you - 85]

Maker of Akrura to bathe in the Yamuna,  
 Victory to you, sitting in Akrura's chariot,  
 Seen by Svaphalki in the water,  
 Revealer of the greatest of wonders, (343)

[Thus ends the summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Thirty-nine]

Praised by Akrura, Without a First Cause,  
 First cause of Navel-Lotus [Brahma],  
 Goal difficult to know by the world,  
 O Approachable only by the worshipper! (344)

Your feet worshipped by many sacrificial rites,  
 Assumer of many names, forms, and paths,  
 Ocean to which all courses lead,  
 God behind all gods, (345)

Your whole body is the support of the world,  
 Strings of universes are in your cave like abdomen,  
 Your fame is from the series of incarnations  
 possessing beauty, bestowing joy, and destroying misery, (346)

Requested by Akrura, desirous of liberation,  
 making known his many kinds of affliction,  
 Your own main form of mercy  
 is bestowing association with the good  
 and loving devotion to you, (347)

Praised by the dry hymn of Akrura,  
 harmed by disrespect for the cowherd women,  
 Inquirer about the amazing occurrence from your relative,  
 Ocean of Wonders! (348)

[Obeisance to you - 86]

[Thus ends the summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Forty]

Surrounded by your own folk, headed by Nanda,  
 in the groves of Mathura,

Requester of Akrura, the cause of the suffering of Vraja,  
to return to his house, (349)

Thrilled by the sight of the highly wonderful,  
finely decorated city,  
Enchanter of the eyes of the women of the city,  
obeisance to you! (350)

Worshiped by the twice born  
with yogurt and other auspicious things,  
Extremely pleased by praise of the fortune  
of the cowherd women by the women of the city. (351)

[Obeisance to you - 87]

Studied by the people of Mathura,  
Requester of garments from the washerman,  
Angered by the arrogant statement of the foul-mouth,  
Remover of the head of the clothes dyer, (352)

Decorated by wearing  
your own two dear garments,  
Joined with the pleased cowherds, headed by Rama,  
having attained their desired clothes, (353)

Be pleased with me, Adorned  
with creations made of cloth brought by a weaver,  
In possession of many types of dress,  
O, Giver of boon to the weaver! (354)

[Obeisance to you - 88]

Be pleased with me, visitor of the house  
of the garland maker named Sudama,  
Receiver of worship through the garland maker's love,  
Wearer of garlands, Praised with devotion! (355)

O Well adorned with many fragrant garlands,  
Giver of boons both desired  
and beyond his expectation to Sudama,  
obeisance to you! (356)

[Obeisance to you - 89]

[Thus ends the summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Forty-one]

Requester of a anointment from Kubja  
with smiling jokes and questions,  
Possessed of body paints given by Kubja,  
Enchanter of the mind of Sairindri, (357)

Your whole body anointed by Kubja,  
O, Painted with body paints,  
Remover of the crookedness of Trivakra,  
Giver of beauty to Kubja, (358)

Wearer of the cloth tugged on by Kubja,  
Made to laugh by the efforts of Kubja,  
Reassurer of Kubja,  
Victory to you, Giver of a boon to Kubja! (359)

[Obeisance to you - 90]

Welcomed with many gifts like  
betal nut, fragrances, and such,  
Victory to the viewer of the city women  
made still as if they were pictures, (360)

Victory to the blossom-eyed,  
Glances smiling with playfulness,  
Gait of the intoxicated king of elephants,  
Mystifier of the women of the town, (361)

Inquirer after the place of the bow,  
Victory to the lifter of the wonderful bow,  
Victory to the easy stringer of the bow,  
Breaker of the bow of Kamsa, (362)

Killer of the protectors of the bow,  
Destroyer of the soldiers sent by Kamsa,  
Creator of the great fear for Kamsa,  
Returner to the place of the carts. (363)



[Obeisance to you - 91]

[Thus ends the summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Forty-two]

Causer, through Kamsa,  
of the construction of spectator stands,  
Anxious to go to the amusement grounds,  
May you be victorious whose path  
is blocked by the elephant Kuvalayapida, (364)

Ordered out of the way by the elephant driver,  
Player with the king of elephants, protect me,  
Killer of Kuvalayapida suddenly,  
You with prowess like a lion, (365)

I praise you whose best of weapons  
is the great ivory tooth torn from the king of elephants,  
Crusher of Kuvalayapida,  
Killer of the elephant drivers. (366)

[Obeisance to you - 92]

Decorated with beautiful  
heroic splendor when entering the arena,  
Huge tusk resting on your shoulder,  
Splattered with drops of blood and rut, (367)

Be pleased! You whose lotus-like face  
is adorned with beads of sweat,  
Embodiment of limitless rasa  
experienced by the intentions  
of the people in the arena, (368)

Great Hero! Great Attraction!  
Great Lover! Great Friend!  
Great Lord! Great Affection!  
Great Death! Great Teacher! (369)

Great Truth! Great Object of Service!  
Enchanter of All People!  
Your great fame sung by the people  
in the arena looking on you with love. (370)

[Obeisance to you - 93]

I praise you, addressed by Canura,  
giver of reply to Canura,  
attacked by Canura,  
very skillful in the battle of wrestling! (371)

[Obeisance to you - 94]

[Thus ends the summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Forty-three]

Lamented for by the women of the city  
softened by their natural love for you,  
Extremely embarrassed by the  
shame of the numerous spectators  
who were censured by the city women, (372)

Pleased by hearing of the women of Vraja  
whose greatness was sung by the women of the city,  
Knower of the great pain of your father and mother,  
Vistory to you, Crusher of Canura! (373)

Destroyer of Sala and Tosala,  
Killer of Mustika through Baladeva,  
Driver away of the other groups of wrestlers,  
For you the wrestler Kuta was finished by Balarama. (374)

[Obeisance to you - 95]

Angered by the mean statements  
of evil Kamsa high in the stands,  
Excited by grabbing Kamsa by his hair  
who, having picked up a sword and shield, was on the move, (375)

Thrower of the King of the Bhojas on the ground,  
Leaping around on top of Kamsa,  
Destroyer of Kamsa, Enemy of Kamsa,  
Victory to you, Killer of Kamsa! (376)

Remover of the fear, burden, and pain of the Earth,

Destroyer of the grief of the world,  
 Dragger around of the dead Kamsa  
 for the pleasure of your father and mother. (377)

Giver of joy to Brahma, Siva, and the other gods,  
 Liberator or Kalanemi [i.e. Kamsa],  
 Killer through Balarama  
 of eight of Kamsa's evil siblings, please protect me! (378)

[Obeisance to you - 96]

Reassurer of the wives of Kamsa,  
 Director of the last rites of the dead,  
 Bower at the feet of your mother and father,  
 Freer of your parents from bondage. (379)

[Obeisance to you - 97]

[Thus ends the summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, Chapter Forty-four]

Knower of the feelings of your mother and father  
 who do not embrace you knowing you to be the lord,  
 Pleaser of your father and mother  
 with sweet words that increase their affection, (380)

Giver of the joy of an embrace to your parents [by your words],  
 Raised into the laps of your mother and father,  
 Head drenched with the flow of tears  
 from your father and mother, speechless through affection, (381)

Giver of the greatest joy  
 to Devaki and Anakadundubhi,  
 Victory to you, Coverer of their knowledge  
 by the happiness of love,  
 Banisher of sadness! (382)

[Obeisance to you - 98]

Giver of rule back to Ugrasena  
 who was pleased by good words,  
 Giver of the wealth of the kingdom to Ugrasena,

Bearer of the orders of Ugrasena, (383)

Be pleased with me, Lord!  
 Bearer of the name "Kind to the Devotee,"  
 Bringer into Ugrasena's possession  
 of the gems of all the three worlds! (384)

[Obeisance to you - 99]

Bringer back of friends and relatives  
 exiled out of fear of Kamsa,  
 Victory, Bestower of residence and respect  
 to all Yadavas! (385)

Ever a pleaser of all of the Yadava  
 by your compassion and your smiling glances,  
 Victory to you, your mere sight like nectar  
 that takes away illness, fever, and fatigue! (386)

Be pleased, Best of the Sattvata!  
 Lord of the Yadava, be pleased with me!  
 Foremost of the Vrsni, protect me,  
 Lord of the Dasarha, O Madhava! (387)

Lord of the Kukura and Andhaka clans,  
 Increaser of the Bhaima clan,  
 Sun to the lotus-like clans of Yayati,  
 Moon to the ocean-like clans of the Moon, (388)

[Obeisance to you - 100]

Victory, Lord of Mathura,  
 Blessing of Mathura, O Master!  
 Embodied sweetness of Madhura,  
 Controller of the region of Mathura, (389)

Eternal resident of Mathura,  
 Giver of sweetness to Madhura,  
 O Great fortune of the people of Mathura,  
 obeisance to you, Protector of Mathura! (390)

[Obeisance to you - 101]

Protector of the leader of Vraja  
through the ploy of leaving today or tomorrow,  
Be pleased with me, you who are  
agitated by conversing with Nanda  
along with repeated embraces, (391)

Increaser of the crying of Nanda  
by many graceful statements,  
Bearer of the tears and sadness  
of the clan of cowherders  
through tight embraces, (392)

Distressed by trying to calm down  
the aged Nanda who was repeatedly fainting and falling down,  
O You, practically killing Nanda  
by giving him clothes, ornaments, brass vessels, and such. (393)

Giver of distress to yourself and the cowherds  
crying loudly with the the great lament "Alas, alas!"  
Remover of the life breaths of Nanda  
by the sprinkling of tears and such,  
please be pleased with me! (394)

Reassurer of Nanda with your promise  
of quickly going to Vraja,  
keep me at your side,  
Increaser of the grief of Yasoda  
by the news of your postponed return. (395)

Flooder with tears of Nanda,  
who repeatedly turned back toward you,  
Motioning as if to follow Nanda,  
Giver, thus, of their lives  
back to the poor people of Vraja. (396)

Sender, to the cowherd women,  
of your own ornaments and promises,  
Holder back of the stream of tears  
from your own lotus-like eyes,  
be pleased with me. (397)

[Obeisance to you - 102]

[Thus ends the summary of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Tenth Canto, up through Chapter Forty-five]

O Śrī Jagannatha,  
Crown jewel of Blue Hill,  
Wood Brahman, Blue as the clouds,  
be pleased with me, Best of Males. (398)

Eyes like blossomed lotuses,  
Nectar on the shore of the salt ocean,  
Salagrama pebble in your belly, protect me,  
King of many enjoyments! (399)

Giver of the nectar of your lips,  
Satisfied by King Indradyumna,  
Distracted by the caresses of Subhadra,  
Younger brother of Balarama,  
obeisance to you. (400)

Expander of great festivals  
like the chariot journey to Gundica,  
Kind to your devotees, I praise you,  
the ornament of the chariot to Gundica. (401)

Your heart is softened by compassion for  
the poor, the forsaken, and the very low,  
Revealer of ever new greatness,  
Loved by Caitanya. (402)

[Obeisance to you - 103]

I praise you Śrī Caitanyadeva,  
Beautiful with your golden body,  
O Son of Saci deliver me,  
Lord, Crown jewel of renunciants! (403)

Arms down to your knees,  
Smiling face, Ornament of Nilacala,  
Promoter in the world of glorification

of the sweet names of the Lord, (404)

Giver of praise to Advaitacarya,  
Giver of enjoyment to Sarvabhauma,  
Shower of affection to Ramananda,  
Friend of all Vaisnavas, (405)

Great ocean of the nectar of love  
of the lotus-like feet of Śrī Kṛṣṇa,  
obeisance to you.  
Will you ever remember me,  
one lower than the low? (406)

[Obeisance to you - 104]

Obeisance to you in the form of the Brahmana,  
obeisance to you in the form of your own devotee,  
obeisance to you in the form of the fig tree,  
obeisance to you in the form of the cow,  
let there be obeisance to you! (407)

Obeisance to you, O son of Nanda,  
in the form of many holy places,  
to you who take these five forms  
in order to protect the people always. (408)

[Obeisance to you - 105]

Your seven kinds of image,  
made of stone, metal, clay, wood, sand, jewel, and paint,  
moving or unmoving, O Lord, (409)

and then too the Salagrama stone,  
wherever and however it is found,  
worshiped with devotion by your devotees, (410)

all are inhabited by you  
and of the form of being, consciousness, and joy.  
So are you alone described by the holy.  
Repeated obeisance to you. (411)

[Obeisance to you - 106]

Nectar of the ocean of all scriptures,  
One true fruit of all the Veda,  
Possessed of all the jewels of conclusion,  
Giver of one view to all people, (412)

Life force of all devotees,  
O Lord, O Śrīmad Bhagavata!  
Sun risen in the darkness of Kali,  
Representative of Kṛṣṇa! (413)

To the reading that bestows the highest joy,  
whose syllables rain down prema,  
to be resorted to by all always,  
to you go my obeisances. (414)

My one friend, My companion,  
My guru, My great treasure,  
My deliverer, My fortune,  
My joy, obeisance to you! (415)

Giver of saintliness to the unsaintly,  
Elevator of the very low,  
Alas! Don't leave me ever!  
Appear with love in my heart and throat! (416)

[Obeisance to you - 107]

Śrī Kṛṣṇa! My repeated obeisances  
to the magnificence of your compassion,  
which [took] me, low, misbehaved,  
always engaged in sin, a cheater, (417)

from that condition to this state,  
as if I were good,  
from that place  
to this auspicious place,  
the land of Mathura, (418)

in which no sins,



whether done knowingly or not, can abide,  
 where the fourfold liberation may occur,  
 and where you are always nearby, (419)

in which you always reside,  
 surrounded by your own true glory,  
 and which is called "Madhura"  
 because of the wealth of your own sweetness. (420)

And which [compassion] also took me from  
 that bad association to association with your dearest one,  
 as well as to association with  
 Śrī Caitanyadeva in Nilacala, (421)

to the pleasure of seeing  
 your beautiful face on the chariot,  
 and again to this Vrndavana,  
 the place of your various sports; (422)

the true glory of which  
 the cowherd women have described  
 and you have described its qualities,  
 hearing of which those who are far from it  
 become fortunate and obtain love for you, (423)

the moving and unmoving living beings of which  
 are immersed in love for you;  
 in which always and now too  
 you play openly and ever-newly. (424)

To the one who, in this very place, gave me once again  
 the association with one who is dear to you,  
 with one who is the one treasure of my life,  
 to him do I offer my repeated obeisances forever. (425)

[The magnificence of your compassion]  
 is what causes your names to spring  
 from my mouth right now  
 and also sometimes causes your lotus feet  
 to be remembered in my heart. (426)

May it also cause my obeisance to you  
 even with this lowly body;  
 may it protect me from all dangers  
 and give me the treasure of devotion to you. (427)

It is also able to give me  
 unceasing glorifying and remembering of you with love,  
 and it is equal to bestowing on me  
 your loving sidelong glance. (428)

It is powerful enough  
 to show me you,  
 joined with the cows, cowherders, and cowherd women,  
 and which is thus the only foundation  
 of all the hopes of someone like me, destitute of all else. (429)

To the magnificence of your compassion,  
 ancient, but always new,  
 eternal, conscious, and joyful,  
 I always offer my obeisances. (430)

May a devotee who, after understanding its meanings,  
 recites this lifeboat like hymn named Praise of the Sport,  
 while performing one hundred and eight obeisances,  
 quickly attain by your grace  
 the highest love for your form,  
 your name, your sport, and your abode. (431-432)

[Obeisance to you - 108]

Thus ends the hymn called the "Praise of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's Sport."

## Chapter 7

### The Text

श्रीकृष्णाय नमः

श्रीकृष्णस्य कथासूत्रं यथाभागवतक्रमं ।  
लिख्यतेऽष्टोत्तरशतप्रणामानन्दसिद्धये ॥ १ ॥

ब्रह्मब्रह्मन्नमामि त्वामात्मन्नन्दीश्वरेश्वर ।  
नानावतारकृत् कृष्ण मधुरानन्दपूरद ॥ २ ॥ ( नमः १ )

जय कृष्ण परब्रह्मन् जगत्तत्त्व जगन्मय ।  
अद्वैत सच्चिदानन्द स्वप्रकाशाखिलाश्रय ॥ ३ ॥

निर्विकारापरिच्छिन्न निर्विशेष निरञ्जन ।  
अव्यक्त सत्य सन्मात्र परम ज्योतिरक्षर ॥ ४ ॥ ( नमः २ )

परमात्मन् वासुदेव प्रधानपुरुषेश्वर ।  
सर्वज्ञानक्रियाशक्तिदात्रे तुभ्यं नमो नमः ॥ ५ ॥

हृत्पद्मकर्णिकावास गोपाल पुरुषोत्तम ।  
नारायण हृषीकेश नमोऽन्तर्यामिनेऽस्तु ते ॥ ६ ॥ ( नमः ३ )

परमेश्वर लक्ष्मीश सच्चिदानन्दविग्रह ।

सर्वसल्लक्ष्णोपेत नित्यनूतनयौवन ॥ ७ ॥  
 सर्वाङ्गसुन्दर स्निग्धघनश्यामाब्जलोचन ।  
 पीताम्बर सदा स्मेरमुखपद्म नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ८ ॥  
 परमाश्चर्यसौन्दर्य माधुर्यजितभूषण ।  
 सदा कृपास्निग्धदृष्टे जय भूषणभूषण ॥ ९ ॥  
 कन्दर्पकोटिलावण्य सूर्यकोटि महाद्योते ।  
 कोटीन्दुजगदानन्दिन् श्रीमद्वैकुण्ठनायक ॥ १० ॥  
 शङ्खपद्मगदाचक्रविलसच्छ्रीचतुर्भुज ।  
 शेषादिपार्षदोपास्य श्रीमद्गरुडवाहन ॥ ११ ॥  
 स्वानुरूपपरीवार सर्वसद्गुणसेवित ।  
 भगवन् हृद्वचोऽतीत महामहिमपूरित ॥ १२ ॥  
 दीननाथैकशरण हीनार्थाधिकसाधक ।  
 समस्तदुर्गतित्रातर् वाञ्छातीतफलप्रद ॥ १३ ॥ (नमः ४)  
 सर्वावतारबीजाय नमस्ते त्रिगुणात्मने ।  
 ब्रह्मणो सृष्टिकर्त्रेऽथ संहर्त्रे शिवरूपिणे ॥ १४ ॥  
 भक्तेच्छापूरणव्यग्र शुद्धसत्त्वघन प्रभो ।  
 वन्दे देवाधिदेवं त्वां कृपालो विश्वपालक ॥ १५ ॥  
 सर्वधर्मस्थापकाय सर्वधर्मविनाशिने ।  
 सर्वासुरविनाशाय महाविष्णो नमोऽस्तुते ॥ १६ ॥  
 नानामधुररूपाय नानामधुरवासिने ।  
 नानामधुरलीलाय नानासंज्ञाय ते नमः ॥ १७ ॥ (नमः ५)  
 श्रीचतुःसनरूपाय तुभ्यं श्रीनारदात्मने ।  
 श्रीवराः आर्या यज्ञाय कपिलाय नमो नमः ॥ १८ ॥

दत्तात्रेय नमस्तुभ्यं नरनारायणौ भजे ।  
 हे हयग्रीव हे हंस ध्रुवप्रिय नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ १९ ॥  
 पृथुं त्वामृषभञ्चैव वन्दे स्वायम्भुवेऽन्तरे ।  
 द्वितीये विभुनामानं तृतीये सत्यसेनकम् ॥ २० ॥  
 चतुर्थे श्रीहरिं वन्दे वैकुण्ठं पञ्चमे तथा ।  
 षष्ठेऽजितं महामीनं शेषं च धरणीधरम् ॥ २१ ॥  
 श्रीनृसिंहञ्च कूर्मञ्च सधन्वन्तरिमोहिनीं ।  
 सप्तमे वामनं वन्दे नमः परशुराम ते ॥ २२ ॥  
 श्रीरामचन्द्र हे व्यास नमस्ते श्रीहलायुध ।  
 हे बुद्ध कल्किन् मां पाहि प्रपन्नाशनिपञ्जर ॥ २३ ॥ (नमः ६)  
 अष्टमे सार्वभौमस्त्वमृषभो नवमे भवान् ।  
 विष्वक्सेनश्च दशमे धर्मसेतुस्ततःपरम् ॥ २४ ॥  
 सुधामा द्वादशे भावी योगेशस्तु त्रयोदशे ।  
 चतुर्दशे बृहद्भानुः सप्तत्रिंशत्तनो जय ॥ २५ ॥  
 शुक्रः सत्ययुगे यः स्याद्रक्तस्त्रेतायुगे तथा ।  
 द्वापरे तु हरिद्वर्णः कलौ कृष्णो महाप्रभो ॥ २६ ॥  
 तं त्वां श्रीकृष्णं वन्देऽहं जगदेकदयानिधे ।  
 निजभक्तविनोदार्थलीलानन्तावतारकृत् ॥ २७ ॥ (नमः ७)  
 प्रह्लादसंह्लादक भक्तवत्सल भक्तिप्रभाव-प्रकटिन्नृसिंह ।  
 स्वद्वेष्टवत्तःस्थलपाटन प्रभो शिष्टेष्टमूर्ते जय दुष्टभीषण ॥ २८ ॥  
 अन्तःकृपातिमृदुल बहिराटोपसुन्दर ।  
 प्रह्लादाङ्गावलेहोत्क स्फुटब्रह्माण्डगर्जित ॥ २९ ॥ (नमः ८)  
 सीतापते दाशरथे रघूद्वह श्रीराम हे कोशलजासुताब्जदृक् ।  
 श्री लक्ष्मणाज्येष्ठ हनुमदीश्वर सुग्रीवबन्धो भरताग्रज प्रभो ॥ ३० ॥

हे दण्डकारण्यचरार्यशील हे कोदण्डपाशो खरदूषणान्तक ।  
बद्धाब्धिसेतोऽयि विभीषणाश्रित लङ्केशघातिन् जय कोशलेन्द्र ॥ ३१ ॥ (नमः  
९)

श्रीकृष्ण जीया मथुरावतीर्ण  
स्वप्रेमदानैकनितान्तकृत्य ।  
नानासुमाधुर्यमहानिधान  
संव्यञ्जितैश्वर्यकृपामहत्त्व ॥ ३२ ॥

परीक्षित्पृष्ठचरित सर्वसेव्यकथामृत ।  
कृतपाण्डवनिस्तारपरीक्षिद्देहगोपन ॥ ३३ ॥

बहिरन्तःस्थिताऽसाधुसाधुदुःखप्रद ।  
शुश्रूषाकृष्टराजान्तर्नानाशङ्कानुपृष्ट हे ॥ ३४ ॥

त्यक्तोदान्ननृपप्राण शुकोद्गीर्णकथामृत ।  
नृपव्याजासुरानीकभारार्तक्षितिरोदक ॥ ३५ ॥

धरार्तनाददुग्धाब्धिगतब्रह्माद्युपस्थित ।  
ब्रह्मध्यानश्रुतादेशकथाप्यायितभुसुर ॥ ३६ ॥ (नमः १०)

शुरसेन महाराजधानीश्रीमथुराप्रिय ।  
देवकीवसुदेवैकविवाहोत्सवकारण ॥ ३७ ॥

वियद्वाग्वर्धितात्ताश्चपाशकंसातिदुर्णय ।  
वसुदेववचोयुक्तिदेवकीप्राणरक्षक ॥ ३८ ॥

सत्यवाक् शौरिकंसाग्रनीतपुत्रविमोचन ।  
देवर्षिकथितोदन्तकंसज्ञातेहिताव मां ॥ ३९ ॥

कंसशृङ्खलितानेकवसुदेवादिबान्धव ।  
देवकीजातषड्भृतातकंसारिघातन ॥ ४० ॥ (नमः ११)

इति दशमस्कन्धे प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥

कंसासुरबलोद्विग्नस्वयादवकुलार्तिवित् ।  
 देवकीसप्तमभूराधामन् मायानियोजक ॥ ४१ ॥  
 देवकीपुत्रतावाप्तिद्वारोत्साहितमाय हे ।  
 रोहिणीप्रापितस्वांश रौहिणेयप्रियाव माम् ॥ ४२ ॥  
 वसुदेवोल्लसच्छक्ते देवक्यष्टमगर्भग ।  
 स्वसवित्रीलसज्ज्योतिःकंसत्रासविषादकृत् ॥ ४३ ॥  
 सदा कंसमनोवर्तिन् ब्रह्मरुद्राद्यभिष्टुत ।  
 सत्यात्मक जगन्नाथ शुद्धसात्त्विकरूपभृत् ॥ ४४ ॥  
 भक्तैकलभ्यसर्वस्व सर्वसर्वार्थकृद्वपुः ।  
 रूपनामाश्रिताविष्ट जन्ममात्रधरार्तिहृत् ॥ ४५ ॥  
 स्वभूभूषणपादाब्ज विनोदैकार्थजात हे ।  
 जय भूभारहरण देवाश्वासितमातृक ॥ ४६ ॥ (नमः १२)

इति दशमस्कन्धे द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥

भाद्रकृष्णाष्टमीजात प्राजापत्यर्चसम्भवः ।  
 महीमङ्गलविस्तारिन् साधुचित्तप्रसादक ॥ ४७ ॥  
 महृषिमानसोल्लास सन्तोषितसुरव्रज ।  
 निशीथसमयोद्भुत वसुदेवप्रियात्मज ॥ ४८ ॥  
 देवकीगर्भसद्रत्न बलभद्रप्रियानुज ।  
 गदाग्रज प्रसीदाशु सुभद्रापूर्वजाऽव माम् ॥ ४९ ॥  
 आश्चर्यवाल मां पाहि दिव्यरूपप्रदर्शक ।  
 कारागारान्धकारघ्न सुतिकागृहभूषण ॥ ५० ॥ (नमः १३)  
 वसुदेवस्तुतं साक्षाददृश्यात्मप्रदर्शकं ।  
 सत्प्रविष्टाप्रवृत्तं त्वां कारणाकारणम् ॥ ५१ ॥

सिद्धाकर्तृत्वकर्तृत्वं जगत्त्रेमकरोदयं ।  
 दैत्यमुक्तिदकारुण्यं स्वजनप्रेमवर्धनं ॥ ५२ ॥  
 देवकीनयनानन्द जय भीतप्रसूस्तुत ।  
 निर्गुणाध्यात्मदीपातिलयकारककालसृक् ॥ ५३ ॥  
 स्वपादाश्रितमृत्युञ्ज मांसदृग्दृश्ययोग्य हे ।  
 लोकोपहासभीताम्बावृतदिव्याङ्गसंवृते ॥ ५४ ॥ (नमः १४)  
 पितृप्रागजन्मकथक स्वदत्तवरयन्त्रित ।  
 महाराधनसन्तोष त्रिजन्मात्मजतागत ॥ ५५ ॥  
 महानन्दप्रसूतात लीलामानुषबालक ।  
 नराकृति परब्रह्मन् प्रकृष्टाकार सुन्दर ॥ ५६ ॥  
 जनकोपायनिर्देष्टर्यशोदाजातमाय हे ।  
 शायितद्वाःस्थपौरादेर्मोहितागाररक्षक ॥ ५७ ॥  
 स्वशक्त्युद्वाटिताशेषकवाट पितृवाहक ।  
 शेषोरगफणाच्छत्र यमुनादत्त सत्पथ ॥ ५८ ॥  
 ब्रजमूर्तमहाभाग्य यशोदातल्पशायित ।  
 निद्रामोहितनन्दादि यशोदाऽविदितेहित ॥ ५९ ॥ (नमः १५)

इति दशमस्कन्धे तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥

कंसघातितदुर्गं त्वां वन्दे दुर्गोदितोद्भवं ।  
 कंसविस्मापकं तातमातृबन्धविमोचकम् ॥ ६० ॥  
 सभयस्मृतिसंशुद्धचित्तकंसविवेकदं ।  
 कंसात्मज्ञानसंज्ञाधिपितृमातृक्षमाप्रदम् ॥ ६१ ॥  
 दुर्मन्त्रिगणावाग्जालकंसदुर्मानवर्द्धनं ।  
 सदतिक्रमदुर्मन्त्रक्षयितासुरजीवितं ॥ ६२ ॥ (नमः १६)



इति दशमस्कन्धे चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ॥

प्रदत्तपूर्वस्वपदाब्जसौहृद -  
 प्रदान-दीक्षोचितदेशसङ्गत ।  
 स्वसेवकब्रह्मसुखाधिकोत्सव  
 प्रेमाकर क्रीडनकृन्नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ६३ ॥  
 नन्दनन्दन सञ्जातजातकर्ममहोत्सव ।  
 नानादानौघकृत्तात श्रीमद्गोकुलमङ्गल ॥ ६४ ॥  
 कृतालङ्कारगोपालगोपीगणकृतोत्सव ।  
 गोपीप्रेममुदाशीर्भाक् ब्रजगोरसकीर्ण हे ॥ ६५ ॥  
 नन्दब्रजजनानन्दिन् नन्दसन्मानितब्रज ।  
 दत्तब्रजमहाबूते श्रीयशोदास्तनन्धय ॥ ६६ ॥  
 प्राप्तपुत्रमहारत्नरत्नाव्याकुलतात ।  
 करदानार्थमथुरागतनन्दगृहावित ॥ ६७ ॥  
 वसुदेवशुभप्रसन्नसमानन्दितनन्द मे ।  
 प्रसीद नन्दसद्वाक्यवसुदेवातिनन्दक ॥ ६८ ॥ (नमः १७)

इति दशमस्कन्धे पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ॥

वसुदेवोदितोत्पातशङ्कानन्दशुभाश्रित ।  
 ब्रजमोहनसद्वेषविषस्तनवकीर्तित ॥ ६९ ॥  
 लज्जामीलितनेत्राब्ज पूतनाङ्गाधिरोपित ।  
 बकीप्राणपयःपायिन् पूतनास्तनपीडन ॥ ७० ॥  
 पूतनाक्रोशजनक पूतनाप्राणशोषण ।  
 षट्कोशीव्यापिभीदायिपूतना देहपातन ॥ ७१ ॥  
 नानारत्नाविधानज्ञगोपस्त्रीकृतरक्षण ।

विन्यस्तरक्षागोधूले गोमुत्रशकृदालुत ॥ ७२ ॥

गोपिकाविहिताजादिबीजन्यासाभिमन्त्रित ।

दह्यमानबकीदेहसौरभ्यव्यापितक्षिते ॥ ७३ ॥

पूतनामोचन द्वेष्टराक्षसीसद्गतिप्रद ।

नन्दाघ्रातशिरोमध्य जय विस्मापितव्रज ॥ ७४ ॥ (नमः १८)

इति दशमस्कन्धे षष्ठोऽध्यायः ॥

अौत्थानिकोत्सवाम्बाभिषिक्त सञ्जातनिद्रदृक् ।

महोच्चशकटाधःस्थबालपर्यङ्कशायित ॥ ७५ ॥

अञ्जनस्रुग्धनयन पर्यायाङ्कुरितस्मित ।

लीलाक्षतरलालोक मुखार्पितपदाङ्गुले ॥ ७६ ॥

जयोत्सवक्रियासक्तधात्रीस्तन्यार्थरोदन ।

उत्क्षिप्तचरणाम्भोज हेऽनोविपरिवर्तक ॥ ७७ ॥

व्रजानिर्णयचरित शकटासुरभञ्जन ।

द्विजोदितस्वस्त्ययन मन्त्रपूतजलालुत ॥ ७८ ॥ (नमः १९)

यशोदोत्सङ्गपर्यङ्कं लीलाविष्कृतगौरवं ।

मातृविस्मयकर्तारं तृणावर्तापवाहितम् ॥ ७९ ॥

जननीमार्गितगतिं तृणावर्तातिदुर्वहं ।

गलग्रहणश्चेष्टतृणावर्तनिपातनम् ॥ ८० ॥

तृणीकृततृणावर्तं रुदद्गोपाङ्गनेक्षितं ।

गोपीधात्र्यर्पितं वन्दे त्वां व्रजानन्ददायकम् ॥ ८१ ॥ (नमः २०)

यशोदास्तन्यमुदित यशोदामुखवीक्षक ।

यशोदानन्दनाहं ते यशोदालालिताऽव मां ॥ ८२ ॥

जनैश्चुम्ब्यमानास्यमध्यदर्शितविश्व मे ।

प्रसीद परमाश्चर्यदर्शिन् विस्मितमातृक ॥ ८३ ॥

पूतनादिवधालोकिमातृशङ्काशतप्रद ।  
स्वभावविविधाश्चर्यमयतातन्निरासक ॥ ८४ ॥ (नमः २१)

इति दशमस्कन्धे सप्तमोऽध्यायः ॥

गर्गवाक्चातुरीहृष्टनन्दनीतरहःस्तलं  
प्रशस्तनामकरणां गर्गसूचितवैभवम् ॥ ८५ ॥

साधुरक्षाकरं दुष्टमारकं भक्तवत्सलं ।  
महानारायणां वन्दे नन्दानन्दविवर्द्धनं ॥ ८६ ॥ (नमः २२)

जय रिङ्गलीलाद्य जानुचंक्रमणोत्सुक ।  
घृष्टजानुकरद्वन्द्व मौग्ध्यलीलामनोहर ॥ ८७ ॥

किङ्किनीनादसंहृष्ट ब्रजकर्मविभ्रम ।  
व्यालम्बिचूलिकारत्नग्रीवाव्याघ्रनखोज्ज्वल ॥ ८८ ॥

पङ्कानुलेपरुचिर मांसलोरुकटीतट ।  
स्वमुखप्रतिबिम्बार्थिन् प्रतिबिम्बानुकारक ॥ ८९ ॥

अव्यक्तवल्गुवाग्वृत्ते स्मितलक्ष्यरदोद्गम ।  
धात्रीकरसमालम्बिन् प्रस्खलच्चित्रचंक्रम ॥ ९० ॥ (नमः २३)

जयाङ्गनागणप्रेक्ष्यबाल्यलीलानुकारक ।  
आविष्कृताल्पसामर्थ्य पादविक्षेपसुन्दर ॥ ९१ ॥

वत्सपुच्छसमाकृष्ट वत्सपुच्छविकर्षण ।  
विस्मारितान्यव्यापारगोपगोपीप्रमोदन ॥ ९२ ॥

गृहकृत्यसमासक्तमातृवैयग्यकारक ॥  
ब्रह्मादिकाम्यलालित्य जगदाश्चर्यशैश्व ॥ ९३ ॥ (नमः २४)

प्रसीद बालगोपाल गोपीगणमुदावह ॥

अनुरूपवयस्यस्त चारुकौमारचापल ॥ ९४ ॥  
 अकालवत्सनिमोक्तर्जजव्याक्रोशसुस्मित ॥  
 नवनीतमहाचोर वानराहारदायक ॥ ९५ ॥  
 पीठोलूखलसोपान क्षीरभाण्डविधेदक ॥  
 शिष्यभण्डसमाकर्षिन् ध्वान्तागारप्रवेशकृत् ॥ ९६ ॥  
 स्वाङ्गरत्नप्रदीपाढ्य गोपीधार्ष्ट्यातिवादक ॥  
 गोपीव्रातोक्वित्भीभ्राम्यन्नेत्र मातृप्रहर्षण ॥ ९७ ॥ (नमः २५)  
 भक्तोपालम्भनानन्द वाञ्छाभक्षितमृत्तिक ।  
 रामादिप्रोक्तमृद्वार्त्त हितैष्यम्बातिभर्त्सित ॥ ९८ ॥  
 कृतकत्रासलोलार्त्त मित्रान्तर्गूढविग्रह ।  
 बलादिवचनाक्षेपार्जननीप्रत्ययावह ॥ ९९ ॥  
 व्यात्तस्वल्पाननाब्जान्तर्मातृदर्शितविश्व हे ।  
 यशोदाविदितैश्वर्यं जय स्वाच्छन्द्यमोहन ॥ १०० ॥  
 सवित्रीस्नेहसंस्मिष्ट यशोदास्नेहवर्धन ।  
 स्वभक्तब्रह्मसन्दत्तधराद्रोणवराधकृत् ॥ १०१ ॥ (नमः २६)

इति दशमस्कन्धेऽष्टमोऽध्यायः ॥

दधिनिर्मन्थनारम्भिसवित्रीस्तन्यलोलुप ।  
 जननीगीतचरित दधिमन्थनदण्डधृक् ॥ १०२ ॥  
 मातृस्तन्यामृतातृप्त क्षीरोत्तारगताम्बिक ।  
 मृषा कोपप्रकम्पौष्ठ दधिभाजनभञ्जन ॥ १०३ ॥  
 शिष्यहैयङ्गवस्तेन नवनीतमहाशन ।  
 हैयङ्गवीनरसिक नवनीताश्रवकीर्णक ॥ १०४ ॥  
 नवनीतविलिप्ताङ्ग किङ्किणीकृष्णसूचित ।

नवनीतमहादातर्मृषाश्रो चौर्यशङ्कित ॥ १०५ ॥  
 मातृभीधावनपर गोष्ठाङ्गनविनोदन ।  
 जननीश्रमविज्ञातर्दामोदर नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ १०६ ॥  
 दामाकल्पचलापाङ्ग गाढोलूखलबन्धन ।  
 यशोदावत्सलानन्तदामबन्धनियन्त्रित ॥ १०७ ॥ (नमः २७ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे नवमोऽध्यायः ॥

दृष्टार्जुनतरुद्वन्द्व कुवेरसुतशापभित् ।  
 अपराधिसमुद्धारदयानारदगीतवित् ॥ १०८ ॥  
 अकिञ्चनजनप्राप्य श्रीमदान्धाद्यगोचर ।  
 आकृष्टोलूखलालान जय श्रीनारदप्रिय ॥ १०९ ॥  
 कृतदेवर्षिगीतार्थयमलार्जुनभञ्जन ।  
 धनदात्मजसत्स्तोत्रस्तुत सर्वेश्वरेश्वर ॥ ११० ॥  
 जीवदुर्ज्ञेयमहिमन् सदा भक्तैकचित्तभाक् ।  
 असाधारणलीलोह्य विश्वमङ्गलमङ्गल ॥ १११ ॥  
 स्वदासदासताप्रीत भक्तभक्तातिवत्सल ।  
 गुह्यकार्थितसर्वाङ्गहृषीकभजनामृत ॥ ११२ ॥  
 शिवामित्रसुतस्तोत्रसन्तोषामृतवर्षिवाक् ।  
 स्वभक्तवीक्षामाहात्म्यवादिन् प्रेमवरप्रद ॥ ११३ ॥ (नमः २८ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे दशमोऽध्यायः ॥

गोपविस्मापनक्रीड बालसङ्कथितेहित ।  
 सम्भ्रान्तनन्दसन्दृष्ट स्मितभिन्नौष्ठसम्पुट ॥ ११४ ॥  
 पतितार्जुनमध्यस्थ महोलूखलकर्षक ।

गोपाशालिलसन्मध्य नन्दमोचितबन्धन ॥ ११५ ॥

स्वभक्तवश्यतादर्शिन् वल्लरीस्तोभनर्तित ।

बालकोङ्गीतिनिरत बाहुक्षेपमनोरम ॥ ११६ ॥

गोप्याज्ञाधृतपीठादे नवनीतार्थनापटो ।

ब्रजमोहकरक्रीडासुधासिन्धो नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ११७ ॥ (नमः २९)

उपनन्दाहितप्रीते वृन्दावनरसोत्सुक ।

प्रस्थानशकटारूढ गोपिकागीतचेष्टित ॥ ११८ ॥

हृद्यवृन्दावनावास श्रीवृन्दावनचन्द्र हे ।

वृन्दावनप्रिय श्रीमद्वृन्दावनविहूषण ॥ ११९ ॥

व्याघ्रादिहिंस्रसहजवैरहर्तः प्रसीद मे ।

श्रीगोवर्धनकालिन्दीपुलिनालोकहर्षित ॥ १२० ॥ (नमः ३०)

ब्रजानन्दाकरक्रीड मनोज्ञकलभाषण ।

वत्सपालनसञ्चारिन् ब्रजादूरधराचर ॥ १२१ ॥

रामादिबालकाराम नानाक्रीडापरिच्छद ।

वंशीवादनसंसक्त वेणुचित्रस्वनाकर ॥ १२२ ॥

मुरलीवदन श्रीमत्तिभङ्गीमधुराकृते ।

क्षेपणीक्षेपणप्रीत कन्दुकक्रीडनोत्सुक ॥ १२३ ॥

वृषवत्सानुकरण वृषध्वानविडम्बन ।

जयान्योन्यरणप्रीत सर्वजन्तुरुतानुकृत् ॥ १२४ ॥ (नमः ३१)

जय वत्सासुरध्वंसिन् कपित्थव्रातपातन ।

बालप्रशंसासंहृष्ट पुष्पवर्ष्यमरार्चित ॥ १२५ ॥

गोवत्सपालनैकाग्र्य बालवृन्दाद्भुतावह ।

विकालागारगामिन् मां पाहि गोधूलिधूसर ॥ १२६ ॥

सुमनोऽलङ्कृतशिरो गुञ्जाप्रालम्बनावृत ।  
 पुष्पकुण्डल बर्हस्रक् पत्रवाद्यविनोदक ॥ १२७ ॥  
 मनोज्ञपल्लवोत्तंस वनमालाविभूषित ।  
 वनधातुविचित्राङ्गवर्हिवर्हावतंसक ॥ १२८ ॥ (नमः ३२)  
 प्रातर्भोजनसंयुक्त वत्सप्रातपुरःसर ।  
 गिरिशृङ्गमहाकायबकासुरगेतेक्षणा ॥ १२९ ॥  
 तीक्ष्णतुण्डबकग्रस्तमूर्च्छाविष्टसुहृद्गणा ।  
 महाबकमुखाक्रीड बकतालुप्रदाहक ॥ १३० ॥  
 जय दुष्टबकोद्गीर्णा बकचञ्चुविदारणा ।  
 बलादिबालकास्त्रिष्ट पुष्पवर्षिसुरेडित ॥ १३१ ॥ (नमः ३३)

इति दशमस्कन्धे एकादशोऽध्यायः ॥

प्रातर्वन्याशनाकाङ्क्षिन् शृङ्गाकारितवत्सप ।  
 असङ्ख्यवत्ससञ्चारिन् असङ्ख्याभक्तसङ्गत ॥ १३२ ॥  
 शिष्यचौर्यादिविविधबालक्रीडातितोषित ।  
 स्वपादस्पर्शनक्रीडापटु बालकहर्षित ॥ १३३ ॥  
 वयस्याशक्यसहनक्षणमात्राविलोकन ।  
 शुकगीतमहाभाग्यव्रजबालकवेष्टित ॥ १३४ ॥ (नमः ३४)  
 दुर्बुद्धिसुप्तपीनाहीतरथोत्प्रेक्षकानुग ।  
 दुश्चेष्टाघासुराभिज्ञ मुग्धार्भकरिरक्षिणो ॥ १३५ ॥  
 कृत्यचिन्तामहालील सर्पस्यान्तःप्रवेशकृत् ।  
 अघदानवसंहर्तवत्सवत्सपजीवन ॥ १३६ ॥  
 अमरानन्दविस्तारिन् निन्द्यदानवमुक्तिद ।  
 विस्मापितागतब्रह्मन्नाश्चर्याब्धे नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ १३७ ॥ (नमः ३५)

इति दशमस्कन्धे द्वादशोऽध्यायः ॥

पौण्डराख्यातकौमार महाश्चर्यचरित हे ।  
 परीक्षिच्छुकदेवातिविमोहनकथामृत ॥ १३८ ॥

स्तुतरम्यसरस्तीरादृतशाद्वलजेमन ।  
 सरःसुपुलिनासीन बालमण्डलमण्डित ॥ १३९ ॥

सखिश्रेयन्तरास्थातर्जार्भकसहाशन ।  
 पीतवस्त्रोदरन्यस्तवेशो वन्यविभूषण ॥ १४० ॥

वामकक्षान्तरन्यस्तशृङ्गवेत्र प्रसीद मे ।  
 वामपाणिस्थदध्यन्न कवलाशनसुन्दर ॥ १४१ ॥

अङ्गुलीसन्धिविन्यस्तफल बालालिचितहृत् ।  
 स्वनर्महास्यमानार्भ स्वर्ग्याश्चर्यकराशन ॥ १४२ ॥ (नमः ३६)

अदृश्यतर्णकान्वेशिन् वल्लवार्भकभीतिहन् ।  
 अदृष्टवत्सपत्रात वत्सवत्सपमार्गग ॥ १४३ ॥

विदितब्रह्मचरित वत्सवत्सपरूपधृक् ।  
 वत्सपालहरब्रह्मतत्तन्मातृमुदिच्छक ॥ १४४ ॥

यथाव्रजार्भकाकार यथावत्सपचेष्टित ।  
 यथावत्सक्रियारूप यथास्थाननिवेशन ॥ १४५ ॥ (नमः ३७)

गोगोपीस्तन्यपाहन्त गोगोपीप्रीतिवर्द्धन ।  
 बलरामोहितोदन्त पितामहविमोहन ॥ १४६ ॥

शुद्धसत्त्वघनस्वीयबहुरूपप्रदर्शक ।  
 अत्याश्चर्येक्षणाशक्तब्रह्मव्युत्थानकारक ॥ १४७ ॥

स्वान्तर्दृश्यतिदीनाजबहिर्दृष्टिसुखप्रद ।  
 गोपार्भवश रुचिर सपाणिकवलाव माम् ॥ १४८ ॥



व्यालीनसृष्टवत्सार्भगण ब्रह्मत्रपाकर ।  
ब्रह्मानन्दाश्रुधौताङ्गे दृष्टतत्त्वविधिस्तुत ॥ १४९ ॥ (नमः ३८)

इति दशमस्कन्धे त्रयोदशोऽध्यायः ॥

विधिवाक्यामृताब्धीन्दु गोपबालकवेश हे ।  
ब्रह्मावतारदिव्याङ्गाचिन्त्यमाहात्म्यरूप भृत् ॥ १५० ॥

मृषाज्ञानश्रमास्पर्शभक्त्येकसुखनिर्जित ।  
श्रेयःसारात्युदासीनदुर्बुद्धिक्लेशशेषक ॥ १५१ ॥

पूर्वपूर्वविमुक्तौघाश्रितभक्तिसुमार्ग हे ।  
नैर्गुण्याधिकदुर्ज्ञेयाश्चर्यानन्तमहागुण ॥ १५२ ॥

केवलात्मकृपापाङ्गवीक्षापेक्षकमोचक ।  
निवेदितापराधातिभीत पुत्रार्थितक्षम ॥ १५३ ॥

रोमकूपभ्रमत्कोटिकोटिब्रह्माण्डमण्डल ।  
प्रसूवदागःसहन जगन्मातर्जगत्पितः ॥ १५४ ॥

नाभ्यब्जजनितब्रह्मन्नारायण निरावृते ।  
स्वर्भान्वाप्रपञ्चिच्छातदसत्यत्वदर्शक ॥ १५५ ॥

सत्यलीलावतारौघाचिन्त्यलीलातिवैभव ।  
मिथ्यासत्यत्वसंपादिन् सदा परमसत्य हे ॥ १५६ ॥

गुरुप्रसादसंदृश्य प्रपञ्चजनकास्मृते ।  
बन्धमोक्षादिमिथ्यात्वकृद् विचारणमात्रक ॥ १५७ ॥

असत्यागिस्वभक्तान्तर्बहिरात्माधिकस्फुट ।  
स्वपादमहिमज्ञापिस्वपादाब्जप्रसाद हे ॥ १५८ ॥

विधातृभूरिभाग्यैकप्रार्थ्यदासनुदास्यक ।  
चतुर्मुखमुहुर्गीतभक्तिमाहात्म्य पाहि माम् ॥ १५९ ॥ (नमः ३९)

धन्यधन्यव्रजवधूधेनुतर्पितमोदित ।  
 नित्यपूर्णमहाभाग्यं व्रजौकोमित्रतां गत ॥ १६० ॥  
 व्रजवासिप्रसङ्गान्तर्देवताबहुसौख्यद ।  
 व्रजजाताङ्घ्रिरेणुस्पृक्कृणजन्मेप्सुपद्मज ॥ १६१ ॥  
 प्रेमार्पिताशेष घोषवासिमहाऋणिन् ।  
 सद्देशमात्रसंज्ञातपूतनात्म प्रदायक ॥ १६२ ॥  
 विरक्तप्राप्यदानानुरक्तापर्याप्तियन्त्रित ।  
 पुत्रत्वाद्यनुकारातिसुहृदानृणयलज्जित ॥ १६३ ॥  
 अविद्वन्मानिसच्चित्तवागगोचरवैभव ।  
 अत्यानन्दमुहुर्नामकीर्तनब्रह्म वन्दित ॥ १६४ ॥ ( नमः ४० )  
 ब्रह्मप्रसादसुमुख भक्तवत्सल वाक्प्रिय ।  
 स्मितेचाहर्षितभ्रह्मन्ब्रह्मानुज्ञाप्रदायक ॥ १६५ ॥  
 वत्सवत्सपमोहघ्न यथापूर्वार्भतर्णक ।  
 पुलिनानीतवत्सौघ नमस्तेऽद्भुतकर्मणे ॥ १६६ ॥  
 मुग्धबालालिवाग्जातहास व्रजगृहोत्सव ।  
 विचित्रवेशचरित गोपीहृदयमोदन ॥ १६७ ॥  
 आत्माधिकप्रियतम सर्वभूतसुहृद्वर ।  
 परिच्छिच्छुकसंवादनिश्चितप्रेमसागर ॥ १६८ ॥  
 विचित्रलील मां पाहि निलायनविहारवित् ।  
 क्रीडासेतुविधानज्ञ भ्रवङ्गभवनोद्धत ॥ १६९ ॥ ( नमः ४१ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे चतुर्दशोऽध्यायः ॥

पौगन्धागम गोपाल वृन्दाविपिनमङ्गल ।  
 वृन्दावनान्तःसञ्चारिन्सम्मानितनिजाग्रज ॥ १७० ॥

वृन्दावनगुणाख्यानमिषदत्तम्हावर ।  
 अतिवृन्दावनप्रीत नानारतिविचक्षणा ॥ १७१ ॥  
 भृङ्गानुकारिन् मां पाहि कूजनिर्जितकोकिल ।  
 उपात्तहंसगमन शिखिनृत्यानुकारक ॥ १७२ ॥  
 प्रतिध्वानप्रमुदित शाखाकूर्दनकोविद ।  
 नामाकारितगोवृन्द रज्जुयज्ञोपवीतभृत् ॥ १७३ ॥  
 नियुद्धलीलासंहृष्ट बलभद्रश्रमापनुत् ।  
 गोपप्रशंसानिपुण वृक्षच्छायाहृतश्रम ॥ १७४ ॥  
 पुष्पपल्लवतल्पाढ्य गोपोत्सङ्गोपबर्हण ।  
 गोपसंवाहितपद गोपव्यजनबीजित ॥ १७५ ॥  
 गोपगानसुखस्वप्न जितैश्यग्राम्यचेष्टित ।  
 रमालालितपादाब्जाङ्कितवृन्दावनस्थल ॥ १७६ ॥ ( नमः ४२ )  
 जय श्रीदामसुबलस्तोककृष्णैकबान्धव ।  
 वृषालवृषभौजस्विदेवप्रस्थवयस्य हे ॥ १७७ ॥  
 वरूथपार्जुनसख भद्रसेनांशुवल्लभ ।  
 तालीवनकृतक्रीड बलपातितधेनुक ॥ १७८ ॥  
 उत्तालतालराजीभिद्रासभासुरनाशन ।  
 गोपवृन्दस्तवानन्दिन् पुण्यश्रवणकीर्तन ॥ १७९ ॥ ( नमः ४३ )  
 गोपीसौभाग्यसंभाव्यं गोधूलिच्छुरितालकं ।  
 अलकाबद्धसुमनःशिखण्डं रुचिरेक्षणम् ॥ १८० ॥  
 सब्रीडहासविनयकटाक्षाक्षेपसुन्दरं ।  
 गोपीलोभनवेशं त्वां वन्दे गोपीरतिप्रदं ॥ १८१ ॥  
 जयाम्बाकारितस्नान पुण्डरीकावतंसक ।  
 मुक्ताहारलसत्कण्ठ करकङ्कणसुन्दर ॥ १८२ ॥

मञ्जुशिञ्जितमञ्जीर स्वर्णालङ्कारभूषण ।  
 दिव्यस्रग्गन्धवासोभृज्जनन्युपहृतान्नभुक् ॥ १८३ ॥  
 विलासललितस्मेर गर्वलीलावलोकन ।  
 सुखपल्यङ्गसंविष्ट राधासंलापनिर्वृत ॥ १८४ ॥ ( नमः ४४ )  
 यमुनातटसञ्चारिन् कालियहृदतीरग ।  
 नमस्तेऽतिसुधादृष्टे विषार्तव्रजजीवन ॥ १८५ ॥  
 अतिविस्मितगोपालकुलानुमितचेष्टित ।  
 जय स्वजनरक्षार्थनिगूढैश्वर्यदर्शक ॥ १८६ ॥ ( नमः ४५ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे पञ्चदशोऽध्यायः ॥

तुङ्गनीपसमारूढं सर्पहृदविहारिणं ।  
 कालियक्रोधजनकं क्रुद्धाहिकुलवेष्टितं ॥ १८७ ॥  
 मोहमग्नसुहृद्वर्गं साश्रुगोकुलवीक्षितं ।  
 महोत्पातसमुद्विग्नव्रजान्विष्टगतिं भजे ॥ १८८ ॥  
 पदचिह्नाप्तमार्गं त्वां मृतप्रायस्वरान्धवं ।  
 रामरक्षितनन्दादिमुमूर्षुव्रजशोचितं ॥ १८९ ॥ ( नमः ४६ )  
 नमस्ते स्वीयदुःखघ्न सर्पक्रीडाविशारद ।  
 कालियाहिफणारङ्गनट कालियमर्दन ॥ १९० ॥  
 कालियफणामाणिक्य रञ्जितश्रीपदाम्बुज ।  
 निजगन्धर्वसिद्धादिगीतवाद्यादिनर्तित ॥ १९१ ॥  
 पादाम्बुजविमर्दोत्तिनमिताहीन्द्रमस्तक ।  
 रक्तोद्गारिविभिन्नाङ्गदीनकालियसंस्मृत ॥ १९२ ॥ ( नमः ४७ )  
 नागपत्नीस्तुतिप्रीत हितार्थोचितदण्डकृत् ।  
 क्रोडप्रसादगाम्भीर्य महापुण्यैकतोष्य हे ॥ १९३ ॥

निरुपाधिकृपाकारिन् सर्पस्त्रीप्रार्थ्यदायक ।  
 सर्वार्थत्यागिभक्तार्थ्यस्वाङ्घ्रिरेखाचितोरग ॥ १९४ ॥  
 अचिन्त्यैश्वर्यमहिमन्नानाजीवस्वभावसृक् ।  
 नानाक्रीडनकक्रीडिन् स्वप्रजागःक्षमोचित ॥ १९५ ॥  
 नागस्त्रीपतिभिच्चाद जय कालियभाषित ।  
 अग्राह्यसृष्टदुष्टागोऽयोग्यमोहितनिग्रह ॥ १९६ ॥  
 स्वाङ्गमुद्राङ्किताहीन्द्रमूर्द्धन् कालियशासन ।  
 पूर्वस्थानापिताहीन्द्र सुपर्णजभयापहृत् ॥ १९७ ॥  
 नागोपायनहृष्टात्मन् कालियातिप्रसादित ।  
 यमुनाहृदसंशोधिन् हृदोत्सारितकालिय ॥ १९८ ॥ ( नमः ४८ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे षोडशोऽध्यायः ॥

स्वबल्यशनकालियदर्पमर्दनवाहन ।  
 सौभर्युक्तिसक्कागम्यसर्पावासहृदोद्धर ॥ १९९ ॥  
 दिव्यस्रग्गन्धवस्त्राढ्य दिव्याभरणाभूषित ।  
 महामणिगणाकीर्णं व्रजजीवनदर्शन ॥ २०० ॥  
 सहासश्रीवलास्त्रिष्ट गोपालिङ्गननिर्वृत ।  
 प्रसीद पीतदावाग्ने स्वजनार्तिविनाशन ॥ २०१ ॥ ( नमः ४९ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे सप्तदशोऽध्यायः ॥

काकपक्षधर श्रीमद्वसन्तितनिदाघ हे ।  
 नयनाच्छादनक्रीड राजलीलानुकारक ॥ २०२ ॥  
 मृगादिचेष्टाक्रीडाकृद्दोलानौकाविनोदक ।  
 नानालौकिकलीलाभृन्नानास्थानविहारकृत् ॥ २०३ ॥

क्रीडासम्प्राप्तभारडीर जय भारडीरमण्डन ।  
 गोपरूपिप्रलम्बज्ञ द्वन्द्वक्रीडाप्रवर्तक ॥ २०४ ॥  
 बाह्यवाहककेलीमन् जय श्रीदामवाहक ।  
 बलपातितदुर्धर्षप्रलम्ब बलवत्सल ॥ २०५ ॥ ( नमः ५० )

इति दशमस्कन्धेऽष्टादशोऽध्यायः ॥

जय मुञ्जाटवीभ्रष्टमार्गपञ्चार्तिनाशक ।  
 दावाग्निभीतगोपालदृङ्गिमीलनदेशक ॥ २०६ ॥  
 मुञ्जाटव्यग्निशमन पीतोल्वणदवानल ।  
 भारडीरापितगोगोप योगाधीश नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ २०७ ॥ ( नमः ५१ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे एकोनविंशोऽध्यायः ॥

प्रावृट्श्रीभूषितारण्य वृष्टिकालविनोदकृत् ।  
 गुहावनस्पतिक्रोडसेविन् मूलफलाशन ॥ २०८ ॥  
 पाषाणान्यस्तदध्यन्नभुक् वर्षाहर्षितव्रज ।  
 शाद्वलाशनवर्षाश्रीसम्मानक नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ २०९ ॥  
 हे शरन्निर्मलव्योमचारुकान्ते प्रसीद मे ।  
 शरच्चन्द्रलसद्वक्त्रकृतगोपीमहास्मर ॥ २१० ॥ ( नमः ५२ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे विंशोऽध्यायः ॥

शरद्विहारमधुर शरत्पुष्पविभूषण ।  
 कर्णिकारावतंसं त्वां नटवेशधरं भजे ॥ २११ ॥  
 विन्यस्तवदनाम्भोजलोचनप्रान्तनर्तक ।  
 बिम्बाधरार्पितोदारवेशो जय सुगायन ॥ २१२ ॥

नमो वक्त्रावलोकाय त्रिभङ्गललिताय ते ।  
 वेणुमोहितविश्र्वाय गोपिकोद्गीतकीर्तये ॥ २१३ ॥ ( नमः ५३ )  
 चक्षुःसाफल्यसम्पादिश्रीमद्वक्त्राब्जवीक्षण ।  
 नानामालालसद्वेश गोपालसभशोभन ॥ २१४ ॥  
 सदातिपुण्यवद्वेणुपीयमानाधरामृत ।  
 वृन्दावनातिकीर्तिश्रीप्रदपदाब्जलक्षण ॥ २१५ ॥  
 अपूर्वमुरलीगीतनादनर्तितबर्हिण ।  
 शाखोत्कीर्णशकुन्तौघ सर्वप्राणिमनोहर ॥ २१६ ॥  
 विस्मारित तृणाग्रासमृगीकुलविलोभित ।  
 सुशीलरूपसङ्गीतदेवीगणविमोहन ॥ २१७ ॥  
 गाढरोदितगोवृन्द प्रेमोत्कर्णिततर्णक ।  
 निर्व्यापारीकृताशेषमुनितुल्यविहङ्गम ॥ २१८ ॥  
 गीतस्तब्धसरित्पूर च्छत्रायितबलाहक ।  
 पुलिन्दीप्रेमकृद्वासलग्नपादाब्जकुङ्कुम ॥ २१९ ॥  
 हरिसेवकवर्यत्वसम्पन्नोवर्धनार्चित ।  
 स्वप्रेमपरमानन्दचित्रायितचराचर ॥ २२० ॥  
 रागपल्लवितस्थाणो गीतानमितपादप ।  
 गोपालविलसद्वेश गोपीमारविवर्धन ॥ २२१ ॥  
 अशेषजङ्गमस्थाणुस्वभावपरिवर्तक ।  
 आद्रीकृतशिलाकाष्ठ निर्जीवोज्जीवनाव नः ॥ २२२ ॥ ( नमः ५४ )

इति दशमस्कन्ध एकविंशोऽध्यायः ॥

गोपकन्याव्रतप्रीत प्रसीद वरदेश्वर ।  
 जलक्रीडासमाशक्तगोपीवस्त्रापहारक ॥ २२३ ॥

कदम्बारूढ वन्दे त्वां चित्रनर्मोक्तिकोविद ।  
 गोपीस्तवविलुब्धात्मन् गोपिकायाचितांशुक ॥ २२४ ॥  
 स्रोतोवासःस्फुरद्गोपकन्याकर्षणलालस ।  
 शीतार्तयमुनोत्तीर्णगोपीभावप्रसादित ॥ २२५ ॥  
 स्कन्धारोपितगोपस्त्रीवस्त्र सस्मितभाषण ।  
 गोपीनमस्क्रियादेष्टर्गोप्येककरवन्दित ॥ २२६ ॥  
 गोप्यञ्जलिविशेषार्थिन् गोपकन्यानमस्कृत ।  
 गोपीवस्त्रद हे गोपीकामिताकामितप्रद ॥ २२७ ॥  
 गोपीचित्तमहाचोर गोपकन्याभुजङ्गम ।  
 देहि स्वगोपिकादास्यं गोपीभावविमोहित ॥ २२८ ॥ ( नमः ५५ )  
 श्रीवृन्दावनदूरस्थविप्राभावाभिकर्षित ।  
 आतपत्रायिताशेषतरुदर्शनहर्षित ॥ २२९ ॥  
 परोपकारनिरततरुजन्माभिनन्दक ।  
 यमुनामृतसंतृप्त गोगोपगणसेवित ॥ २३० ॥ ( नमः ५६ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे द्वाविंशोऽध्यायः ॥

यज्ञपत्नीप्रसादार्थगोपक्षुदतिवर्धन ।  
 क्षुदार्तगोपवागव्यग्र जय यज्वान्नयाचक ॥ २३१ ॥  
 दुष्प्रज्ञयज्वावज्ञात भक्तविप्रादिदृक्षित ।  
 ब्राह्मयात्रकर्षकोदन्त यज्ञपत्नीमनोहर ॥ २३२ ॥  
 ब्राह्मणीतापभिच्छिन्नवेशावस्थानभूषण ।  
 जय द्विजसतीश्लाघिन् यज्ञपत्नीष्टदास्यक ॥ २३३ ॥  
 ब्राह्मणीकाकुसन्तुष्ट ब्राह्मणीप्रेमभक्तिद ।  
 पतिरुद्धसतीसद्योविमुक्तिद नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ २३४ ॥



यजमानीवितीर्णान्नतृप्त विप्रानुतापद ।  
स्वीयसङ्गद्विजज्ञानप्रद ब्रह्मण्यदेव हे ॥ २३५ ॥ ( नमः ५७ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे त्रयोविंशोऽध्यायः ॥

जय वासवयागज्ञ पितृपृष्ठमस्वार्थक ।  
श्रुततातोक्तयज्ञार्थ कर्मवादावतारक ॥ २३६ ॥  
नानापन्यायवादौघशक्रयागनिवारक ।  
गोवर्धनाद्रिगोयज्ञप्रवर्तक नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ २३७ ॥  
प्रोक्ताद्रिगोमखविधे यज्ञदत्तोपहारभुक् ।  
गोपविश्वासनार्थाद्रिच्छलस्थुलान्यरूपधृक् ॥ २३८ ॥  
गोवर्धनशिरोरत्न गोवर्धनमहत्त्वद ।  
कृतभूषाशनाभीरकारिताद्रिपरिक्रम ॥ २३९ ॥ ( नमः ५८ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे चतुर्विंशोऽध्यायः ॥

जनितेन्द्ररुषं शक्रमदवृष्टिशमोन्मुखं ।  
गोवर्धनाचलोद्धर्तस्त्वां वन्देऽद्भुतविक्रमम् ॥ २४० ॥  
लीलागोवर्धनधर ब्रजरक्षापरायण ।  
भुजानन्तोपरिविन्यस्तद्धमानिभक्ष्माभृदुत्तम ॥ २४१ ॥  
गोवर्धनच्छत्रदण्डभुजार्गल महाबल ।  
सप्ताहविधृताद्रीन्द्र मेघवाहनगर्वभित् ॥ २४२ ॥  
सप्ताहैकपदस्थायिन् ब्रजक्षुत्तुडनुदीक्षण ।  
जय भग्नेन्द्रसङ्कल्प महावर्षनिवारण ॥ २४३ ॥  
स्वस्थानस्थापितगिरे गोपीदध्यक्षतार्चित ।  
देवतासुमनोवृष्टिसिक्त वासवभीषण ॥ २४४ ॥ ( नमः ५९ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे पञ्चविंशोऽध्यायः ॥

जयाद्भुतमहाचेष्टाविस्मितव्रजशङ्कित ।  
 गोपानुपृष्टजनक गोपोद्गीताखिलेहित ॥ २४५ ॥  
 नन्दोक्तगर्गसद्वाक्यगोपाशङ्कानिरासक ।  
 गोष्ठरक्षक मां रक्ष गोपालानन्दवर्धन ॥ २४६ ॥ ( नमः ६० )

इति दशमस्कन्धे षड्विंशोऽध्यायः ॥

भीतलज्जितदेवेशकिरीटस्पृष्टपाद हे ।  
 वासवस्तुत सर्वज्ञ जितमायास्तदूषण ॥ २४७ ॥  
 धर्मपाल खलद्वंसिन् दुष्टमनघ्नचेष्टित ।  
 स्वीयापराधक्षमण शरणागतवत्सल ॥ २४८ ॥  
 शक्रशिक्तक शक्रत्वप्रद सुरभीडित ।  
 सुरभीप्रार्थितेन्द्रत्व श्रीगोइन्द्र नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ २४९ ॥  
 कामधेनुपयःपूराभिषिक्तामरपूजित ।  
 ऐरावतकरानीतवियद्गङ्गाजलान्मुत ॥ २५० ॥  
 गोगोपगोपिकानन्दिन् सर्वलोकशुभाङ्कर ।  
 हर्षपूरितदेवेन्द्र जगदानन्दवर्धन ॥ २५१ ॥ ( नमः ६१ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे सप्तविंशोऽध्यायः ॥

प्रसीद मे पयोमग्ननन्दान्वेषिन् पितृप्रिय ।  
 वरुणालय संप्राप्त वरुणाभीष्टदर्शन ॥ २५२ ॥  
 वरुणार्चितपादाब्ज वरुणातिप्रसादित ।  
 वरुणागःक्षमाकारिन्नन्दबन्धविमोचन ॥ २५३ ॥

नन्दश्रावितमाहात्म्य गोपज्ञानातिवैभव ।  
 गोपसङ्कल्पविज्ञातः करुणाकुलमानस ॥ २५४ ॥  
 स्वलोकालोकसंहृष्टगोपवर्गार्थवर्गद ।  
 ब्रह्महृदोद्धृताभीराभीष्टब्रह्मपदप्रद ॥ २५५ ॥ ( नमः ६२ )

इति दशमस्कन्धेऽष्टविंशोऽध्यायः ॥

जय जय निजपादाम्भोजसत्प्रेमदायिन्  
 रसिकजनमनोहृद् रासलीलाविनोदिन् ।  
 विवृतमधुरकैशोरातिलीलाप्रभाव  
 प्रियजनवशवर्तिन् व्यक्तसत्यस्वभाव ॥ २५६ ॥  
 त्यक्तात्मरामतामाय तुच्छीकृतनिजागम ।  
 भक्तप्रार्थ्यनिजप्रेमधारादानार्थरासकृत् ॥ २५७ ॥  
 शरन्निशाविहारोत्क चन्द्रोदयरताशय ।  
 गोपीविमोहनोद्गीत परमाकर्षणपण्डित ॥ २५८ ॥  
 अनादृतनिषेधौघीकृतगोपसतीगण ।  
 त्यक्तसर्वक्रियापेक्षगोपस्त्रीप्राप्तसङ्गम ॥ २५९ ॥ ( नमः ६३ )  
 प्रसीद भर्तृसंरुद्धगोपीप्रेमाग्निवर्धन ।  
 स्वकामोन्मत्तगोपस्त्रीदेहबन्धविमोचन ॥ २६० ॥  
 शुकक्रोधोक्तिनिर्णीतमहामहिमसागर ।  
 क्रोधादिभजमानार्थप्रदस्मरणा मां स्मर ॥ २६१ ॥ ( नमः ६४ )  
 गोपिकानयनास्वाद्य गोपीवञ्चनवाक्पटो ।  
 गोपीमिष्टोक्तिशुश्रूषास्वधर्मभयदर्शक ॥ २६२ ॥  
 गोपीमहाधिविस्तारिन् गोपीरोदनवर्धन ।  
 गोप्यर्थिताङ्गसंसर्ग गोपीकाकुभिनिर्वृत ॥ २६३ ॥

अवहित्थापरित्यक्त प्रोद्यन्मानसविक्रिय ।  
 धूर्ताग्रगण्य मां पाहि काममुग्ध स्मितानन ॥ २६४ ॥  
 व्यक्तस्वभावमधुर स्मरलोलितलोचन ।  
 गोपीमनोहरापाङ्ग गोपिकाशतयूथप ॥ २६५ ॥  
 वैजयन्तीस्रगाकल्प शरच्चन्द्रनिभानन ।  
 यमुनापुलिनासीन गोपीरमण पाहि मां ॥ २६६ ॥  
 जितमन्मथ तन्त्रज्ञ गोपीमानविवर्धन ।  
 गोपिकातिप्रसादार्थकृतान्तर्धानविभ्रम ॥ २६७ ॥ ( नमः ६५ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे ऊनत्रिंशोऽध्यायः ॥

जय गोपीगणान्विष्ट वृक्षसंस्पृष्टदर्शन ।  
 तुलसीमालतीमल्लियूथिकापृष्टवीक्षण ॥ २६८ ॥  
 क्षित्युत्सवसमालोकसम्भावितसमागम ।  
 एणीपृष्टाङ्घ्रिपापृष्टलतोत्पुलकसूचित ॥ २६९ ॥  
 उन्मत्तीकृतगोप्यौघ गोपिकानुकृतेहित ।  
 जय गोपीगणाविष्ट स्वभावापितगोपिक ॥ २७० ॥  
 गोपीलक्षितपादाब्जलक्ष्ममार्गितपद्धते ।  
 अन्यस्त्रीयुक्तपादाब्जचिह्नेक्षागोपिकार्तिद ॥ २७१ ॥ ( नमः ६६ )  
 राधाराधित राधेश राधिकाप्राणवल्लभ ।  
 राधारमण वन्दे त्वां राधिकाप्रेमनिर्जित ॥ २७२ ॥  
 राधासंन्यस्तसर्वस्व स्त्रीस्त्रैरागतिदर्शक ।  
 राधानुतापसंमोहकरान्तर्धानकौतुक ॥ २७३ ॥  
 सखीगणान्नराधोक्त तद्विस्मापनचेष्टित ।  
 राधासहितगोपस्त्रीमुहुर्मार्गित पाहि माम् ॥ २७४ ॥ ( नमः ६७ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे त्रिंशोऽध्यायः ॥

पुनः पुलिनसंप्राप्त गोपीगीतार्थितोदय ।  
 जन्ममात्रव्रजश्रीद स्वजनान्वेषणार्तिद ॥ २७५ ॥  
 दृगब्जहन्यमानस्त्रीवधनिःशङ्कहृदय ।  
 विषादिनानादुःखघ्न स्वीयार्तिज्ञान्तरात्मदृक् ॥ २७६ ॥  
 विश्वरक्षार्थसञ्ज्ञात भक्ताभयदहस्त हे ।  
 स्वजनप्रार्थ्यसंस्पर्श नानागुणपदाम्बुज ॥ २७७ ॥  
 मनोज्ञमधुरालाप दासीगणविमोहन ।  
 श्रुतिमङ्गलसन्तप्तप्राणार्थदकथामृत ॥ २७८ ॥  
 मनःक्षोभकमाधुर्य मृदुलाङ्घ्रि वनाटक ।  
 युगायितवियोगाणो मनोहृदधरामृत ॥ २७९ ॥  
 सर्वत्यागार्थितगते महामोहनरूप हे ।  
 व्रजमङ्गलकृद्व्यक्ते स्वजनप्रार्थ्यपूरक ॥ २८० ॥  
 अतिकोमलपादाब्जकण्टकारणयसञ्चर ।  
 गोपस्त्रीजीविताकर्षिदुर्गभुभ्रमणाव माम् ॥ २८१ ॥ ( नमः ६८ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे एकत्रिंशोऽध्यायः ॥

अत्युच्चगोपिकादुःखरोदनोन्मथितेन्द्रिय ।  
 जय गोपीपुनर्दृष्टस्मयमानमुखाम्बुज ॥ २८२ ॥  
 श्रीमन्मदनगोपाल पीतकौशेयवस्त्रधृक् ।  
 प्रीत्युत्फुल्लाक्षगोपस्त्रीवेष्टित प्राणदायक ॥ २८३ ॥  
 वल्लवीस्तनसक्ताङ्घ्रि गोपीनेत्राब्जषट्पद ।  
 गोपस्त्रीविरहार्तिघ्न वल्लवीकामपूरक ॥ २८४ ॥

गोपीचेलाञ्चलासीन गोपीगणसभाजित ।  
 जय गोपीसदोजाताधिकश्रीराजमान हे ॥ २८५ ॥ ( नमः ६९ )  
 विदग्धगोपिकागाढप्रश्नोत्तरदायक ।  
 विज्ञातगोप्यभिप्राय महाचतुरसिंह हे ॥ २८६ ॥  
 स्ववाक्स्वात्माकृतज्ञत्वादिदोषपरिहारक ।  
 निजासाधारणप्रेमकारुण्यस्थापकाऽव मां ॥ २८७ ॥  
 स्वीयसङ्गापरित्यागिन् स्वदानातृप्तमानस ।  
 प्रियोपकारसंव्यग्र विरहप्रेमवर्धन ॥ २८८ ॥ ( नमः ७० )

इति दशमस्कन्धे द्वात्रिंशोऽध्यायः ॥

गोपीविरहसन्तापहरालिङ्गनकोविद ।  
 रासक्रीडारसाकृष्ट जय गोपीप्रियङ्कर ॥ २८९ ॥  
 रासोत्सवसमारम्भिन् गोपीमण्डलमण्डित ।  
 गोपीहेममणिश्रेणीमध्यमध्यहरिन्मणि ॥ २९० ॥  
 स्वस्वपार्श्वस्थितिज्ञानानन्दितस्त्रीगणावृत ।  
 देवतागणगीतादिसुसेवित नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ २९१ ॥  
 गोपिकोद्गीतसुप्रीत नृत्यगीतविचक्षण ।  
 स्वात्मास्यदत्तताम्बूल श्रान्तगोपीधृतांसक ॥ २९२ ॥  
 स्वानुरूपव्रजवधूनृत्यगीतादिहर्षित ।  
 विमोहितशशाङ्कादिस्थैर्यरात्र्यतिदैर्घ्यकृत् ॥ २९३ ॥  
 विदग्धवल्लवीवृन्दरतिचिह्नाङ्किताङ्ग हे ।  
 रतिश्रान्तव्रजवधूमुखमार्जनतत्पर ॥ २९४ ॥ ( नमः ७१ )  
 जलक्रीडातिकुशल स्वमालालिकुलावृत ।  
 सहासगोपिकाव्रातसिच्यमान नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ २९५ ॥

यमुनाजललीनाङ्ग कालिन्दीकेलिलोलित ।  
 यमुनातीरसञ्चारिन् कृष्णाकुञ्जरतिप्रिय ॥ २९६ ॥  
 जय श्रीराधिकासक्त जय चन्द्रावलीरत ।  
 पद्मास्यपद्मपानाले ललितापाङ्गलालित ॥ २९७ ॥  
 विशाखार्थविशेषार्थिन् श्यामलारतिनिर्मल ।  
 भद्राभद्ररसाधीन धन्याप्राणधनेश्वर ॥ २९८ ॥  
 गोपजन्मागतस्वस्त्रीनिरन्तरविलासकृत् ।  
 गोपीलम्पट हे गोपीस्तनकुङ्कुममण्डित ॥ २९९ ॥ ( नमः ७२ )  
 परिचित्पृष्टरासार्थ शुकोक्तैश्वर्यसञ्चय ।  
 मुमुक्षुमुक्तभक्तार्थसच्चिदानन्दचेष्टित ॥ ३०० ॥  
 गोपीमहामहिमद गोपासूयाद्यनास्पद ।  
 गोपार्पितगृहापत्यपत्नीप्राण प्रसीद मे ॥ ३०१ ॥ ( नमः ७३ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे त्रयस्त्रिंशोऽध्यायः ॥

जयाम्बिकावनप्राप्त सारस्वतजलाल्लुत ।  
 निजपादाम्बुजस्पृष्टनन्दग्राहिमहोरग ॥ ३०२ ॥  
 विद्याधरेन्द्रशापघ्न जय नन्दविमुक्तिद ।  
 श्राविताहिपुरावृत्त सुदर्शनविमोचन ॥ ३०३ ॥ ( नमः ७४ )  
 कामपालसहक्रीडासम्मानितनिशामुख ।  
 मनोहरमहागीतमोहितस्त्रीगणावृत ॥ ३०४ ॥  
 शङ्खचूडपरित्रस्तगोपिकाक्रोशधावित ।  
 स्त्रीरक्षास्थापितबल शङ्खचूडशिरोहर ॥ ३०५ ॥  
 शङ्खचूडशिरोरत्नप्रीणिताग्रज पाहि मां ।  
 अन्योन्यगोपीसापत्न्यानुत्पादक नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ३०६ ॥ ( नमः ७५ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे चतुस्त्रिंशोऽध्यायः ॥

अहविरहसन्तप्तगोपीगीतगुणोदय ।  
जय शोकाब्धिनिस्तारप्रकारात्युच्चकीर्तन ॥ ३०७ ॥  
साचीकृताननाम्भोज व्यत्यस्तपदपल्लव ।  
नर्तितभ्रुयुगापाङ्ग वेशुवाद्यविशारद ॥ ३०८ ॥  
विश्वमोहनरूपं त्वां सिद्धस्त्रीकामवर्धनं ।  
वन्दे चित्रायिताशेषव्रजारण्यपशुव्रजम् ॥ ३०९ ॥  
अवाहितप्रवाहौघ लतादिमधुवर्षक ।  
स्वपार्श्वापितहंसादे पर्जन्यच्छत्रसेवित ॥ ३१० ॥  
ब्रह्माद्यतर्क्यसङ्गीत कामार्पकसमीक्षणा ।  
स्वपदोद्धृतभूताप वनितातरुभावकृत् ॥ ३११ ॥  
हृतचित्तमृगीप्राप्तदिनान्तश्रान्तिकान्तित ।  
यमुनास्नानरम्याङ्ग सुखवायुप्रपूजित ॥ ३१२ ॥  
ब्रह्मादिवन्द्यमानाङ्गे सुहृदानन्दवर्धन ।  
मदच्छुरितलोलाक्ष मुदिताननपङ्कज ॥ ३१३ ॥  
वनमालापरीताङ्ग गजेन्द्रगतिसुन्दर ।  
गोपिकाश्रावितोत्कर्ष हृष्टमातृक पाहि मां ॥ ३१४ ॥ ( नमः ७६ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे पञ्चत्रिंशोऽध्यायः ॥

अरिष्टत्रासिताशेषव्रजाश्रासक रक्ष मां ।  
स्वभुजास्फोटनाह्वान वृषभासुरकोपन ॥ ३१५ ॥  
उत्पाटितविषाणाग्रघातितोग्रवृषासुर ।  
गोकुलारिष्टविध्वंसिन् अरिष्टासुरभञ्जन ॥ ३१६ ॥ ( नमः ७७ )



नारदज्ञापितोदन्तकंसदुर्मन्त्रवर्धन ।  
 कंससंप्रार्थिताक्रूरपुरानयन पाहि मां ॥ ३१७ ॥  
 दुष्टोपायदुरोद्योगशताकुलितकंसराट् ।  
 राजाज्ञानन्दिताक्रूर जय दानपतिप्रिय ॥ ३१८ ॥ ( नमः ७८ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे षट्त्रिंशोऽध्यायः ॥

जय गोकुलसंत्रासिकेशिविज्ञेपणा प्रभो ।  
 हयासुरमहास्यान्तःप्रवेशितमह्मभुज ॥ ३१९ ॥  
 हेलाहतमहादिअत्य जय केशिनिसूदन ।  
 केशवं केशिमथनं वन्दे त्वां देवर्चितं ॥ ३२० ॥ ( नमः ७९ )  
 जय भागवतश्रेष्ठश्रीनारदसमीडित ।  
 अपरिच्छिन्नसन्मूर्ते सर्वजीवेश्वरेश्वर ॥ ३२१ ॥  
 सृष्टिस्थित्यन्तकृन्मायागुणसूक् सत्यवाञ्छित ।  
 ऋषिवाक्स्मृतदेवार्थकंससंहरणादिक ॥ ३२२ ॥  
 नारदज्ञापिताशेषकार्यस्वीकारकोविद ।  
 दर्शनोत्सवसंहृष्टश्रीनारदनमस्कृत ॥ ३२३ ॥ ( नमः ८० )  
 हे मेषायितगोपालपालनस्तेयविभ्रम ।  
 गोपवेशधरव्योमचौर्यनीतसुहृद्गण ॥ ३२४ ॥  
 दुष्टव्योमासुरग्राहिन् जय व्योमनिपातन ।  
 मयपुत्रगुहारुद्धगोपवर्गविमोक्षक ॥ ३२५ ॥ ( नमः ८१ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे सप्तत्रिंशोऽध्यायः ॥

जय दानपतिध्यातमहामहिमसञ्चय ।  
 सल्लक्षणार्थसद्भागाक्रूरसम्भावितेक्षण ॥ ३२६ ॥

पादाब्जद्यायकाक्रूरलालसानन्दवर्धन ।  
 अक्रूररथसरप्राप्त गोष्ठगोदोहनागत ॥ ३२७ ॥  
 जय दानपतीक्ष्मा क्षितिकौतुककृत्पद ।  
 श्वाफल्किलुठनाधानपादाम्बुजरजोव्रज ॥ ३२८ ॥  
 जय श्वफल्कतनयनयनानन्दवर्धन ।  
 रथावल्लाविताक्रूर जयाक्रूराभिविन्दित ॥ ३२९ ॥  
 सुप्रीतालिङ्गिताक्रूर जय प्रणतवत्सल ।  
 गान्दिनीनन्दनाशेषमनोवाञ्छितपूरक ॥ ३३० ॥ ( नमः ८२ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे अष्टात्रिंशोऽध्यायः ॥

अक्रूरवर्णिताशेषकंससुर्वृत्त कोपित ।  
 देवकीवसुदेवादिदुःखश्रवणादुःखित ॥ ३३१ ॥  
 यात्रामन्त्रितगोपेश मथुरागमनोन्मुख ।  
 प्रातर्मधुपुरीयानश्रवणाकुलगोकुल ॥ ३३२ ॥  
 यशोदाहृदयाशङ्काचिन्ताज्वरशतप्रद ।  
 शोकब्धिपातिताशेषव्रजयोषिद्गणाऽव मां ॥ ३३३ ॥  
 शून्यायमानजगतीगोपीजीवनतापन ।  
 गोपीरोदनवाद्ध्वारासंवर्धितनदीगण ॥ ३३४ ॥ ( नमः ८३ )  
 जयाक्रूररथारूढ गोपीरोदनकातर ।  
 शकटारूढनन्दादिगोपालगणवेष्टित ॥ ३३५ ॥  
 गोपीवियोगसन्तप्त राधिकाविरहासह ।  
 स्वदूतप्रेममिष्टोक्तिगोपिकाश्वासनाकुल ॥ ३३६ ॥  
 गोपीहाहामहारावरोदनार्तिनिवर्तित ।  
 मृतप्रायव्रजवधूचुम्बनालिङ्गनासुद ॥ ३३७ ॥

प्रसीद सान्त्वनाभिज्ञ नानाशपथकारक ।  
 कृतावधिदिनो जीया आशाप्राणप्रदायक ॥ ३३८ ॥ ( नमः ८४ )  
 श्वाफल्किसञ्चालितयानवाहं  
 गोपाङ्गनासंवृतयानमार्गम् ।  
 धात्रीमहारोदनदुःखितं त्वां  
 निर्वाक्यनन्दादिधृतं नमामि ॥ ३३९ ॥  
 मारितस्त्रीकतिपय कतिस्त्रीमूर्च्छनाकर ।  
 उन्मादितैकतदूथ रोदितस्त्रीसहस्रक ॥ ३४० ॥  
 महार्तस्वरसंभग्नकण्ठीकृतवधूशत ।  
 प्रसीद रथमागाङ्कपातितैकाबलागण ॥ ३४१ ॥  
 जयाशातन्तुबद्धासुकतिस्त्रीकीर्तनप्रद ।  
 मथुरापदवीवीक्षाकुलितैकाङ्गनायुत ॥ ३४२ ॥ ( नमः ८५ )  
 यमुनामज्जिताक्रूर जयाक्रूररथस्थित ।  
 श्वाफल्कजलसंदृष्ट परमाश्चर्यदर्शक ॥ ३४३ ॥

इति दशमस्कन्धे एकोनचत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः ॥

अक्रूरसंस्तुतानादे पद्मनाभादिकारण ।  
 जगद्दुर्विज्ञेयगते भजनानैकगम्य हे ॥ ३४४ ॥  
 नानायज्ञार्चनीयाङ्गे नानाख्यारूपमार्गभाक् ।  
 सर्वगत्यापगाम्भोधे सर्वदेवमयेश्वर ॥ ३४५ ॥  
 जगदाश्रयसर्वाङ्ग ब्रह्माण्डालिगुहोदर ।  
 शोकघ्नानन्दद श्रीमदवतारावलीयशः ॥ ३४६ ॥  
 नानाकार्पण्यविज्ञापितमुमुक्ष्वक्रूरयाचित ।  
 स्वप्रेमभक्तिसत्सङ्गदायिस्वैककृपाभर ॥ ३४७ ॥

गोप्यवज्ञाहताक्रूरशुष्कस्तोत्राभिवन्दित ।  
पितृव्यविस्मयोदन्तप्रच्छकाद्भुतसागर ॥ ३४८ ॥ ( नमः ८६ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे चत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः ॥

मथुरोपवनप्राप्तनन्दादिस्वजनावृत ।  
ब्रजार्तिकारणाक्रूरगृहयानार्थनाकर ॥ ३४९ ॥  
स्वलङ्कृतमहाश्चर्यपुरीदर्शनहर्षित ।  
पुरस्त्रीवृन्दनयनमनोहर नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ३५० ॥  
दध्यादिमङ्गलद्रव्यद्विजातिकृतपूजन ।  
पुरस्त्रीकृतगोपस्त्रीपुण्यस्त्राघातिनिर्वृत ॥ ३५१ ॥ ( नमः ८७ )  
मथुराजनसंवीक्ष्य रजकांशुकयाचक ।  
दुर्मुखाक्षेपसंकुद्ध रङ्गकारशिरोहर ॥ ३५२ ॥  
निजप्रियाम्बरद्वन्द्वपरिधानविभूषित ।  
अग्नीष्टवस्त्रसंहृष्टरामगोपालिसंयुत ॥ ३५३ ॥  
प्रसीद वायकोन्नीतचैलेयाकल्पभूषित ।  
नानालक्षणावेशाढ्य हे वायकवरप्रद ॥ ३५४ ॥ ( नमः ८८ )  
प्रसीद हे सुदामाख्यमालाकारगृहागत ।  
मालिकप्रीतिपूजासमाल्यवद्भक्तिसंस्तुत ॥ ३५५ ॥  
सुगन्धिनानामालालिस्वलङ्कृत नमोऽस्तु ते ।  
सुदामाभीप्सितवरवाञ्छातीतवरप्रद ॥ ३५६ ॥ ( नमः ८९ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे एकचत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः ॥

सहासनर्मसंप्रश्नार्थितकुब्जानुलेपन ।  
कुब्जादत्ताङ्गरागाढ्य सैरिन्ध्रीचित्तमोहन ॥ ३५७ ॥

कुब्जानुलिप्तसर्वाङ्ग हेऽङ्गरागानुरञ्जित ।  
 त्रिवक्रावक्रताहर्तः कुब्जासौन्दर्यदायक ॥ ३५८ ॥  
 कुब्जाकृष्टाम्बरधर कुब्जाचेष्टातिहासित ।  
 कृतकुब्जासमाश्वास जय कुब्जावरप्रद ॥ ३५९ ॥ ( नमः ९० )  
 नानोपायनताम्बूलगन्धादिवशिगर्चित ।  
 जय चित्रायिताशेषपुरस्त्रीगणवीक्षक ॥ ३६० ॥  
 जय प्रफुल्लनयन लीलाहसितलोचन ।  
 मत्तनागेन्द्रगमन नागरीगणमोहन ॥ ३६१ ॥  
 धनुःस्थानप्रश्नकर जयाद्भुतधनुर्धर ।  
 लीलासज्जीकृतेष्वास कंसकोदण्डखण्डन ॥ ३६२ ॥  
 धनूरक्षकवृन्दघ्न कंसप्रेषितसैन्यहन् ।  
 कंसातित्रासजनक शकटावाससङ्गत ॥ ३६३ ॥ ( नमः ९१ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे द्विचत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः ॥

कंसकारितमञ्चौघ रङ्गभूगमनोत्सुक ।  
 जीयात् कुवल्यापीडगजरुद्धपथो भवान् ॥ ३६४ ॥  
 संक्रुद्धाम्बरष्ठनिर्दिष्ट करीन्द्रक्रीडिताऽव मां ।  
 सद्यः कुवल्यापीडघातिन् सिंहपराक्रम ॥ ३६५ ॥  
 समुत्पाटितनागेन्द्रमहादन्तवरायुधं ।  
 वन्दे कुवल्यापीडमर्दनं हतहस्तिपम् ॥ ३६६ ॥ ( नमः ९२ )  
 रङ्गप्रवेशसुभगवीरश्रीपरिभूषित ।  
 स्कन्धन्यस्तमहादन्त मदरक्तकणाङ्कित ॥ ३६७ ॥  
 प्रसीद स्वेदकणिकालङ्कृताननपङ्कज ।  
 रङ्गस्थलोकाभिप्रायभाताशेषरसात्मक ॥ ३६८ ॥

महावीर महारम्य महास्मर महासुहृत् ।  
 महेश्वर महास्निग्ध महाकाल महागुरो ॥ ३६९ ॥  
 महातत्त्व महासेव्य सर्वलोकमनोहर ।  
 सप्रेमेक्षकमञ्चस्थलोकगीतमहायशः ॥ ३७० ॥ ( नमः ९३ )  
 चानूरभाषितं वन्दे चानूरोत्तरदायकं ।  
 चानूरातिपराक्रान्तं मल्लयुद्धविशारदं ॥ ३७१ ॥ ( नमः ९४ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे त्रिचत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः ॥

सहजप्रेममृदुल पुरस्त्रीगणशोचित ।  
 पुरस्त्रीनिन्दिताशेषसभ्यलज्जातिलज्जित ॥ ३७२ ॥  
 स्त्रीगणोद्गीतमहिमव्रजस्त्रीश्रुतिहर्षित ।  
 पितृमातृमहार्तिज्ञ जय चानूरमर्दन ॥ ३७३ ॥  
 शलतोषलसंहर्तर्बलघातितमुष्टिक ।  
 विद्रावितान्यमल्लौघ रामपातितकूटक ॥ ३७४ ॥  
 उच्चमञ्चस्थदुर्वृत्तकंसदुर्वाक्यकोपित ।  
 आत्तासिचर्मसञ्चारिकंसकेशग्रहोद्धत ॥ ३७५ ॥  
 भूमिपातितभोजेन्द्र कंसोपरिविकूर्दित ।  
 कंसध्वंसन कंसारे जय कंसनिसूदन ॥ ३७६ ॥  
 हृतोर्वीभयभारार्ते जगच्छल्यविनाशक ।  
 पितृमातृप्रहर्षार्थमृतकंसविकर्षक ॥ ३७७ ॥  
 ब्रह्मेशादिसुरानन्दिन् कालनेमिविमुक्तिद ।  
 बलघातितदुष्टकंससोदर पाहि मां ॥ ३७८ ॥ ( नमः ९६ )  
 कंसयोषित्समाश्रान्नादिष्टमृतसत्क्रिय ।  
 पितृमातृ पदानम्र पितृबन्धविमोक्षक ॥ ३७९ ॥ ( नमः ९७ )

इति दशमस्कन्धे त्रिचत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः ॥

ईशज्ञानाकृताशेषजननीतातभाववित् ।  
 स्नेहवर्धनमिष्टोक्तिपितृमातृप्रमोदकृत् ॥ ३८० ॥

प्राप्तालिङ्गनमुन्मातृतातक्रोडाधिरोपित ।  
 स्नेहवाक्पितृमात्रश्रुधारास्त्रापितमस्तक ॥ ३८१ ॥

परमानन्दित श्रीमद्देवक्यानकदुन्दुभे ।  
 जय प्रेमसुखाच्छादितज्ञान दुःखनिवारक ॥ ३८२ ॥ ( नमः ९८ )

सद्वाक्यानन्दितश्रीमदुग्रसेनाधिपत्यद ।  
 दत्तोग्रसेनराज्यश्रीरुग्रसेननिदेशकृत् ॥ ३८३ ॥

प्रसीदतान्मे भगवान् भक्तवत्सलनामधृक् ।  
 उग्रसेनवशानीतत्रिलोकीरत्नसञ्चय ॥ ३८४ ॥ ( नमः ९९ )

आनीतकंससन्त्रासप्रोषितज्ञातिबान्धव ।  
 जय सम्मानिताशेषयादवावासदायक ॥ ३८५ ॥

सदा दयास्मितालोकानन्दिताखिलयादव ।  
 जय रोगजराग्लानिहारिसन्दर्शनामृत ॥ ३८६ ॥

प्रसीद सात्वतश्रेष्ठ यादवेन्द्र प्रसीद मे ।  
 वृष्णिपुङ्गव मां पाहि दाशार्हाधिप माधव ॥ ३८७ ॥

कुकुरान्धकवंश्येन्द्र भैमान्वयविवर्धन ।  
 ययातिकुलपद्मार्क चन्द्रवंशाब्धिचन्द्रमः ॥ ३८८ ॥ ( नमः १०० )

जय श्रीमथुरानाथ मथुरामङ्गल प्रभो ।  
 मधुरामूर्तमाधुर्य मथुरामण्डलेश्वर ॥ ३८९ ॥

नित्यश्रीमथुरावासिन् मधुरामाधुरीप्रद ।  
 हे माथुरमहाभाग्य नमस्ते मथुरापते ॥ ३९० ॥ ( नमः १०१ )

अद्यश्वोगमनव्याजरक्षितव्रजनायक ।  
 प्रसीद मुहुराक्षेपनन्दसम्भाषणाकुल ॥ ३९१ ॥  
 नानावाक्चातुरीदीननन्दरोदनवर्धन ।  
 अत्यालिङ्गनगोपालकुलदुःखाश्रुवाहक ॥ ३९२ ॥  
 मुहुर्मुह्यत्पतद्वृद्धनन्दसान्त्वनकातर ।  
 वासोऽलङ्कारकुप्यादिदानमारितनन्द हे ॥ ३९३ ॥  
 हाहामहारवाक्क्रन्दिगोपवृन्दात्मशोकद ।  
 जलशेकाद्युपानीतनन्दप्राण प्रसीद मे ॥ ३९४ ॥  
 त्वरागमनसत्योक्तिविश्वस्तीकृतनन्द मां ।  
 पार्श्वे रक्ष सुसन्देशयशोदादैन्यवर्धन ॥ ३९५ ॥  
 मुहुर्मुहुः परावर्तमाननन्दाश्रुसंस्तुत ।  
 नन्दानुव्रजनव्याज व्रजदीनजनासुद ॥ ३९६ ॥  
 गोप्यर्थप्रेषितस्वीयभूषाशपथवाचिक ।  
 निरुध्यमाननेत्रब्जवारिधार प्रसीद मे ॥ ३९७ ॥ ( नमः १०२ )

इति श्रीभागवतम् ॥

श्रीजगन्नाथ नीलाद्रिशिरोमुकुटरत्न हे ।  
 दारुब्रह्मन् घनश्याम प्रसीद पुरुषोत्तम ॥ ३९८ ॥  
 प्रफुल्लपुण्डरीकाक्ष लवणाब्धितटामृत ।  
 गुटिकोदर मां पाहि नानाभोगपुरन्दर ॥ ३९९ ॥  
 निजाधरसुधादायिन्निन्द्रद्युम्नप्रसादित ।  
 सुभद्रालालनव्यग्र रामानुज नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ४०० ॥  
 गुरिडचारथयात्रादिमहोत्सवविवर्धन ।  
 भक्तवत्सल वन्दे त्वां गुरिडचारथमण्डनं ॥ ४०१ ॥



दीनहीनमहानीचदयार्द्रिकृतमानस ।  
 नित्यनूतनमाहात्म्यदर्शिन् चैतन्यवल्लभ ॥ ४०२ ॥ ( नमः १०३ )  
 श्रीमच्चैतन्यदेव त्वां वन्दे गौराङ्गसुन्दर ।  
 शचीनन्दन मां त्राहि यतिचूडामणो प्रभो ॥ ४०३ ॥  
 आजानुबाहो स्मेरास्य नीलाचल विभूषण ।  
 जगत्प्रवर्तितस्वादुभगवन्नामकीर्तन ॥ ४०४ ॥  
 अद्वैताचार्यसंस्त्राधिन् सार्वभौमाभिनन्दक ।  
 रामानन्दकृतप्रीत सर्ववैष्णवबान्धव ॥ ४०५ ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णचरणाम्भोजप्रेमामृतमहाम्बुधे ॥  
 नमस्ते दीनदीनं मां कदाचित् किं स्मरिष्यसि ॥ ४०६ ॥ ( नमः १०४ )  
 नमो ब्राह्मणरूपाय निजभक्तस्वरूपिणे ।  
 नमः पिप्पलरूपाय गोरूपाय नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ४०७ ॥  
 नानातीर्थस्वरूपाय नमो नन्दकिशोर हे ।  
 सर्वदा लोकरक्षार्थरूपपञ्चकधारिणे ॥ ४०८ ॥ ( नमः १०५ )  
 पाषाणधातुमृद्वारुसिकतामणिलेखजा ।  
 सप्तधा ते प्रतिकृतिरचला वा चला प्रभो ॥ ४०९ ॥  
 शालग्रामशिला चाथ यत्र कुत्राप्यवस्थिता ।  
 यादृशी तादृशी वापि भक्तैर्भक्त्याभिपूजिता ॥ ४१० ॥  
 भवताधिष्ठिता सर्वदा सच्चिदानन्दरूपिणी ।  
 त्वमेव कथ्यसे सद्भिस्तस्मै तुभ्यं नमो नमः ॥ ४११ ॥ ( नमः १०६ )  
 सर्वशास्त्राब्धिपीयूष सर्वदेवैकसत्फल ।  
 सर्वसिद्धान्तरत्नाढ्य सर्वलोकैकदृक्प्रद ॥ ४१२ ॥  
 सर्वभागवतप्राण श्रीमद्भागवतप्रभो ।  
 कलिध्वान्तोदितादित्य श्रीकृष्णपरिवर्तित ॥ ४१३ ॥

परमानन्दपाठाय प्रेमवर्ष्यक्षराय ते ।  
 सर्वदा सर्वसेव्याय श्रीकृष्णाय नमोऽस्तु मे ॥ ४१४ ॥  
 मदेकबन्धो मत्सङ्गिन् मद्गुरो मन्महाधन ।  
 मन्निस्तारक मद्भाग्य मदानन्द नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ४१५ ॥  
 असाधुसाधुतादायिन्नतिनीचोच्चताकर ।  
 हा न मुञ्च कदाचिन्मां प्रेम्ना हृत्कण्ठयोः स्फुर ॥ ४१६ ॥ ( नमः १०७ )  
 श्रीकृष्ण तव कारुण्यमहिम्ने मे नमो नमः ।  
 यो मां नीचं दुराचारं नित्यपापरतं शठम् ॥ ४१७ ॥  
 अहो तस्या अवस्थायाः सतामिव दशामिमां ।  
 तस्मात्स्थानादिदं स्थानं मथुरामण्डलं शुभम् ॥ ४१८ ॥  
 यस्मिन् ज्ञानकृतं वापि सर्वपापं न तिष्ठति ।  
 चतुर्धा यत्र मुक्तिः स्यात्त्वं च सन्निहितः सदा ॥ ४१९ ॥  
 यस्मिन् स्वसन्महिम्नेवार्पितो वससि नित्यदा ।  
 निजमाधुर्यसम्पत्त्या मधुरेति यदुच्यते ॥ ४२० ॥  
 तथा तस्माच्च दुःसङ्गाद्यस्त्वत्प्रियतमस्य हि ।  
 श्रीमच्चैतन्यदेवस्य सङ्गं नीलाचले तथा ॥ ४२१ ॥  
 रथोपरि तव श्रीमन्मुखदर्शनकौतुकं ।  
 पुनर्वृन्दावनं ह्येतत् तत्तत्क्रीडास्पदं तव ॥ ४२२ ॥  
 गोपिका यस्य सत्कीर्तिं भवांश्चावर्णयन् गुणान् ।  
 दूरस्थाः श्रवणाद्यस्य लभन्ते प्रेम ते शुभाः ॥ ४२३ ॥  
 चराचरं प्राणिजातं यस्य त्वत्प्रेमसंस्तुतं ।  
 नित्यमद्यापि यस्मिंस्त्वपूर्ववत् क्रीडसि स्फुटं ॥ ४२४ ॥  
 अत्रैव त्वत्प्रियं यश्च मदेकधनजीवनं ।  
 प्रापयन् मे पुनः सङ्गं तस्मै नित्यं नमो नमः ॥ ४२५ ॥

अधुना यो मम मुखान्निःसारयति नाम ते ।  
 कदाचिच्चरणाम्भोजं हृदि मे स्मारयत्यपि ॥ ४२६ ॥  
 मत्कायेनाधमेनापि नमस्ते कारयेदयं ।  
 सर्वापद्भ्योऽपि मां रक्षेद्दद्यात्ते भक्तिसम्पदम् ॥ ४२७ ॥  
 दातुं शक्नोति मेऽजस्रं प्रेमस्मरणीकीर्तनं ।  
 तव प्रेमकटाक्षञ्च मयि प्रापयितुं क्षमः ॥ ४२८ ॥  
 गोगोपगोपिकासक्तं त्वां च दर्शयितुं प्रभुः ।  
 एवं यो मम हीनस्य सर्वाशालम्बनं परम् ॥ ४२९ ॥  
 महाकारुण्यमहिमा पुराणो नित्यनूतनः ।  
 त्वदीयः सच्चिदानन्दस्तस्मै नित्यं नमो नमः ॥ ४३० ॥  
 एतल्लीलास्तवं नाम स्तोत्रं श्रीकृष्ण तारकं ।  
 प्रणामाष्टोत्तरशते योऽर्थावगमपूर्वकं ॥ ४३१ ॥  
 कीर्तयेत् सोऽचिराद् भक्तो लभतां कृपया तव ।  
 रूपे नामनि लीलायामाक्रीडेऽपि परां रतिम् ॥ ४३२ ॥ ( नमः १०८ )

इति श्रीकृष्णलीलास्तवनामस्तोत्रं समाप्तम् ॥



## Appendix A

### Supporting Texts

*Kṛṣṇa-caitanya-caritāmṛta* (3.18.1-12)

ततो भक्तैर्वृतः कृष्णो रामकेलिं जगाम ह ।  
श्रुत्वा तत्रागमद्भृष्टं प्रभुपादं सनातनः ॥  
प्रभुं दृष्ट्वा प्रीतमनाः प्रपतन् धरणीतले ।  
दशनाग्रे तृणं धृत्वा सानुजः प्राह केशवम् ॥  
मद्विधो नास्ति पापात्मा नापराधी च कश्चन ।  
परिहारेऽपि लज्जा मे किं ब्रूवे पुरुषोत्तम ॥  
स्वपादं तस्य शिरसि धृत्वा प्राह जनार्दनः ।  
वृन्दावननिवासी त्वं सत्यं सत्यं न संशयः ॥  
मथुरां गन्तुमिच्छामि त्वया सार्द्धं यथसुखम् ।  
लुप्ततीर्थस्य प्राकट्यं तथा वृन्दावनस्य च ॥  
कर्तुमर्हसि तत् सर्वं मत्कृपातो भविष्यति ।  
भक्तिस्वरूपिणी साक्षात् प्रेमभक्तिप्रदायिनी ॥

श्रुत्वा प्राह महाबुद्धिः सानुजः श्रीसनातनः ।  
 आरामः कृष्णचन्द्रस्य रम्यं वृन्दावनं शुभं ॥  
 श्रीराधया सह कृष्णो यत्र क्रीडति सर्वदा ।  
 अगम्यं योगिभिर्नित्यं देवसिद्धैर्नरेतरैः ॥  
 निर्जनं तज्जनादौश्च गत्वा किं स्यात् सुखाय च ।  
 तत्कृपाशस्त्ररूपेण छित्त्वा मे दृढशृङ्खलां ॥  
 राजपात्रादिरूपाञ्च प्रापय्य निजसन्निधिम् ।  
 शक्तिसञ्चारणं कृत्वा कुरु कृष्ण यथासुखम् ॥  
 तद्वाक्यामृतमेवं हि पीत्वा प्राह हसन् प्रभुः ।  
 भवन्मनोरथं कृष्णः सदा पूर्णं करिष्यति ॥  
 एवं तं परिसन्तोष्य कृष्णो नाट्यस्थलं गतः ।

*Caitanya-caritāmṛta Mahākāvya (17.8-24)*

अथ केचनास्य जगतां पतेः प्रियाः परमप्रभावभरभूरिभूषिताः ।  
 रससारसिन्धव इव ययुः प्रभोः पदपङ्कजद्वयमवेक्षितुं तदा ॥  
 ससनातनानुपमरूपिणः स्वपदाब्जभक्तिरससागरत्रयान् ।  
 प्रददर्श विस्फुरितभ्राववीचिभिर्जगदाप्लुतं विदधतः कृपानिधिः ॥  
 अथ ते समेत्य निकटं महाप्रभोरनुभावसोदरतमा इव त्रयः ।  
 प्रियसोदरा विहितकाकुभाषिता भृशमस्तुवन् जलजजन्मस्तवैः ॥  
 अथ भूयशो गलितनेत्रवारिभिः पुलकोत्करैर्मृदुलतया च चेतसः ।  
 विवशा महाप्रभुसमीपमास्थिताः स्तवनं प्रचक्रुरथ वीतसाध्वसाः ॥  
 स निश्चम्य तत्तदवहित्यया प्रभुर्निजगाद भूयश इदं कृपानिधिः ।  
 अयमेष नीलिगिरिमौलिचन्द्रमाः पुरतः समेत्य कुरुते स्तवं न किं ॥

निविडानुरागपटलीबलत्तरद्रढिमान एत इति यान्तु वा कथम् ।  
श्लथतां ततोऽधिकमभिप्रयत्नतः स्तवनं प्रचक्रुरथ वीतसाध्वसाः ॥

विविधप्रकारमपनीय साहसं न शशाक वारयितुमेष तान् यदा ।  
अतिहर्षवारिनिधिपूरसञ्चयैरवगाहिता विदधिरे तदैव ते ॥

न मे भक्तश्चतुर्वेदी मद्भक्तः श्वपचः प्रियः ।  
तस्मै देयं ततो ग्राह्यं स च पूज्यो यथा ह्यहम् ॥

इति संनिपत्य मधुरं महाप्रभुः प्रणनाम भूमिषु निपत्य दण्डवत् ।  
तदतिप्रगल्भमनसो न ते ततो भयमाययुः प्रबलभक्तिमत्तया ॥

मधुरोल्लसद्दद वदेति भूयशो वचनं यदाविरभवन्महाप्रभोः ।  
ददृशुस्तदाभिमतरूपमुत्तमं शतचन्द्रसान्द्रकिरणप्रकाशवत् ॥

स तु गौरचन्द्र इति निर्भरोत्सुको द्विगुणप्रकाशमधुमाधुरीमयः ।  
अवदन्मुहूर्वद वदेति निर्भरं स्मितदीधितिस्त्रिपितभूमिमण्डलः ॥

अथ ते विहाय जलजोद्धवस्तवं तृणसञ्चयं च परिगृह्य दन्तकैः ।  
अधिकण्ठमभिनिबध्य वाससोऽञ्जलमुत्सुका विदधिरेतरां स्तुतिम् ॥

स्वमनोनुकूलमभिवाञ्छितप्रदं विनिपत्य गोपरमणीजनोदितम् ।  
विदधुस्तवं नयननीरभूषिताः सुखसागरे परिममञ्जुरप्यमी ॥

इति निर्भरं परमकाकुभाषितैर्मधुरं सुधामयमिवाकलय्य सः ।  
भृशमानयानय विधीयतां द्रुतं सुमहाप्रसाद इति सस्पृहोऽभवत् ॥

अथ ते पदाम्बुजयुगस्य सन्निधौ क्षितिमूलमध्यतिशयप्रवेपिताः ।  
निपतन्त एव नयनाम्बुनिर्झरैः परिधौतसर्वतनवः समासत ॥

अथ सप्रसादितमहाप्रसादको ललितैर्घसाभिधघटैस्त्रिभिस्ततः ।  
मधुरोल्लसद्ददनचन्द्रसुन्दरो रुरुचे विभुर्निजजनप्रियङ्करः ॥

अथ तेऽपि निर्वृतहृदो मनोरथानुमतप्रकाशरुचिदर्शनोत्सुकाः ।

विगलद्विलोचनझराप्लुताङ्गकाञ्चलिता बभूवुरतिभाग्यराशयः ॥

*Caitanya-candrodaya Nāṭaka (9.45-48)*

वार्ताहारिणः। ततश्च ।

गौडेन्द्रस्य सभाविभूषणमणिस्त्यक्त्वा य ऋद्धां श्रियं  
रूपस्याग्रज एष एव तरुणीं वैराग्यलक्ष्मीं दधे ।  
अन्तर्भक्तिरसेण पूर्णहृदयो बाहोऽवधूताकृतिः  
शैवालैः पिहितं महासर इव प्रीतिप्रदस्तद्विदाम् ॥

राजा। ततस्ततः।

वार्ताहारिणः।

तं सनातनमपागतमङ्घनोर्  
दृष्टिमात्रमतिमात्रदयार्द्रः ।  
आलिलिङ्ग परिघायतदोभ्यां  
सानुकम्पमथ चम्पकगौरः ॥

राजा। कथमिव तस्य दर्शनं जातम्।

वार्ताहारिणः। श्रुतमिदं तन्मुखादेव।

राजा। कथ्यताम्।

वार्ताहारिणः।

औत्कण्ठ्यैकपुरःसराः प्रथमतो ये यान्ति नाथाग्रतो  
निष्क्रामन्ति त ईशनामनिरताः सास्त्राः सरोमोद्गमाः ।  
यातायातवतां क्रमं विगणयन् तत्पादधूलीर्जुषन्  
सर्वज्ञेन बहिः स्थितो भगवता कैरप्ययं नायितः

राजा। ततस्ततः।



বার্তাহারিণঃ। ততশ্চ ন মেপ্রিয়শ্চতুর্বেদীত্যাদি পঠিত্বা  
সত্বরমবতীৰ্য্যায়ং দোম্ব্য্য প্ররিরব্ধ ইতি।

রাজা। ততস্ততঃ।

বার্তাহারিণঃ। ততস্তত্রৈব কাঽপি কিংবদন্তী শ্রুতা।

রাজা। কোঽসৌ।

বার্তাহারিণঃ।

পুরুষোত্তমমেত্য তৈঃ পুনর্গময়িত্বা কতিচিদ্দিনান্যপি ।

রমিতৈঃ প্রভুনৈব তদ্বিরোপ্যথ বৃন্দাবনমেব গংস্যতে ॥

রাজা। কিং দেবেন সহৈব বা পশ্চাৎ।

বার্তাহারিণঃ। পশ্চাদেব ভবিষ্যতি। যতো বারাণসীত একাকিনৈব  
ভগবতা চলিতমিতি দৃষ্টম্। অন্যদপি তত্র কিমপি শ্রুতম্।

সার্বভৌমঃ। কিং তত্।

বার্তাহারিণঃ।

কালেন বৃন্দাবনকেলিবার্তা

লুপ্তেতি তাং খ্যাপয়িতুং বিশিষ্য ।

কৃপামৃতেনাভিষিষেচ দেবস্

তত্রৈব রূপঞ্চ সনাতনঞ্চ ॥

রামানন্দঃ। সমুচিতমেবৈতত্।

### *Caitanya-maṅgala, Tīrtha, 2.18-26*

হেনকালে দবির খাস ভার সহিতে ।

চৈতন্যচন্দ্রের ঠাঞি গেলা আচম্বিতে ॥

মহাবৈরাগ্য মূর্তি মৃত্তিকাভাগু সঙ্গে ।

নিরবধি প্রেমধারা পুলক সর্বাস্ত্রে ॥  
 যতেক সম্পদ তারা তৃণ জ্ঞান করি ।  
 বৃন্দাবনে ভ্রমেন অকিঞ্চন বেশ ধরি ॥  
 ঈশ্বর দবির খাস তাই সনাতন ।  
 গোড়েন্দ্র-সম্পদ ছাড়ি হইলা অকিঞ্চন ॥  
 সহস্র ঘোড়া যার আগু পাছ দৌড়ে ।  
 বাইশ লক্ষ সুবর্ণ রহিল পোঁতা গোড়ে ॥  
 পূর্বে তারা ব্রহ্মার মানস পুত্র ছিল ।  
 শাপভ্রষ্ট দুই ভাই পৃথিবী জন্মিলা ॥  
 চৈতন্যে দর্শনে তাঁর পাপ বিমোচন ।  
 গোসাঞি নাম খুইল দুই ভাই রূপসনাতন ॥  
 প্রভু বলেন শাপানতর হইল দবির খাস ।  
 রূপ সনাতন হইল ক্ষিতি পরকাশ ॥  
 দবির খাসে কৃপা করিয়া গৌরচন্দ্র ।  
 মথুরা দেখিআ তবে গেলা সেতুবন্ধ ॥

### ***Caitanya-bhāgavata, 3.10.233-274***

হেনই সময়ে দুই মহাভাগ্যবান ।  
 হইলেন আসিয়া প্রভুর বিদ্যমান ॥  
 শাকর-মল্লিক আর রূপ দুই ভাই ।  
 দুই প্রতি কৃপাদৃষ্টো চাহিলা গোসাঞি ॥  
 দূরে থাকি দুই ভাই দণ্ডবৎ করি ।  
 কাকুবাদ করেন দশনে তৃণ ধরি ॥  
 জয় জয় মহাপ্রভু শ্রীকৃষ্ণচৈতন্য ।  
 যাহার কৃপায় হৈল সর্বলোক ধন্য ॥  
 জয় দীনবৎসল জগতহিতকারী ।  
 জয় জয় পরমসন্ন্যাসিরূপধারী ॥  
 জয় জয় সঙ্কীর্তনবিনোদ অনন্ত ।

জয় জয় জয় সর্ব-আদি-মধ্য-অন্ত ॥  
 আপনে হইয়া শ্রীবৈষ্ণব অবতার ।  
 ভক্তি দিয়া উদ্ধারিলা সকল সংসার ॥  
 তবে প্রভু মোরে না উদ্ধার কোন কাজে ।  
 মুঞি কি না হও প্রভু সংসারের মাঝে ॥  
 আজন্ম বিষয়ভোগে হইয়া মোহিত ।  
 না ভজিলুঁ তোমার চরণ নিজ হিত ॥  
 তোমার ভক্তের সঙ্গে গোষ্ঠী না করিলুঁ ।  
 তোমার কীর্তন না করিলুঁ না শুনিলা ॥  
 রাজপাত্র করি মোরে বঞ্চনা করিলা ।  
 তবে মোরে মনুষ্যজন্ম কেনে দিলা ॥  
 য়ে মনুষ্যজন্ম লাগি দেবে কাম্য করে ।  
 হেন জন্ম দিয়াও বঞ্চিলা প্রভু মোরে ॥  
 এবে এই কৃপা কর অমায়া হইয়া ।  
 বৃক্ষমূলে পডি থাকোঁ তোর নাম লৈয়া ॥  
 য়ে তোমার প্রিয়ভক্ত লওয়ায় তোমারে ।  
 অবশেষ পাত্র য়েন হও তার ঘরে ॥  
 এইমত রূপ সনাতন দুই ভাই ।  
 স্তুতি করে শুনে প্রভু চৈতন্যগোসাঞি ॥  
 কৃপাদষ্ট্যে প্রভু দুই ভাইরে চাহিয়া ।  
 বলিতে লাগিলা অতি সদয় হইয়া ॥  
 প্রভু বোলে ভাগ্যবন্ত তুমি দুইজন ।  
 বাহির হইলা ছিণ্ডি সংসার বন্ধন ॥  
 বিষয়বন্ধনে বদ্ধ সকল সংসার ।  
 সে বন্ধন হইতে তুমি দুই হৈলা পার ॥  
 প্রেমভক্তি-বাঞ্ছা যদি করহ এখনে ।  
 তবে ধরি পড এই অদ্বৈতচরণে ॥  
 ভক্তির ভাণ্ডারী শ্রীঅদ্বৈতমহাশয় ।  
 অদ্বৈতের কৃপায়ে সে কৃষ্ণভক্তি হয় ॥

শুনিঞা প্রভুর আজ্ঞা দুই মহাজনে ।  
 দণ্ডবত পড়িলেন অদ্বৈতচরণে ॥  
 জয় জয় শ্রীঅদ্বৈত পতিতপাবন ।  
 মুই দুই পতিতেরে করহ মোচন ॥  
 প্রভু বোলে শুন শুন আচার্যগোসাঞি ।  
 কলিযুগে এমত বিরক্ত ঝাট নাঞি ॥  
 রাজ্যসুখ ছাড়ি কাঁথা করঙ্গ লইয়া ।  
 মথুরায় থাকেন কৃষ্ণের নাম লইয়া ॥  
 অমায়ায় কৃষ্ণভক্তি দেহ এ-দুইরে ।  
 জন্ম জন্ম আর যেন কৃষ্ণ না পাসরে ॥  
 ভক্তির ভাণ্ডারী তুমি, রিনে তুমি দিলে ।  
 কৃষ্ণভক্তি কৃষ্ণভক্ত কৃষ্ণ কারে মিলে ॥  
 অদ্বৈত বোলেন প্রভু সর্বদাতা তুমি ।  
 তুমি আজ্ঞা দিলে সে দিবারে পারি আমি ॥  
 প্রভু আজ্ঞা দিলে সে ভাণ্ডারী দিতে পারে ।  
 এইমত যারে কৃপা কর যার দ্বারে ॥  
 কাষ-মন-বচনে মোহোর এই কথা ।  
 এ দুইর প্রেমভক্তি হউক সর্বথা ॥  
 শুনি প্রভু অদ্বৈতের কৃপায়ুক্ত-বাণী ।  
 উচ্চ করি বলিতে লাগিলা হরিধরনি ॥  
 দবীরখাসেরে প্রভু বলিতে লাগিলা ।  
 এখনে তোমার কৃষ্ণপ্রেমভক্তি হইলা ॥  
 অদ্বৈতের প্রসাদে সে হয় প্রেমভক্তি ।  
 জানিহ অদ্বৈত শ্রীকৃষ্ণের শক্তি ॥  
 কথোদিন জগন্নাথ-শ্রীমুখ দেখিয়া ।  
 তবে দুই ভাই মথুরায় থাক গিয়া ॥  
 তোমা সভা হৈতে যত রাজস তামর ।  
 পশ্চিমাসভারে গিয়া দেহ ভক্তিরস ॥  
 আমিহ দেখিব গিয়া মথুরামণ্ডল ।

আমি থাকিবারে স্থল করিহ বিরল ॥  
 শাকরমল্লিক-নাম ঘুচাইয়া তান ।  
 সনাতন অবধূত থুইলেন নাম ॥  
 অদ্যাপিহ দুই ভাই রূপ সনাতন ।  
 চৈতন্যকৃপায় হৈলা রিখ্যাত ভূরন ॥  
 যার যত কীর্তি ভক্তিমহিমা উদার ।  
 চৈতন্যচন্দ্র সে সব করেন প্রচার ॥  
 নিত্যানন্দ-তত্ত্ব কিবা অদ্বৈতের তত্ত্ব ।  
 যত মহাপ্রিয়া-ভক্তগোষ্ঠীর মহত্ব ॥  
 চৈতন্যপ্রভু সে সব করিলা প্রকাশে ।  
 সেই প্রভু সব ইহা কহেন সন্তোষে ॥  
 যে ভক্ত যে বস্তু যার যেন অরতার ।  
 বৈষ্ণব বৈষ্ণবী যার অংশে জন্ম যার ॥  
 যার যেন মত পূজা যার যে মহত্ব ।  
 চৈতন্যপ্রভু সে সব করিলেন ব্যক্ত ॥

### *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*

#### **Madhya-līlā, 1.26-31**

তবে প্রভু ব্রজে পাঠাইল রূপ-সনাতন ।  
 প্রভু-আজ্ঞায় দুই ভাই আইলা বৃন্দাবন ॥  
 ভক্তি প্রচারিয়া সর্বতীর্থ প্রকাশিল ।  
 মদনগোপাল-গোবিন্দের সেবা প্রচারিল ॥  
 নানা শাস্ত্র আনি কৈল ভক্তি গ্রন্থসার ।  
 মূঢ়াধমজনের তেঁহো করিলা নিস্তার ॥  
 প্রভু-আজ্ঞায় কৈল সর্বশাস্ত্রের বিচার ।  
 ব্রজের নিগূঢ় ভক্তি করিলা প্রচার ॥  
 হরিভক্তিরিলাস আর ভাগবতামৃত ।

দশমটিপ্লিনী আর দশমচরিত ॥  
 এই সব গ্রন্থ কৈল গোসাঞি সনাতন ।  
 রূপ গোসাঞি কৈল যত, কে করে গণন ॥

### Madhya-līlā, 1.165-212

দবীরথাসেরে রাজা পুছিল নিভূতে ।  
 গোসাঞির মহিমা তেঁহো লাগিল কহিতে ॥  
 যে তোমারে রাজ্য দিল তোমার গোসাঞা ।  
 তোমার দেশে তোমার ভাগ্যে জন্মিলা আসিঞা ॥  
 তোমার মঙ্গল রাঞ্জে কার্যসিদ্ধি হয় ।  
 ইহার আশীর্বাদে তোমার সর্বত্রোতে জয় ॥  
 মোরে কেন পুছ, তুমি পুছ আপন মন ।  
 তুমি নরাধিপ হও বিষ্ণু-অংশসম ॥  
 তোমার চিত্তে চৈতন্যের কৈছে হয় জ্ঞান ।  
 তোমার চিত্তে য়েই লয়, সেইতো প্রমাণ ॥  
 রাজা কহে শুন মোর মনে য়েই লয় ।  
 সাক্ষাত ঈশ্বর ইঁহো, নাহিক সংশয় ॥  
 এত কহি রাজা গেলা নিজ অভ্যন্তরে ।  
 তবে দবীর থাস আইলা আপনার ঘরে ॥  
 ঘরে আসি দুই ভাই যুকতি করিয়া ।  
 প্রভু দেখিবারে চলে বেশ লুকাইয়া ॥  
 অর্দ্ধরাত্র্যে দুই ভাই আইলা প্রভুস্থানে ।  
 প্রথমে মিলিলা নিত্যানন্দ-হরিদাস-সনে ॥  
 তাঁরা দুই জন জানাইল প্রভুর গোচরে ।  
 রূপ-সাকরমল্লিক আইলা তোমা দেখিবারে ॥  
 দুই গুচ্ছ তৃণ দোঁহে দশনে ধরিয়া ।  
 গলে বস্ত্র বান্ধি পড়ে দণ্ডবৎ হঞা ॥  
 দৈন্য রোদন করে আনন্দে বিহ্বল ।

প্রভু কহে উঠ উঠ হইল মঙ্গল ॥

উঠি দুই ভাই তবে দন্তে তৃণ ধরি ।  
দৈন্য করি স্তুতি করে যোড় হাত করি ॥

জয় জয় শ্রীকৃষ্ণচৈতন্য দয়াময় ।  
পতিতপাবন জয় জয় মহাশয় ॥

নীচজাতি নীচসঙ্গী করি নীচ কাজ ।  
তোমার অগ্রেতে প্রভু কহিতে বাসি লাজ ॥

তথাহি ভক্তিরসামৃতসিন্ধৌ পূর্ববিভাগে সাধনভক্তিলহর্যাম (২।১৫৪) :

মন্তুল্যো নাস্তি পাপাত্মা নাপরাধী চ কশ্চন ।  
পরিহারে'পি লজ্জা মে কিং ব্রুবে পুরুষোত্তম ॥

পতিতপাবন-হেতু তোমার অবতার ।  
আমি বহি জগতে পতিত নাই আর ॥

জগাই মাধাই দুই করিলে উদ্ধার ।  
তাহা উদ্ধারিতে শ্রম নহিল তোমার ॥

ব্রাহ্মণজাতি তারা নবদ্বীপে ঘর ।  
নীচসেবা না করে নহে নীচের কূর্পর ॥

সবে এক দোষ তার হয় পাপাচার ।  
পাপরাশি দহে নামাভাসেতে তোমার ॥

তোমার নাম লঞা করে তোমার নিন্দন ।  
সেই নাম হৈল তার মুক্তির কারণ ॥

জগাই মাধাই হৈতে কোটি-কোটি গুণে ।  
অধম পতিত পাপী আমি দুই জনে ॥

শ্লেচ্ছজাতি শ্লেচ্ছসেবী করি শ্লেচ্ছকর্ম ।  
গোব্রাহ্মণদ্রোহিসঙ্গে আমার সঙ্গম ॥

মোর কর্ম মোর হাতে গলায় বান্ধিয়া ।  
কুবিষয়বিষ্ঠাগর্ভে দিয়াছে ফেলাইয়া ॥

আমা উদ্ধারিতে বলী নাই ত্রিভুবনে ।  
পতিতপাবন তুমি সবে তোমা বিনে ॥

আমা উদ্ধারিয়া যদি দেখাও নিজবল ।

পতিতপাবননাম তবে সে সফল ॥

সত্য এক বাত কহেঁ শুন দয়াময় ।  
মো বিনু দয়ার পাত্র জগতে না হয় ॥

মোরে দয়া করি কর স্বদয়া সফল ।  
অখিল ব্রহ্মাণ্ড দেখুক তোমার দয়া-বল ॥

তথাহি য়ামুনমুনিবিরচিতে স্তোত্ররস্বে (৫০) :

ন মৃষা পরমার্থমের মে শৃণু বিজ্ঞাপনমেকমগ্রতঃ ।  
য়দি মে ন দযিষ্যসে তদা দযনীযস্তব নাথ দুর্লভঃ ॥

আপনা অযোগ্য দেখি মনে পাণ্ড ক্ষোভ ।  
তথাপি তোমার গুণে উপজয় লোভ ॥

বামন য়েছে চাণ্ডদ ধরিতে চাহে করে ।  
তৈছে এই বাঙ্ছা মোর উঠয়ে অন্তরে ॥

তথাহি য়ামুনমুনিবিরচিতে স্তোত্ররস্বে (৪৬) :

ভবন্তমেবানুচরন্নিস্তরং  
প্রশান্তনিঃশেষমনোরথান্তরঃ ।  
কদাহমৈকান্তিক-নিত্যকিঙ্করঃ  
প্রহৃষিষ্যামি সনাথজীবিতম্ ॥

শুনি প্রভু কহে শুন রূপ-দবীর খাস ।  
তুমি দুই ভাই মোর পুরাতন দাস ॥

আজি হৈতে দোঁহার নাম রূপ সনাতন ।  
দৈন্য ছাড় তোমার দৈন্যে ফাটে মোর মন ॥

দৈন্যপত্রী লিখি মোরে পাঠাইলে বারবার ।  
সেই পত্রী দ্বারা জানি তোমার ব্যবহার ॥

তোমার হৃদয় ইচ্ছা জানি পত্রী দ্বারে ।  
তোমা শিক্ষাইতে শ্লোক পাঠাইল তোমাতে ॥

তথাহি শিক্ষাশ্লোকঃ :

পরব্যসনিনী নারী ব্যগ্রাপি গৃহকর্মসু ।  
তদেবাস্বাদযত্যন্তর্নবসঙ্গসায়নম্ ॥



## *Bhakti-ratnākara*

### Scattered Verses by Sanātana

भक्तिरसामृत-सिन्धुः (१.३.३५):

न प्रेमा श्रवणादिभक्तिरपि वा योगोऽथवा वैष्णवो  
ज्ञानं वा शुभकर्म वा कियदहो सञ्जातिरप्यस्ति वा ।  
हीनार्थाधिकसाधिके त्वयि तथाप्यच्छेदमूला  
हे गोपीजनवल्लभ व्यथयते हा हा मदाशैव माम् ॥

पद्मावली (२३३):

सत्यं शृणोमि सखि नित्यनवप्रियोऽसौ  
गोपस्तथापि हृदयं मदनो दुनोति ।  
युक्त्या कथञ्चन शमं गमितेऽपि तस्मिन्  
मां तस्य कालमुरली कवलीकरोति ॥



## Appendix B

# Glossary of Names and Terms

### Ajita

**bhakti** Deference to deity, teacher, or parents. Recognition of one's dependence on and participation in a higher or more powerful being characterized by feelings of attachment to and love for that being.

**Brahman** This term is the Upaniṣadic term for the absolute ground of being. It is derived from the root  $\sqrt{br\ddot{m}h}$ , "to grow or increase" or "to speak" or "to shine" and thus comes to mean "the greatest."

**Brahmā** The masculine, creator god of the Hindu pantheon.

**Buddha** The "awakened" descent of Viṣṇu. The Buddha Śakyamuni is believed to be another descent of Viṣṇu.

### Dattātreya

### Dhanvantari

**Dhruva** A famous devotee of Viṣṇu.

**Gadādhara** A close associate of Caitanya to whom he was very attached. The later tradition came to view Gadādhara as a partial expansion of Rādhā.

**Garuḍa** The eagle who carries Viṣṇu.

**Gaura** This is one of Mahāprabhu's names. It means "white" or "golden-white." It describes the golden color of Caitanya's complexion.

**Halāyudha** The wielder of the plow, also known as Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa's older brother.

**Haṃsa** The goose descent of Viṣṇu.

**Hari** Another name for Viṣṇu and also the name of one of his descents.

**Hayagrīva** The horse-headed descent of Viṣṇu.

**Jagannātha** "Lord of the Universe." The main deity worshipped in the temple at Purī in Orissa. Jagannātha is an image of Kṛṣṇa that shares the altar in the temple with Balarāma, his brother, and Subhadrā, his sister.

**Janārdhana** An ancient name of Kṛṣṇa/Viṣṇu.

**Kalkī** The final descent in this epoch. He comes at the end of the Kali Yuga, in 427,000 years, to destroy mankind, which will have sunk into abject depravity by then, and to restart the Golden Age (Satya Yuga).

**Kapila** The ancient sage who is accredited with founding the Sāṅkhya tradition of Indian philosophy. According to the *Bhāgavata*, he was also a descent of Viṣṇu.

**Keśava** One of the many ancient names of Kṛṣṇa/Viṣṇu. "One having fine or abundant hair." Found in Pāṇini, 5.2.109.

**Kūrma** The tortoise descent of Viṣṇu.

**Lakṣmī** The goddess of fortune, consort of Viṣṇu.

**Mahāmāna** The great fish descent also known as Matsya.

**Mahāviṣṇu** "Great Viṣṇu." According to Vaiṣṇava theology, Mahāviṣṇu is the source of the Viṣṇus who enter each universe and of all of the other descents into the world. The universes are said to be formed of the bubbles coming from the pores of his skin as he floats in the great Causal Ocean (*Kāraṇābdhi*).

**Mohinī**

**Manvantara** The period or epoch of a Manu. A manvantara lasts 4,320,000 years and consists of four Ages or Yuga. There are fourteen manvantara in a day of Brahmā (Brahmā's night lasts as long). According to Hindu chronology, we are in the seventh of these named after the Manu Vivasvān who ushered it in and created the human race in this period

**Nara and Nārāyaṇa**

**Nārada** The sage among the gods, Nārada is a prominent participant in the sport of Kṛṣṇa. He is able to travel throughout the world at will and is often seen kick-starting events at various important junctures in Viṣṇu's *līlā*. He is also considered a descent of Viṣṇu.

**Nṛsiṃha** The man-lion descent of Viṣṇu.

**Paraśurāma** The axe-bearing Rāma, a descent of Viṣṇu.

**Prahlāda** A great child devotee of Viṣṇu, who is protected by Nṛsiṃha, the man-lion descent. The story is recounted in the Seventh Canto of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

**Prthu**

**Rāmacandra** The descent of Viṣṇu as Rāma, the ideal king and hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

**Rṣabha**

**Sana** The four Sana are the four sons of Brahmā who were born from his mind. The eldest is Sanatkumāra, the second is Sanātana, the third is Sanaka, and the fourth is Sanandana. They are considered descents of Viṣṇu.

**Satyasena**

**Śeṣa** The cosmic serpent on which Viṣṇu lies and sleeps during the cosmic manifestation.

**Śiva** This is the name of one of the great gods of the Hindu tradition. Śiva means "auspicious." Śiva is often associated with destruction, but also has creative potencies.

**Vaikuṇṭha** The transcendent, spiritual abode of Viṣṇu, free of anxiety and fear.

**Vāmana** The dwarf descent of Viṣṇu.

**Varāha** The boar incarnation of Viṣṇu.

**Vasudeva** Kṛṣṇa's father, imprisoned by Kāṁsa out of fear that his son would kill him.

**Vibhu**

**Viṣṇu** The expansion of Kṛṣṇa that enters into each universe as its overseer.

**Vyāsa** The "scribe" descent of Viṣṇu. Vyāsa is practically the only writer in the Hindu tradition. He is credited with writing all of the *Purāṇa* and the great epic, the *Mahābhārata*. He is also credited with writing down the Veda.

**Yajña** A descent of Viṣṇu to promote the religious practice of sacrifice. Yajña means ritual sacrifice.

## Appendix C

# The Sanskrit Alphabet

### Vowels: Svara

According to traditional phonology, the sounds of the Sanskrit alphabet are produced at different places in the mouth beginning in the back: a and ā are pronounced in the throat, i and ī at the palate, u and ū with the lips, ṛ and ṝ with the tongue curled upward at the roof of the mouth, ḷ and ḹ at the teeth,

e at the palate,

ai sliding from throat to palate,

o at the lips,

au sliding from throat to lips,

and aḥ at the throat.

अ — a, pronounced like “a” in “Roman,”<sup>1</sup>

आ — ā, pronounced like “a” in “father,”

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<sup>1</sup>Many of these pronunciation examples have been taken from the fine introduction to Sanskrit called *Sanskrit: an easy introduction to an enchanting language* by Ashok Aklujkar. (Richmond, British Columbia: Svādhyāya Publications, 1992)

इ — i, pronounced like “i” in “it” or “pin,”

ई — ī, pronounced like “i” in “police,”

उ — u, pronounced like “u” in “push,”

ऊ — ū, pronounced like “u” in “rude,”

ऋ — ṛ, pronounced like “er” in “fiber,”

ॠ — ṝ, pronounced like “ree” in “reel,”

लृ — ḷ, pronounced like “le” in “angle,”

लृ̄ — ḹ, pronounced like “lea” in “leash,”

ए — e, pronounced like “ay” in “way,”

ऐ — ai, pronounced like “ai” in “aisle,”

ओ — o, pronounced like “o” in “note,”

औ — au, pronounced like “ow” in “now,”

अं — aṁ, pronounced like “ung” in “rung,”

अः — aḥ, pronounced like “aha,”



## Consonants: Vyañjana

The consonants are all shown in combination with the short “a.” In Sanskrit, a consonant or conjunct is always understood to be followed by short “a” unless some other symbol is present.

### The Ka-varga

These velar consonants are all pronounced in the throat.

क — ka, pronounced like the “k” in “sky,”

ख — kha, pronounced like “c” in “cat,”

ग — ga, pronounced like the “g” in “gum,”

घ — gha, pronounced like the “gh” in “doghouse,”

ङ — ṅa, pronounced like “ng” in “sung,”

### The Ca-varga

These palatal consonants are all pronounced at the palate.

च — ca, pronounced like the “ch” in “church,”

छ — cha, pronounced like the “ch” in “chew,”

ज — ja, pronounced like “j” in “jump,”

झ — jha, pronounce this like “j” with a strong outward breath,”

ञ — ña, pronounced like “n” in “canyon,”

### The Ṭa-varga

These retroflex consonants are all pronounced with the tip of the tongue curled upward touching the roof of the mouth.

Ṭ — ṭa, pronounced like the “t” in “art” or “stop,”

Ṭh — ṭha, pronounced like the “th” in “boathouse,”

Ḍ — ḍa, pronounced like “d” in “ardent” or “bird,”

Ḍh — ḍha, pronounce this like “dh” in “hardhat,”

ṇ — ṇa, pronounced like “n” in “yarn.”

### The Ta-varga

These dental consonants are all pronounced at the teeth.

त — ta, pronounced like the “th” in “the,” “them” or the french word “tete (head),

थ — tha, pronounced like the above letter ‘t’, but with more aspiration,

द — da, pronounced like in the french word “donner” (to give),

ध — dha, pronounce this like “d” with a strong outward breath,

न — na, pronounced like “n” in “no,”

### The Pa-varga

These labial consonants are all pronounced with the lips.

प — pa, pronounced like the “p” in “spin,”

फ — pha, pronounced like the “ph” in “tophat,”

ब — ba, pronounced like “b” in “boat,”

भ — bha, pronounced like “bh” in “abhor,”

म — ma, pronounced like “m” in “mud,”

### The Semivowels

The sounds are divided thus; y is produced at the palate, r at the roof of the mouth, l at the teeth, and v at the lips.

य — ya, pronounced like the “y” in “yoga,”

र — ra, pronounced like the “r” in “relic,”

ल — la, pronounced like “l” in “land,”

व — va, pronounced like “v” in “vote,”

### The Sibilants

The sounds are divided thus; ś is produced at the palate, ṣ at the roof of the mouth, s at the teeth, and h at the throat.

श — śa, pronounced like the “sh” in “Swedish-chocolate,”

ष — ṣa, pronounced with tongue curled upward touching the roof of the mouth,

स — sa, pronounced like “s” in “sun,”

ह — ha, pronounced like “h” in “house,”

### Combining Vowels and Consonants

Most vowel consonant combinations follow the pattern shown here.

अ	+	क	=	क
आ	+	क	=	का
इ	+	क	=	कि
ई	+	क	=	की
उ	+	क	=	कु
ऊ	+	क	=	कू
ऋ	+	क	=	कृ
ॠ	+	क	=	कू
लृ	+	क	=	लृक
लृ	+	क	=	लृक
ए	+	क	=	के
ऐ	+	क	=	कै
ओ	+	क	=	को
औ	+	क	=	कौ

## Compound Consonants

Consonants following each other, not separated by a vowel, form conjuncts. Here are the most common of them.

क्क kka	क्ख kkha	क्च kca	क्ण kṇa	क्त kta	क्त ktya
क्त्र ktra	क्त्र ktrya	क्त ktva	क्न kna	क्न knya	कम kma
क्य kya	क्र kra	क्र kṛya	क्ल kla	क्व kva	क्व kvya
क्ष kṣa	क्ष्म kṣma	क्ष्य kṣya	क्ष्व kṣva	ख्य khya	ख्र khra
ग्य gya	ग्र gra	ग्र grya	घ्न gṇa	घ्न gṇya	घ्म ghma
घ्य ghya	घ्र ghra	ङ्क ṅka	ङ्क ṅta	ङ्क ṅktya	ङ्क ṅkya
ङ्क्ष ṅkṣa	ङ्क्ष ṅkṣva	ङ्क ṅkha	ङ्क्ष ṅkhya	ङ्ग ṅga	ङ्ग ṅgya
ङ्घ ṅgha	ङ्घ ṅghya	ङ्घ ṅghra	ङ्घ ṅṇa	ङ्घ ṅṇa	ङ्घ ṅma
ञ्य ñya	च् cca	च् ccha	च् cchra	च् cña	च् cma
च्य cya	छ्य chya	छ्य chra	ज् jja	ज् jja	ज्ञ jña
ज्य jña	ज्म jma	ज्य jya	ज् ज् jra	ज्व jva	ज्ञ ñca
ज्ञ ñcma	ज्ञ ñcya	ञ्छ ñcha	ञ् ञ् ja	ञ् ञ् jya	ञ् ञ् jta
ट्य ṭya	ठ्य ṭhya	ठ्य ṭhra	ड् dga	ड् dgya	ड् dgha
ड् dghra	ड् ddha	ड् dma	ड् dya	ड् dhya	ड् dhra
ण्ट ṇ ṭa	ण्ट ṇ ṭha	ण्ड ṇda	ण्ड ṇdya	ण्ड ṇdra	ण्ड ṇdrya
ण्ड ṇ ḍha	ण्ण ṇṇa	ण्म ṇma	ण्य ṇya	ण्व ṇva	क्त tka
क्त tkra	त tta	त्य ttya	त्र ttra	त्र ttva	त्य ttha
त tna	त्य tnya	तप tpa	त्र tpra	तम tma	तम tmya
त्य tya	त्र tra	त्र trya	तव tva	तस tsa	तस tsna
तस्व tsnva	थ्व thva	ड् dga	ड् dgra	ड् dgha	ड् dghra
द् dda	द् ddya	ड् ddha	ड् ddhya	ड् dna	ड् dba
ड् dbha	ड् dbhya	ड् dma	ड् dya	ड् dra	ड् drya
ड् dva	ड् dvya	ड् dhna	ड् dhya	ड् dhma	ड् dhya
ध्र dhra	ध्र dhrya	ध्व dhva	न्त nta	न्त ntya	न्त ntra
न्द nda	न्द्र ndra	न्ध ndha	न्ध ndhra	न्न nna	न्म npa
न्र npa	न्म nma	न्य nya	न्न nra	न्स nsa	त् pta
त्य ptya	प् pna	प् ppa	प् pma	प्य pya	प्र pra
पु pla	प्व pva	प्स psa	प्स्व psva	ब्य bgha	ब्ज bja
ब् bda	ब् bdha	ब् bna	ब् bba	ब् bbha	ब्ब्य bbhya
ब्य bya	ब् bra	ब् bva	भ् bhna	भ्य bhya	भ्र bhra
भ्व bhva	म् mra	म्प mpa	म्प mpra	म्ब mba	म्भ mbha
म्म mma	म्य mya	म्र mra	म्ल mla	म्व mva	य्य yya

य yva	ल्क lka	ल्प lpa	ल्म lma	ल्य lya	ल्ल lla
ल्व lva	ल्ह lha	व्ना vna	व्य vya	व्र vra	व्व vva
श् śca	श्च ścya	श्न śna	श्य śya	श्र śra	श्य śrya
श्ल śla	श्वा śva	श्व्य śvya	श्श śśa	ष्ट ṣṭa	ष्ट्य ṣṭya
ष्ट ṣṭra	ष्ट्र्य ṣṭrya	ष्ट्वा ṣṭva	ष्ठ ṣṭha	ष्ण ṣṇa	ष्ठ्य ṣṭya
ष्प ṣpa	ष्प्र ṣpra	ष्म ṣma	ष्य ṣya	ष्व ṣva	स्क ska
स्ख skha	स्त sta	स्त्य stya	स्त्र stra	स्त्व stv	स्थ stha
स्न sna	स्न्य snya	स्प spa	स्फ spha	स्म sma	स्म्य smya
स्य sya	स्र sra	स्व sva	स्स ssa	ह्न hṇa	ह्न hna
ह्म hma	ह्य hya	ह्र hra	ह्ल hla	ह्व hva	