Jayadeva's Gitagovinda

LOVE SONG OF THE DARK LORD
Krishna's incarnation as the cosmic Dwarf is painted in Gujarati style of the fifteenth century. The leaf includes a fragment of Mānānka's commentary on the Gītagovinda. Reproduced from the Journal of the University of Bombay, 6 (1937), plate IX.

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EDITED
Jayadeva’s *Gitagovinda*

**LOVE SONG OF THE DARK LORD**

TRANSLATED BY BARBARA STOLER MILLER
This book has been accepted in the Indian Series of the Translations Collection of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

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--- To Tuni and Pat ---
Deliverance is not for me in renunciation
I feel the embrace of freedom in a
thousand bonds of delight
Rabindranath Tagore
Gitanjali 73

Jayadeva’s dramatic lyrical poem Gita Govinda is a unique work in Indian literature and a source of religious inspiration in both medieval and contemporary Vaishnavism. The poem is dedicated in devotion to the god Krishna. It concentrates on Krishna’s love with the cowherdess Radhā in a rite of spring. Intense earthly passion is the example Jayadeva uses to express the complexities of divine and human love.

Although the poem originated in eastern India in the twelfth century and remains most popular there, it spread throughout the subcontinent in the centuries following its composition. As early as the thirteenth century, it was quoted in a temple inscription in Gujarat, in western India. Established traditions of commentary and manuscripts exist in every part of India. Its songs are an important part of the devotional music and literature of Orissa, Bengal, and South India. The songs were introduced into Kerala in the sixteenth century and are still sung in temples there. Portions of the poem represent one of the major subjects in medieval Rajput painting.

Critical acclaim of the poem has been high, but its frank eroticism has led many Indian commentators to interpret the love between Radhā and Krishna as an allegory of the human soul’s love for God. The condemnation of Jayadeva’s eroticism made by the seventeenth-century esthetcian Jagannātha in his Rasagangadhara (Kāvyamālā 12, Bombay, 1888, p 52) is exceptional. Learned and popular audiences in India and elsewhere have continued to appreciate the emotional lyricism the poem expresses in its variations on the theme of separated lovers’ passion.
Commenting on F. H. van Dalberg’s German rendering of the Gitagovinda, Goethe wrote, “What struck me as remarkable are the extremely varied motives by which an extremely simple subject is made endless” (note to Schiller dated Jan. 22, 1802, quoted from Correspondence between Goethe and Schiller, translated by L. D. Schmitz, London, 1909, vol. 2, p. 395). Dalberg’s version was based on the first English translation of the Gitagovinda by William Jones, published in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, in 1792 and reprinted in London in Asiatick Researches, 3 (1799), 185–207. A verse translation by the German poet Friedrich Rückert, begun in 1829 and revised according to the edited Sanskrit text and Latin translation of C. Lassen (Bonn, 1836), appeared in Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 1 (Gottingen, 1837), 128 ff. The poem has also been translated into most modern Indian languages and many other modern European languages. Notable English versions include Edwin Arnold’s The Indian Song of Songs (London, 1875); George Keyt’s Sri Jayadeva’s Gita Govinda: The Loves of Krishna and Radha (Bonn, 1876). "The Gita Govinda of Jayadeva" is one of the most sophistical renderings, The Song of Divine Love (Mauras, 1903), and Monica Varma’s “transcreation,” The Gita Govinda of Jayadeva, published by Writers Workshop (Calcutta, 1968).

My own interest in the Gitagovinda began when I heard it sung in Orissi style in the home of Sulakshana and Debi Prasanna Pattanayak in Poona in 1966 and attempted to translate some of the songs. None of the available translations seemed to convey the literary richness or the religious significance of the original. My early work toward a verse translation of the poem convinced me that my English version should be based on a critical edition of the text and an extensive study of the traditions associated with the poem at various levels of Indian culture.

While I have concentrated my effort on textual aspects of the Gitagovinda, I have also gathered and studied substantial material relevant to its cultural contexts. I have heard and recorded the songs of the poem in different musical versions in Orissa, Bengal, Bihar, Madras, Mysore, and Kerala, as well as Nepal. Because of the role of the songs in the nightly worship of the deity in Jagannātha Temple at Puri, they are venerated and sung throughout Orissa. Their performance is an essential aspect of Orissi dance, which has developed through the religious art of temple dancers called Maharis who still dance Gitagovinda songs before Jagannātha. The significance of the legendary life of Jayadeva that identi-
fies the poet's muse as a temple dancer of Puri is discussed in the first section of my introduction. I have learned much about the emotional content of the poem from watching Sanjukta Panigrahi and Ritha Devi perform Gitagovinda songs in Orissi style. I spent many pleasant hours in Cuttack in consultation with Kalicharan Patnaik and Akshaya Mohanty discussing and listening to the music of Gitagovinda. A seventeenth-century palm-leaf manuscript of the text, with the commentary Sarvāṅga-sundārī and superb illustrations, was examined in the collection of Kali Charan.

In Bengal, the singing of Gitagovinda is especially prominent at an annual spring fair in the village of Kenduli in Birbhum district, which is identified as the birthplace of Jayadeva in Bengali tradition. The influence of the poem on the devotional music of Bengal is analyzed in an article by Swami Prajnanananda entitled "The Gitagovinda-padagāna in the Background of the Padāvati-kīrtan of Bengal," published in the Journal of the Music Academy, Madras, 36 (1965), 176-82.

In Nepal, the Gitagovinda is sung during the spring celebration in honor of the goddess Sarasvatī, in which worship is offered to the god of love, Kāmadeva, and his consort. I did not hear an actual performance, but learned about it in a talk with the father of my friend Dr. Prasanna Chandra Gautam, who read the description and chanted a portion of the poem from his brahman family's old manual of annual ceremonies, entitled Vārsa-kavratapaddhati. In the Bir Library collection in the National Archives in Kathmandu, I found the earliest known manuscripts of the Gitagovinda, dated 567 and 616 in the Nepali era (ca. A.D. 1447 and 1496). Norvin Hein discusses the theatrical rendering of the Gitagovinda in regions where Sākta influence prevails, with special reference to its performance in Nepal and Bihar (The Miracle Plays of Mathurā, New Haven, 1972, pp. 267-71). He quotes the account of Sylvain Lévi of an evening performance by popular players in Kathmandu on March 7, 1898, in which the plot and songs were based on the Gitagovinda.

In much of South India the poem is sung according to the classical Karnatic system of music. An edition of the text with musical notation according to this system by Semmangudi R. Sreenivasa Iyer was published by the Sanskrit College Committee, Tripunithura, Kerala, in 1963. The text is prefaced by this note: "Ashtapadi, as the poem is popularly known, is sung daily in many of the temples of Kerala, as the pious Hindus consider it a devotional song of the highest order. It is also sung invariably during Kathakali performances, but the way of singing in

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English version of Jayadeva’s poetry. The discussions are supplemented by extensive bibliographic and textual notes. Because the bibliography differs so much from section to section, no general list of references is given. In preparing both the glossary and the introduction, as well as the translation itself, I have depended heavily on the interpretations and analyses of various commentators. The contents of selected commentaries are described as part of the evidence for the critical edition. References to variant interpretations of ambiguous phrases and technical terms are found in the glossary and the notes to the introduction.

The research for this book has taken me to India three times. My search for manuscripts in the summer of 1971 was supported by grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the American Philosophical Society. A grant from the American Council of Learned Societies enabled me to spend time in Madras and Orissa in January 1973 to consult manuscripts in the Adyar Library, the Orissa State Museum, and the Raghunandan Library, and to experience performances of the Gitagovinda. My residence at Mysore University during the winter of 1974-75 was supported by the American Institute of Indian Studies. A Guggenheim Fellowship for “A Textual and Contextual Study of Medieval Sanskrit Poetry and its Modern Interpretations” gave me time to consider the Gitagovinda in the broader context of medieval literature and to explore theories of the relationship between religion and art in Indian civilization. It also enabled me to work in Nepal in the autumn of 1974.

In the five years I have spent gathering and preparing the Gitagovinda material for publication, many people have given me invaluable help. My special thanks are to the Pattanayaks, who have often shared with me and my family the warmth and cultural life of their home. My formal affiliation at Mysore University was with the Central Institute of Indian Languages, of which Dr. Pattanayak is the director; the resources of the institute greatly facilitated my work. In Mysore, I was also helped by research scholars at the Oriental Institute and the Office of the Chief Epigraphist. I enjoyed many hours at the Oriental Institute discussing Sanskrit kāvyā and analyzing aspects of the Gitagovinda with H. V. Nagaraja Rao. It was under his supervision that the Devanagari text of my critical edition was typeset at Sree Kantha Power Press, publishers of the Sanskrit newspaper Sudharmā. Without his gracious help, this book would not be in its present form. Thanks are due to Theodore Riccardi, Lynn Bennett, and Gabriel Campbell for their help in locating and identifying the Nepali materials that have been so central to my critical text.

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and also to Neil Gros, who patiently collated the references for the glossary.

I am indebted to Daniel H. H. Ingalls for the example of his own work and for his encouragement of this translation through the endless revisions I submitted to his attention. For their generous and detailed criticism at various stages of the translation, I thank Susan Bergholz, Edwin Gerow, Jeffrey Masson, Agueda Pizarro, David Rubin, Burton Watson, and my husband James. William Bernhardt, Karen Mitchell, and Andrée Mounier of Columbia University Press have all contributed to the conception and form of the book; I appreciate their skills and standards.

James and Gwenn have shared my travels in the Indian subcontinent and much of my adventure in studying the Gitagovinda. Their appreciation for the music of Jayadeva's poem and for my involvement with it have made this work pleasurable.

Barbara Stoler Miller

New York, 1976
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In reading Sanskrit words, the accent is usually placed on the penultimate syllable when this is long; otherwise it is placed on the antepenultimate. A syllable is long if it contains a long vowel (ā, ī, ū), a diphthong (ē, o, ai, au), or a vowel followed by more than one consonant. It should be noted that the aspirated consonants ḷh, gh, ch, jh, th, dh, ph, bh, and so on are considered single consonants in the Sanskrit alphabet.

Vowels are given their full value, as in Italian or German:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a} & \text{ as } u \text{ in cut} \\
\text{ā} & \text{ as } a \text{ in father} \\
\text{i} & \text{ as } i \text{ in pint} \\
\text{ī} & \text{ as } i \text{ in machine} \\
\text{u} & \text{ as } u \text{ in put} \\
\text{ū} & \text{ as } u \text{ in rule} \\
\text{r} & \text{ a short vowel; as } ri \text{ in river} \\
\text{ē} & \text{ as } ay \text{ in say} \\
\text{ai} & \text{ as } ai \text{ in aisle} \\
\text{o} & \text{ as } o \text{ in go} \\
\text{au} & \text{ as } ow \text{ in cow} \\
\text{ṃ} & \text{ nasalsizes and lengthens the preceding vowel} \\
\text{ḥ} & \text{ a rough breathing, replacing an original } s \text{ or } r; \text{ lengthens the preceding vowel and occurs only at the end of a syllable or word}
\end{align*}
\]

Most consonants are analogous to the English, if the distinction between aspirated and nonaspirated consonants is observed; for example, the aspirated consonants th and ph must never be pronounced as in English thin and phial, but as in hothouse and shepherd. (Similarly, ḷh, gh, ch, ḷh, dh, bh.) The differences between the Sanskrit “cerebral” t, th, d, dh, ṅ, and “dental” t, th, d, dh, ṅ are another distinctive feature of the language. The dentals are formed with the tongue against the teeth, the cerebrals with the tongue turned back along the palate. Note also:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{g} & \text{ as } g \text{ in goat} \\
\text{n} & \text{ as } n \text{ in ink, or sing} \\
\text{c} & \text{ as } ch \text{ in church}
\end{align*}
\]
Jayadeva, wandering king of bards
Who sing at Padmāvati’s lotus feet,
Was obsessed in his heart
By rhythms of the goddess of speech,
And he made this lyrical poem
From tales of the passionate play
When Krishna loved Śrī.

Jayadeva, the poet’s signature in the Gitagovinda, is the name by which he is known as a poet-saint in Indian tradition. It is a name he shares with Krishna, the divine hero of his poem; he invokes Krishna in the second song with the refrain jaya jayadeva hare, “Triumph, God of Triumph, Hari!” In the context where the poet’s name becomes an epithet of Krishna, the name in turn gains a dimension of sacred meaning. The listener is reminded of Jayadeva’s special relation to Krishna as his name is repeated in the signature verse that ends each song.

The lyrical, religious eroticism of the Gitagovinda earned sainthood for Jayadeva and a wide audience for his poem. All versions of the legend that sanctifies Jayadeva’s life say that he was born in a brahman family and that he became an accomplished student of Sanskrit and a skilled poet. However, he abandoned scholarship at a young age and adopted an ascetic life, devoting himself to God. As a wandering mendicant, he would not rest under one tree for more than a night for fear that attachment to the place would violate his vow. His ascetic life ended when a brahman of Puri insisted that Jagannātha, “Lord of the World,” himself had ordained the marriage of Jayadeva with the brahman’s daughter Padmāvati, who was dedicated as a dancing girl in the temple. Padmāvati served her husband and he shared her devotion to Jagannātha. As Jayadeva composed, she danced—thus the Gitagovinda. In the process of writing the poem, Jayadeva conceived the climax of Krishna’s supplication to Rādhā as a command for Rādhā to place her foot on Krishna’s head in a symbolic gesture of victory (X:8). But the poet hesitated to complete the couplet, in deference to Krishna. He went to bathe and in his absence.

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Krishna appeared in his guise to write the couplet; then Krishna ate the food Padmāvati had prepared for Jayadeva and left. When Jayadeva returned, he realized that he had received divine grace in exalting Krishna’s loving relation to Rādhā.

Various local versions of this legend have grown into conflicting traditions about Jayadeva’s place of birth and region of poetic activity. Modern scholars of Bengal, Orissa, and Mithila have put forth claims locating the village of his birth in their respective regions. Two strong traditions say that the “Kindubilva” cited in the Gitagovinda (III.10) is either a village near Puri in Orissa or a village in the modern Birbhum district of Bengal. A third tradition identifies the village of Kenduli near Jumharpur in Mithila as Jayadeva’s birthplace. The argument is well known and has been summarized in favor of Jayadeva’s Bengali origins in a recent monograph by Suniti Kumar Chatterji. Although the Bengali position remains tenuous, both legends and historical documents suggest that Jayadeva lived and composed in eastern India during the latter half of the twelfth century.

The dating of Jayadeva’s literary activity is established by the composite evidence of various literary and historical documents. Most prominent is the presence of verses attributed to Jayadeva in Śrīdharadāsa’s Saduktikarnāmṛta, an anthology compiled in Bengal in A.D. 1205 (Śaka era 1127), at the end of the reign of Laksmanasena, who ruled about A.D. 1179-1205. Among the thirty verses attributed to Jayadeva in S. C. Banerji’s edition of the anthology, two are in the critical text of the Gitagovinda. In the Gitagovinda (I.3), Jayadeva compares himself with poets named Dandā, Vīrā, and Bhoyi, all of whom are quoted in a court epic entitled Pavanadīsa, by Laksmanasena into the south. The other poets are less directly associated with Laksmanasena, but their works relate them to the period and region of his reign.

It seems clear from the contents of the Saduktikarnāmṛta and from the inscriptions of Laksmanasena that the king was a patron of Sanskrit learning and of Vaishnavism. The Senas were Karnatic kings who employed Sanskrit for their official documents, the standard practice in North India at this time. The inscriptions of Laksmanasena open with an invocation to Vishnu (aum aum namo viṣṇunārāyanāya) instead of to Śiva, as had been the practice of his predecessors. The king is described by the epithet “Highest Vaishnava” (paramavaishnava). A court that promoted Sanskrit learning and the highly syncretic Vaishnava worship of this time

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would have provided an appreciative audience for the *Gitagovinda*. It is impossible to know whether Jayadeva composed the work at Laksmanasena’s court; perhaps he composed it elsewhere—and performed it there.

The South Indian Vaishnava devotional cults that were influential in Bengal in the twelfth century were equally active in Orissa. Traditional accounts record that Ramanuja, the great Vedanta philosopher and apostle of the Srivaishnava cult, visited Puri in the early part of the twelfth century and established a school there. It is claimed that he met and influenced the King of Puri and worked to introduce the ritual of Srivaishnavism into the Jagannatha temple, against the strong opposition of resident Saiva priests. The king whom he met was probably Anantavarman Chodagangadeva, the Ganga king who ruled in Orissa about A.D. 1078-1147. Later Ganga records suggest that Chodagangadeva initiated major construction of the Jagannatha temple, which was completed during the reign of his grandson Anangabhima I in the late twelfth century.

From the evidence of his inscriptions, Chodagangadeva, like Laksmanasena of Bengal, came under Vaishnava influence. Two sets of copperplate inscriptions illustrate the shift in his sectarian allegiance. In A.D. 1187 (Saka era 1003), Chodagangadeva expressed traditional Ganga devotion to Siva by granting land to support worship of Rajarajesvara, a name of Siva. In A.D. 1118 (Saka era 1040), in a grant of land to a brahman named Madhava, his inscription begins with an invocation to Laksmi, and the king is described as “Highest Vaishnava” (*paramavaishnava*). Temple records show that since the time of Chodagangadeva, Jagannatha has been continuously worshipped as the supreme form of Vishnu, whose power is expressed through the energy of his consort, Laksmi or Sri.

Although the legend of Jayadeva’s life has no historical value, it does tell us that in the course of his wanderings Jayadeva visited Puri, where he came under the influence of the Jagannatha cult and formed a special relationship with Padmavati. The identification of Padmavati as Jayadeva’s wife is not supported by either of the early commentators on the *Gitagovinda*. Both Mananika and Kumbhakarna identify Padmavati (I.2; X.9; XI.21), or Padma (I.25), as names of Krishna’s divine consort Sri (I.2; I.23), or Laksmi (XI.22), who is also called Kamala (I.17) in the poem. The “marriage” of Jayadeva and Padmavati in the legend may be a veiled allusion to his initiation in the Srivaishnava cult that was established in Puri under Ramanuja’s influence. The role of Krishna’s cowherdess consort Radha in the *Gitagovinda* takes its cosmic significance from the context of recurrent references to Sri Jayadeva’s use of the

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epithet Jagadita, "Lord of the World," for Krishna in the first song is too similar to Jagannatha to be accidental—the Gitagovinda may well have taken shape in the richly syncretic environment in Puri in the twelfth century.13

By the fifteenth century, the Gitagovinda was sufficiently popular in Puri to be incorporated into the ritual of the Jagannatha temple. An inscription located on the left side of the Jayavijaya doorway, written in Oriya language and script and dated A.D. 1499, prescribes the performance of the Gitagovinda in the temple.14 An English translation of the inscription reads:

On Wednesday the tenth lunar year of Kakadā, bright half in the ninth mark of the warrior, the elephant-lord, the mighty Pratāparudradeva Mahārāja, king over Gauḍā and the ninety millions of Karpāṭā and Kalārāga, orders as follows: "Dancing will be performed thus at the time of food-offerings (bhoga) to the Elder Lord (Balarāma) and the Lord of the Gitagovinda (Jagannātha). This dancing will continue from the end of the deities' evening meal to their bedtime meal. The dancing group of the Elder Lord, the female dancers of Lord Kapileśvara, and the ancient dancing group of Telangana will all learn no song other than the Gitagovinda from the Elder Lord. Aum. They will sing no other song. No other dance should be performed before the great God. In addition to the dancing, there will be four singers who will sing only the Gitagovinda. Those who are not versed in singing the Gitagovinda will follow in chorus—they should learn no other song. Any temple official who knowingly allows any other song or dance to be performed is hostile to Jagannātha."

In the early sixteenth century, the great Vaishnava mystic Caitanya made a pilgrimage to Puri and settled there. It is recorded in the spiritual biography of Caitanya by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, entitled Caitanyacaritāmṛta, that Caitanya derived great joy from hearing the Gitagovinda, as well as the songs of the Bengali poet Candīdāsa and the Maithili poet Vidyāpati.15 There is no reference to the origin of Caitanya's devotion to the songs of the Gitagovinda, but it is likely that he heard them in the temple of Jagannātha. His love for Jayadeva's songs led to the canonization of the Gitagovinda within the Vaishnava Sahajiyā cult and its interpretation according to the doctrines of Bengali Vaishnavism.16 Sahajiyā tradition claims Jayadeva as a practitioner of its unorthodox ritual and the "original preceptor" (ādirūpa) of the cult.17 Jayadeva's ritual practice is not revealed by his poem, but the place of his songs in the Caitanya cult complements the Oriya tradition that nightly performance of the songs in wor-

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ship of Jagannātha at Puri has been continuous for more than seven hundred years.18

By the end of the thirteenth century, the Gītāgovinda was known in western India. A stone inscription of Mahārāja Sārāṅgadeva Vāghela of Anahillapattan, dated A.D. 1201 (Vikrama era 1348), opens with Jayadeva’s invocation to Krishna in his ten incarnate forms (I.16).19 The inscription records the levy of a revised tax on the inhabitants of Pālhanapura (modern Palanpur) to defray the expenses of temple offerings to Krishna. The Gītāgovinda was probably brought to Gujarat by Vaishnava pilgrims who heard it at Puri or some other eastern center of the Krishna cult.

Further evidence of the poem’s wide dissemination in the centuries following its composition includes the existence of one palm-leaf manuscript in Newari hooked characters dated ca. A.D. 1447 (Nepali era 567) and another in Newari script dated ca. A.D. 1496 (Nepali era 616).20 The text of this version accords well with the text on which Mānāṅka based his simple commentary. The fifteenth-century date given to an early paper manuscript of the Gītāgovinda, accompanied by Mānāṅka’s commentary and illustrated with paintings of the ten incarnations of Krishna in the Gujarati style of the mid-fifteenth century, is corroborated by the date, ca. A.D. 1512 (samvat 1569), on another manuscript of Mānāṅka’s commentary.21 The literary critical commentary of Kumbhakarna, called Rasika-priyā, is dated the mid-fifteenth century according to the dates of the ruler of Mewar named Kumbhakarna (A.D. 1433–68), with whom the commentator is identified.22 By the sixteenth century Jayadeva’s poem was recognized throughout northern India for the intensity of its poetic and its religious expression.

2 The Lyrical Structure of Jayadeva’s Poem

The Gītāgovinda, deceptively simple in its surface beauty, has a wealth of meaning embedded in structurally intricate forms and concepts drawn from various levels of Indian literary tradition. In the process of preparing this textual analysis and translation, I have come to appreciate how masterfully Jayadeva interwove formal and thematic elements to create a work of high art and religious intensity that remains appealing to popular audiences throughout the Indian subcontinent. In order to translate the
the Gitagovinda, twelve different syllabic meters occur. There are also three verses in the moric meter Arya (VI.1; VII.2; IX.1). Arya is the most extensively used moric meter in Sanskrit poetry. It is the characteristic meter of poetry in Prakrit dialects of the classical period, exemplified by the contents of Hala’s anthology, the Sattasai, and by Prakrit verses in Sanskrit dramas. Although the classical Arya meter is organized in terms of beat and measure, like the songs of the Gitagovinda, its formal articulation makes it distinct from the types of measured meters that order the songs.

In comparison with the compact form and contained grammar of the classical kavya verses, the structure of the songs is broader and more complex. A composite pattern of three interdependent formal units is repeated in each of the twenty-four songs. The fixed unit in each song is the dhruwapada, a “refrain” that is repeated after each couplet; it is the stable unit of sound and meaning in the song. Its content provides a context for the descriptive details of the couplets and intensifies their meaning. Where the dhruwapada contains the grammatical subject to which descriptive compounds and phrases refer, it resolves the “dangling” syntax of the couplets. The refrains are characterized by syntactic simplicity and a core vocabulary of recurring words that suggest correspondences between Radha and Krishna at different stages of their separation. Just as a refrain unifies a song, the network of refrains unifies the poem.

The varying unit in each song is the pada, a stanza that is one of a series of rhymed couplets occurring in a particular moric metrical pattern. From this comes the designation of the songs as padavali, “stanza-series,” a term that Jayadeva introduces in the Gitagovinda (I.4). Since the stanzas usually number eight, the songs are also referred to as astapadi, “eight-stanza song.”

The final formal unit is the bhanita, the last pada in each song. Each bhanita repeats the poet’s signature, Jayadeva, and usually some form of the root Vbhān, which means “saying” or “singing.” This stanza re-affirms the affinities of the poet’s creative activity and the audience’s aesthetic experience to the developing erotic relationship between Radha and Krishna. It functions in each song to give the perspective of esthetic and religious perception to the emotional intensity of the preceding stanzas and the refrain.

The system of moric meters in the Gitagovinda songs gives the poem its rhythmical structure. A particular meter relates couplets within a song, and the metrical system relates the songs to one another. Jayadeva’s skill-

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ful variation of a few selected metrical patterns sustains the aural appeal of his long poem.

As I have already suggested, the moric meters of the songs contrast with the traditional moric meters like Aryā in several ways. The severely restricted occurrence of heavy syllables is most striking. Heavy syllables are relatively rare in the songs; they are limited mainly to initial position within the gana units and to the ends of lines. This gives the songs their lilting quality and definite rhythmical beat. The rhythmical element is further emphasized by repetitious sound patterns of alliteration, assonance, consonance, and end rhyme. These devices are all used in earlier Sanskrit literature, but nowhere else with the persistence that characterizes the Gitagovinda.

The meters of the songs and the mode of their articulation clearly resemble the meters of medieval poetry in the vernacular languages known as Apabhramśa. Although few of Jayadeva’s meters are specifically identifiable with those known from either Jain Apabhramśa poetry of western India or Buddhist Caryāpada poetry of eastern India, the predominant metrical pattern of the songs corresponds with the basic rhythmic design of such non-Sanskrit medieval poetry. The correspondence had led scholars like Pischel, Renou, and Chatterji to suggest that the songs, or even the entire poem, were originally composed in Apabhramśa and then translated into Sanskrit.¹³ A close reading of the songs and a comparison of the songs with the kavya verses in the poem suggest instead that Jayadeva adapted the musical moric meters of vernacular poetry in order to create a medium of song within conventional poetic Sanskrit. If one analyzes Jayadeva’s style in terms of meter, ornamentation, and structure, the classical elements drawn from Sanskrit and Prākrit sources are as significant to the songs as the Apabhramśa meters. Jayadeva’s adaptation of Apabhramśa meters to Sanskrit is not an isolated phenomenon. It is the most sustained and successful of several such experiments that are known from the tenth century and after, when the bonds of classical Sanskrit literature were loosened by attempts to broaden its appeal.¹⁴

The most prominent meter in the Gitagovinda songs repeats a pattern of couplets structured into lines of seven four-beat measures, exemplified by the opening couplet of the third song (1.27): ¹⁵

```
lalitala vangala tāpasi silhouette komala malayasa mire
madhukara nikara rambha kokila kaṃsa kuṇjakurile
```

`- - - - | - - - | - - - | - - - | - - - | - - - | - - - |

`- - - - | - - - | - - - | - - - | - - - | - - - | - - - | - - - |

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This meter and its variants, which maintain the four-beat measure, govern nineteen of the twenty-four songs in the Gitagovinda. The dominant metrical unit of the songs reflects the four-beat subdivision of the most common rhythmical pattern (tāla) of both Hindusthani and Karnatic classical music. The meter of a song can provide the rhythmical component of the song’s music. It seems significant that no tāla designations are given in two of the oldest manuscripts of the Gitagovinda, though each song in these manuscripts is defined by the name of a melodic pattern (rāga). Where tāla names do accompany rāga names in other manuscripts, there is enormous variability with regard to the tāla names.

Most of the refrains are in moric metrical patterns that maintain the same measured beat as that of the associated couplets. They generally contrast with the couplets in length only. Refrains usually consist of one line or two rhyming lines of unequal length. The rhythmic cadences of the refrains tend to be heavier than those of the couplets, thus giving their words greater emphasis.

Rhyme, in its several varieties, highlights the rhythmic patterns of the songs. Alliteration (anuprāsa) in Sanskrit poetry involves the echo of repeated sounds in a line; it is not limited to the initial sounds of words. Alliteration is the rhyming device most commonly used to produce emphasis and euphony in classical kāvya. In the Gitagovinda alliterative combinations of consonants and vowels reinforce the meters and the sensuous imagery of the songs. They often contribute to the rhythmical complexity of a line by forcing syllables into a syncopation of the metrical accent.

End-rhyme (antānuprāsa) is a universal feature of the couplets. It serves to mark the close of each metrical cycle. This consistent use of end-rhyme is rare in classical Sanskrit poetry, though internal rhyme is common, as it is in the kāvya verses of the Gitagovinda.

The eminent critic Ánandavardhana warns that a poet’s preoccupation with repetitions of sound, like word-play, alliteration, and assonance, is an obstacle to the production of erotic mood. But most Sanskrit critics consider these devices essential to the sweetness of poetry (madhura, mādhurya). These critics seem to agree with the practicing poets that sense and sound must complement each other to create intensity in the expression of erotic mood.

The entire Gitagovinda abounds in various forms of word-play as well as rhyme. The repetition and shifting meaning of key words like rasa (taste), madhu (honey), and vilāsa (seduction), relate levels of content.
within the poem and often expand the context of a verse or song. Jayadeva puns on the names of certain meters he uses in the kāvya verses.\textsuperscript{23} He plays on the names of heavenly nympha to describe Rādhā (X.14). He plays on the epithets of Krishna, especially Mādhava, Madhusūdana, and Hari. The poet’s own name, Jayadeva, which is also used as an epithet of Krishna, is repeated as the poet’s signature at the end of each song.\textsuperscript{28}

The grammar of the songs is simplified. Certain forms are repeated frequently. Prominent are the locative, which is often used in its absolute function, the instrumental, and various participles. In the tenth song, unvarying grammatical parallelism governs each of the couplets.

In the Gitagovinda repetitive patterns of sounds, syllables, words, and phrases serve to reinforce and supplement the metrical structures of the songs. All Sanskrit poetry contains generous amounts of sound elaboration (śabdālāmकरा);\textsuperscript{27} in the songs of the Gitagovinda the redundancies are incessant, complex, and multileveled. They create a sensuous surface of verbal ornamentation that suggests comparison with the sculptured surfaces of the medieval Hindu temples of Bhubaneswar and Khajuraho. In the rhythmic disposition of a basic ground plan and the superimposition of repetitive shapes along a vertical axis, each temple moves to a point of intense concentration, where it simultaneously plunges into the womb-house of the deity and transcends itself.\textsuperscript{28} The intricate vertical and horizontal design that emerges in the Gitagovinda from the repetitions of metrical units, refrains, rhymes, alliterations, technical words, puns, and syntactic devices unifies the entire poem and concentrates its movement.

All known manuscripts of the Gitagovinda indicate the names of various rāgas, or melodic patterns, for individual songs. The Indian rāga is a melodic formula that includes particular embellishments and tone colors. The technique of improvisation, which is essential to the formal presentation of a rāga, uses dense combinations of grace notes and microtonal ornaments. The rāga, in the form of either a song or an instrumental piece, is identifiable in performance by its characteristic turns of phrase and dominant tones. In theory, every rāga is associated with a particular mood, time, and seasonal setting.\textsuperscript{29}

The songs of the Gitagovinda are sung in regions of eastern and southern India in a variety of different rāgas.\textsuperscript{30} Although the oldest manuscripts show striking agreement in designating a group of eleven different rāgas for the twenty-four songs, there has been no traditional trans-
mission or notation to assure that these names designate the same melodic patterns they do in later times. The fact that many commentators are preoccupied with defining the rāgas in terms of Indian music theory suggests that the songs were variously interpreted throughout their history.

3 Jayadeva’s Language for Love

Poetry is distinguished from ordinary modes of speech by the controlled and stylized ways it strives to transcend the limits of ordinary language. The lyrical techniques of Jayadeva’s songs combine with the conventional language of Sanskrit erotic poetry to express the intimate power of divine love. As Jayadeva’s elaborates the passion of Rādhā and Krishna, he creates an esthetic atmosphere of erotic mood (Īrīgārārasa) that is bliss for devotees of Krishna. The poet’s aim is implied in an opening verse of the Gitagovinda (1.4):

If remembering Hari enriches your heart,
If his arts of seduction arouse you,
Listen to Jayadeva’s speech
In these sweet soft lyrical songs.

The relation between esthetic and spiritual experience is made explicit in the signature verse of the final song of the poem (XII.19):

Make your heart sympathetic to Jayadeva’s splendid speech!
Recalling Hari’s feet is elixir against fevers of this dark time.
She told the joyful Yadu hero, playing to delight her heart.

The concept of mood, rasa, is at the heart of all Indian artistic expression. Rasa is literally the taste or flavor of something. The rasa of a verse, song, dramatic scene, or musical performance is the flavor of a pervading emotion (sthāyībhāva). Sanskrit poets and critics came to realize the unique power and the esthetic potential of sexual passion (rasabhāva) in its aspects of pain and pleasure. The erotic mood that emerges from passion was expressed in the antithetical modes of “separation” (vipralambhaśrīṅgāra) and “consummation” (sambhogaśrīṅgāra). To experience this mood in the interplay of its two modes was considered the height of esthetic joy. Jayadeva created the religiously potent atmosphere of the Gitagovinda by exploring the poignant mood of separation within the broader play of divine passion in consummation.
Passion is transformed into erotic mood when a poet distills essential qualities from the confusion of spontaneous emotion and then patterns them according to universalizing rules of composition. Passion is made palpable through sensuous descriptions of movements and physical forms. Seasonal changes in nature and bodily signs of inner feeling are colored richly to create a dense atmosphere of passion. The theorists dictated that the gestures exposing a character’s mental states must be subtle, expressive enough to arouse a sensitive audience but never so crudely detailed that they stimulate wanton desire. In the Gitagovinda, this restraint functions to make potentially pornographic subject matter the material of esthetic and religious experience.

In Jayadeva’s environment of springtime (sarasavasanta, I.27*), Radhā and Krishna are vehicles (vyabhāva) for the universalization of erotic emotion. These youthful figures with gleaming flesh and lotus-petal eyes manifest signs of emotion (vyabhicāribhāva, sāttvikabhāva) to communicate the passion of their separation. For Jayadeva, their longing and reunion is the concrete example of religious experience in which the disquieting distinction between “I” and “mine” verses “you” and “yours” is calmed. The esthetic experience of their love is the means for breaking the imaginary barrier dividing human from divine.

The poet’s direct presence throughout the poem dramatizes his view that the discipline of esthetic perception is a way to enjoy Krishna’s gracefull love. Each signature verse is a variation on the idea that the emotional states of Radhā and Krishna have religious power through the medium of the poet’s lyric presentation.

Insight into Jayadeva’s conception is found by following the way he presents his characters through the movement of the poem’s twelve parts. After evoking Radhā and Krishna in their secret erotic relationship and stating his own aim, Jayadeva invokes the ten cosmic incarnations of Krishna. He proceeds to present increasingly intimate aspects of Krishna’s relation to existence, focusing on the suffering he shares with Radhā in the frustration of their love. Krishna’s ecstatic reunion with Radhā within the forest thicket in springtime allows the poet’s audience to witness the center of existence. The vision (darśana) of Krishna revealed through Radhā at the end of the poem is a vision of the soul of his erotic mood (ekarasa, XI.24–31, song 22). Its effect is comparable with Krishna’s manifestation to Arjuna in the eleventh chapter of the Bhagavadgītā. Radhā’s heart, strengthened by the long trial of their separation and by the force of Krishna’s suffering, is filled with erotic mood (sarasamanas, XII.1)
that is the consummation (sambhogadāṅgāra) of the erotic, esthetic, religious experience Jayadeva creates for himself and his audience. This vision is contained within the structure of the poem, like the vision that climaxes a worshipper's controlled approach to the deity in the womb of a Hindu temple. On another level, the poetic perspective follows the movement of Rādhā's friend (sakhī), who goes between the parted lovers to describe the condition of each to the other. This perspective begins on Rādhā's side, but it subtly shifts to mediate between Rādhā and Krishna and bring them into union. The friend, the poet, and the audience share the experience of secretly participating in the play of divine love. The Gitagovinda begins with a classical verse indicating the subject of the poem."

"Clouds thicken the sky.
Tamāla trees darken the forest.
The night frightens him.
Rādhā, you take him home!"
They leave at Nanda's order,
Passing trees in thickets on the way,
Until secret passions of Rādhā and Mādhava
Triumph on the Jumna riverbank.

The place, the time, the characters, and their relationship in the poem are superficially clear in this verse. But details of the episode are rich in symbolism and have encouraged complicated interpretations of Jayadeva's meaning. Most interpretations turn on the identification of the speaker of the first half of the verse and on the reference to Krishna's "fear" and Rādhā's role as his guide through the dark forest. The opening speech is variously attributed to Krishna, Rādhā, Nanda, or even the friend of Rādhā. Jayadeva is characteristically ambiguous here—the many voices that are possible in the verse all direct the sexual energies of Krishna toward Rādhā, but each voice slightly shifts the quality of the darkness and of Krishna's fear. When we hear Krishna's foster-father, the cowherd-chief Nanda, address Rādhā, Krishna's youthful fear of the dark is suggested. When we hear Rādhā speaking to herself, the words suggest a woman sensing the sexual fear of her adolescent lover. When we hear Krishna himself speaking he is courting Rādhā in the veiled language of love, where feigned fear is a device of seduction. The composite voice further suggests that fear may relate to the cosmic age of darkness, the Kali Yuga, for which the union of Rādhā and Krishna is the cure.
The darkness of the night in the forest is described in voluptuous sounds and imagery that echo through the entire poem. It is in this secret, sexually stimulating environment that Krishna and Rādhā enact the initial triumph of their divine love and then suffer the long night of separation that ends in their reunion. They follow the path through the forest as a pair, which Jayadeva calls Rādhā-Mādhava. The triumph of their passions occurs in this dual state, which is the defining structure of their relationship in the Gitagovinda. The “home” to which Rādhā brings Krishna is a forest thicket (kuṇja), the secret place of their divine love, in which they meet again at the end of their journey.

The erotic mysticism of the Gitagovinda, which inspired the Vaishnava saint Caitanya, was interpreted allegorically by Caitanya’s followers in terms of the Sahajiyā doctrine of devotional esthetics (bhaktirasa); they used love as a metaphor whose primary reference was a metaphysical conception. Although many elements in the Gitagovinda are codified in the Sahajiyā doctrine of love, this reading seems artificial. Jayadeva’s verses nowhere praise unbodied joy; they are explicitly sensual, and celebrate the sensual joy of divine love. Through imagery, tone color, and rhythm, Jayadeva interweaves levels of physical and metaphysical associations, and the cosmic energy of Krishna’s love with Rādhā is condensed into a religious ecstasy.

4 Krishna: Cosmic Cowherd Lover

Krishna’s mythology is ancient and complicated, emerging in the earliest levels of the epic Mahābhārata and developing through the various phases of Purānic literature. The history and significance of the Krishna legend has been analyzed in numerous scholarly studies; the summary that follows borrows freely from them.

The process of Krishna’s deification is discernible in epic literature. In the accounts of him in the Mahābhārata and the Harivānśa, his character is a transparent composite of a cowherd hero and a tribal chief who is also a form, or an incarnation (avatāra), of the god Vishnu. The mundane and cosmic levels of his activity are interwoven in the narratives to encompass elements from various sources in a complex mythic structure. The basic account includes Krishna’s miraculous birth, his concealment
among cowherds to protect him from his demonic uncle Kāṁsa, his childhood pranks and miraculous deeds in the cowherds' village, his youthful sexual play in the forest with the cowherdesses of Vraja, his destruction of demons, his defeat and killing of Kāṁsa, his role in the Bhārata war as the cunning and unscrupulous counsellor-cousin of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, and his violent death. In the Bhagavadgītā, he teaches a syncretic religion of devotion to his Pāṇḍava companion Arjuna and reveals himself to be the all-God, who is called Vishnu. The fusion of Krishna with Vishnu involved a transfer of many of Vishnu's epithets, as well as his functions, to Krishna. The divine-cowherd episodes of Krishna's legend became the focus of the medieval devotional cults that emphasized erotic mysticism, and in the process his divinity became distinct from the other incarnations of Vishnu. Krishna emerged as the supreme god of the Kali Yuga, the cosmic age of darkness.

From ancient times, Indian culture has attributed extraordinary power to names and the act of name-giving, especially the naming of gods. The traditional practice in Hindu ritual of chanting a series of a god's thousand names (sastras divisions) is evidence of this. Epithets are characterizing names, frequently taking the form of descriptive compound words (bahu-vrihisamāsa) in Sanskrit. Although some epithets are petrified into obscure ornamental formulas, most of them function to delineate the subject's character by evoking his deeds, relations, physical forms, and qualities. The particular names and epithets a sophisticated poet like Jayadeva chose from among the myriad names of Krishna must have been meant to set the figure in a pattern of specific associations.

Most of Krishna's epithets in the Gita Govinda are traceable to older sources. The epithet Bhagavat, Lord, which is prominent in the Mahā-bhārata, the Harivamsa, and various Purāṇas and which is referred to in the title of the Bhagavadgītā, is notably absent in the Gita Govinda. Its absence, along with the absence of terms like dharma, karma, and bhakti, encourages the speculation that Jayadeva was consciously distinguishing the Krishna he worshipped from the object of the orthodox Bhāgavata cult. This is consonant with the poet's concentration on Krishna's special relation to Rādhā, the isolated figure who contrasts with the cowherdess group and who is ignored in early Bhāgavata texts. The epithets Jagadīśa, Lord of the World, and Jayadeva, God of Triumph, are textually associated with Krishna for the first time in the Gita Govinda. Their use in the opening songs is crucial to appreciating the conceptual framework and

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movement of the poem. The epithets Dasavidhārūpa and Dasākṛṣṭikṛt, referring to Krishna in his ten incarnations, are similarly significant.

The various epithets are defined below, in order of their appearance in the text of the poem, with references to other sources. Chapters and verses in the text of the Gitagovinda are referred to by Roman and Arabic numerals; an asterisk placed after a verse number indicates a refrain.

Mādhava (I.1; III.2; IV.1, 2*, 7; V.7; VII.12, 39; VIII.2*; IX.2*; XI.14*) literally means “related to madhu.” Madhu may mean “springtime,” or “honey,” or “the progenitor of Krishna’s own Yadu clan.” The relation of the progenitor Madhu to the demon Madhu whom Krishna destroys is unclear. Daniel H. H. Ingalls suggests that the whole myth of the demon rests on a misunderstanding of the name Mādhava, “springtime.” It may be that the “misunderstanding” was intended by storytellers to amplify the meaning of the epithet as it applies to Krishna. In the Gitagovinda, madhu is used to mean “honey” (I.36; VI.2; VII.6; X.2*; XI.18), “springtime” (I.46), and “the demon Madhu” (I.20). The epithets Madhusūdana, “killer of Madhu” (I.25; 40; II.17; VII.9), Madhuripu, “enemy of Madhu” (II.9; 18; V.1, 14; VI.5; VII.13, 29; XII.9), and Madhumathana, “tormentor of Madhu” (XI.2*) indicate that Krishna conquered madhu, but it remains uncertain how madhu is to be understood. If these epithets and Mādhava are understood as a complex of related meanings, they seem to suggest that Krishna conquered and absorbed into himself the power of what he conquered, whether it was “springtime” or “honey” or Krishna’s own progenitor, all of which are potentially dangerous and so “demonical.” Springtime, personified in Indian literature as the companion of the god of love, is erotically powerful and painful for parted lovers. Honey, the prized raw food of the forest, is cited as an aphrodisiac of power and danger in early brahmanical literature. Lévi-Strauss offers an analysis of honey in South American myths as a paradisical seducer and disruptor of marital ties, and one can see a parallel relation between Krishna’s seductive, antinomian sexual behavior and his metaphoric association with honey. The conventional Indian sexual image of the bee acting like a lover in producing and drinking honey further widens the meaning of Krishna’s association with honey. Bees are referred to in the poem by the common Sanskrit epithets madhukara, “honey-maker” (I.27; VII.25), madhupa, “honey-drinker” (I.36; V.4; XI 4. 18), and madhuvatata, “busy with honey” (II.1). The
dominant meanings of *madhu* thus provide a strongly erotic context for the verbal play of *Mādhava* and related epithets in the *Gitagovinda*.¹²

Vāsudeva (I.2) refers to Krishna’s royal birth in the Yadu clan as the son of Vasudeva and Devaki. It is a common epithet of Krishna throughout epic literature.¹³

**HARI** (I.4, 5*, 17*, 27*, 34, 38*, 39, 43, 46; II.1, 2*; IV.9, 17; V.14, 15; VI.2*, 6, 7; VII.3, 7, 10, 14, 29, 38; IX.1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 9; XI.6, 8, 9, 13, 24*, 31; XII.1, 19) literally means “the tawny one,” but Vaishnava commentators interpret it to mean “the destroyer of pain,” derived from the Sanskrit root √ḥṛ. Hari is a common name of Vishnu in his cosmic form and his various incarnations in the epics and Purānas. It is probably borrowed from the Vedic name of Indra, whose characteristics Vishnu and Krishna absorb.¹⁴ The ambiguity of reference in the name Hari reflects the identification of Krishna, as Jagadīśa, with the cosmic form and function of Vishnu.¹⁵ The similarity between Hari and Śiva’s name Hara, “the destroyer” (III.11), is exploited by Jayadeva for ironical effect.

**KEŚAVA** (I.5*, 45; IV.11*; VIII.2*; XI.1) means “long-haired.” It is traditionally related to Krishna’s killing of the horse-demon Keśin.¹⁶ Like Hari, it refers ambiguously to Vishnu and Krishna in epic and Purānic literature.

**JAGADĪŚA** (I.5*) means “Lord of the World.” In the refrain of the song of invocation, it indicates Krishna’s cosmic supremacy. In the Jagannātha cult of Orissa, which probably provided the context for the composition of the *Gitagovinda*, Krishna is identified with the composite Buddhist-Savite-Vaishnavite form of Jagannātha.¹⁷

**DASĀVIDHARŪPA** (I.15) means “having a tenfold form.” It indicates that Krishna is at once all of the ten forms of cosmic power he assumes in his awesome aspect (*aśvarya*) in order to save the world. The same is meant by *Dasākṛttkṛt* (I.16). The ten forms of Jagadīśa are a variant of the ten incarnations of Vishnu; in Purānic literature Krishna instead of Balarāma is usually the eighth incarnation. The incarnations were originally independent legends that came to center on Vishnu as the preserver of order when it is imperiled. Various aspects of the legends are emphasized in different texts. The content of the *Gitagovinda* song is not traceable to any single source.¹⁸

The awesome aspect of Krishna, which the ten forms vividly portray, recedes as Krishna’s lover-hero role (*nāyaka*) is elaborated in the poem to

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dramatize his honey aspect (mādhurya) in relation to Rādhā. But the cosmic power remains a background for the intimacy of the lovers throughout the poem; the intimacy offers a dimension of cosmic power on which human perception can focus. The complex and powerful manifestations of cosmic reality are concentrated in emotions that are carefully patterned for esthetic experience. In the terminology of Indian esthetics, the song of invocation to Krishna’s tenfold form expresses the mood of wonder (adbhutarasa), whose presence is essential to Jayadeva’s religious transformation of the mood of erotic love (śṛṅgārarasa).

Jayadeva presents the ten forms of Jagadīśa as follows:

1. Mīnāśarīra (I.5), the Fish-form, more commonly called Matsyāvatāra. The ancient myth of the deluge and man’s rescue by a giant fish, which is told in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (I.8.1–6), is the basis of later versions. The Gitagovinda refers to the theft of the Vedas from Brahmā by a sea demon as the former is entering the sleep of cosmic dissolution. Hari takes on the form of a fish and, by means of the deluge, destroys the demon and recovers the Vedas.

2. Kacchhaparūpa (I.6), the Tortoise-form. The Gitagovinda refers to the creative power of the giant tortoise in relation to earth, an association that is made in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (VII.5.1.5). This form is better known, as Kūrmāvatāra, for supporting Mt. Mandara when the gods and demons churn the sea to obtain the elixir of immortality.

3. Būkārārūpa (I.7), the Boar-form, another name for Varāhāvatāra. The giant boar rescues the earth by raising it out of the ocean depths on one of his tusks.

4. Naraharirūpa (I.8), the Man-lion form, another name for Narasimhāvatāra. It is the form in which Hari destroys the infidel King Hiranyakāśipu, who threatened his own son Prahlāda with death because of the son’s devotion to Hari. Hiranyakāśipu had been given a boon of invulnerability by day or night, by god, man, or beast, inside or outside his palace, and to overcome it the god appears at twilight as a man-lion inside a pillar and reaches out to dismember the king.

5. Vāmanarūpa (I.9), the Dwarf-form. The three cosmic strides of Vishnu form the basis of the dwarf myth. The demon Bali, usurper of Indra’s power, grants three paces of land to Hari when he comes to him in the guise of a dwarf. Then Hari assumes his cosmic shape.

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and traverses earth, atmosphere, and heaven. The Gitagovinda refers to Hari’s wet feet, which the demon, in his hospitality, has washed to welcome his guest.  

6. Bhṛgupātirūpa (I.10), the form of the Bhṛgu chief better known as Parasurāma, “axe-wielding Rāma,” who reestablishes order in the world by putting an end to the tyranny of the warrior class.

7. Rāmaśārīra (I.11), the form of the “charming” Rāmacandra, Prince of Ayodhyā, who is alternately called Raghupātirūpa. He is the hero of Valmiki’s epic Rāmāyaṇa and of the Rāmopākhyāna of the Mahābhārata (III.258–76). His purpose as an incarnation of Hari is the killing of the ten-headed demon king Rāvana, whose evil power threatens the world. The abduction of his wife Sitā by Rāvana and his defeat of Rāvana and Rāvana’s general Duṣāna, “the corrupting one,” are referred to in the second song of the Gitagovinda (I.16, 22).

8. Haladharaśūpa (I.12), the form of the plowman Balarāma, elder brother of Krishna. Haladharasodara, “brother of Haladhara,” refers directly to Krishna (VII.28). Balarāma and Krishna are alternative incarnations of Vishnu in some texts; in other texts they are both partial incarnations, each representing a hair of Vishnu, one white and one black. Balarāma is known for his addiction to wine, paralleling Krishna’s addiction to women. The Gitagovinda refers to the episode where he drunkenly orders the Jumna river to move close so he can sport there. When the river fails to obey, he throws his weapon, the plowshare, into her and makes the river bend to him.

9. Buddhaśārīra (I.13), the form of the “enlightened one,” Gautama Buddha. Buddha is not an incarnation in the Mahābhārata or the Harivānśa, but he appears as such in the texts of early Purānic literature. The orthodox Hindu view stresses that Buddha’s emphasis on moral values, as opposed to Vedic ritual, is valuable only in confusing men and fostering the social chaos that marks the decline of the Kali Yuga. Jayadeva’s linking of Buddha’s condemnation of Vedic ritual with his compassion for animal victims is a more positive view, consonant with the syncretism characterizing the worship of Krishna as Jagadīśa in the Gitagovinda.

10. Kalkiśārīra (I.14), the form of the avenger, Kalki, who appears with a blazing sword on a white horse at the end of the Kali Yuga to punish barbarians and sinners.
KRŚNA is anglicized as Krishna in this volume to render recurring reference to the hero of the Gitagovinda less artificial for English readers (I.16, 26; II.10; VIII.3, 7; X.5; XII.21); it literally means “black,” or “dark.” It is a prominent name of the epic hero who is identified with Vishnu in the Mahābhārata and who is counted as one of the standard incarnations of Vishnu. Krṣṇa Devakīputra is mentioned in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (III.17.6) as a pupil of the mythical teacher Ghora Aṅgiras; scholars have made much of the reference, but it is too isolated to be significant. In the Gitagovinda, Krishna is Jagadīśa, the cosmic power of the Dark Age. His relationship with Rādhā is set in the context of his youthful adventures among the cowherds and his adolescent erotic play with the cowherdesses in Brindaban forest.  

JAYADEVA (I.17*) is interpreted as a dependent compound (tatpurushasamāsa) meaning “God of Triumph.” This is derived by reading the refrain of the second song as jaya jayadeva hare, “Triumph, God of Triumph, Haril” to parallel the refrain of the first song, which is jaya jagadīśa hare, “Triumph, Lord of the World, Haril”  

The commentator Śaṅkaramiśra, referring to the opening verse of the poem, points out that Krishna’s triumph as the hero (nāyaka) of the Gitagovinda is in sexual play (keha). Rādhā is called “Love’s living goddess of triumph,” anaṅga-jayajaṅgama-devatā (III.15). The epithet of Krishna is identical with the name of the author of the Gitagovinda. In this function, Jayadeva occurs in the signature stanza (bhanita) of each song, as well as in some verses (I.2, 4, 15, 24, 34, 45; II.9, 18; III.10; IV.9, 18; V.6, 15; VI.9; VII.10, 20, 29, 38; VIII.9; IX.9; X.9; XI.9, 21, 31; XII.9, 19, 21, 22).  

HĀMṢA, (I.18), the Indian wild goose, which migrates to the Himalayas every spring to mate on Lake Mānasā, according to legend. It is symbolic of the Universal Spirit (parabrahman). Mānasā also means “mental” and the poet’s reference is to Krishna as the Universal Spirit in the minds of sages.  

MURĀRĪ (I.37; V.12; VII.21, 22*; XI.21), or Muravārin (X.9), means “enemy of Mura.” Mura is a demon who is associated with another demon named Naraka in the Mahābhārata (I.59, etc.), as in the Gitagovinda (I.20).  

PĪTAVASANA (I.38; II.7), or Pitāmbara (XII.20), means “wearing a yellow cloth.” It is an ancient epithet of Krishna, referring to the light garment that contrasts with his dark skin.  

VANAMĀLIN (I.38; V.2*, 8*; VII.31*) means “wearing a garland of forest flowers” and symbolizes Krishna’s sensual presence in the forest.  

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Govinda (II.19; V.17; VI.1; XI.23; XII.21) is probably a Prakritic form of gopendra (gov'inda), which means "chief of the cowherds." It can also be derived from go 'ved to mean "protector of cows." In either case, the epithet refers to Krishna's adolescence in the forest among the pastoral people of Vraja, the period of his awesome feats of strength, seductive flute playing, and sexual rites. The title Gitagovinda has these associations; the young dark lord of the forest is the subject of the poet's singing.

Keśimathana (II.11*) means "tormentor of the demon Keśin." In the Harivarsha (62.69), Keśin is called "the meanest of horses," turagādhama.  

Kamśāri (III.1) means "enemy of Kaṁsa." It refers to the rivalry between Krishna and his uncle, the demonic King Kaṁsa.  

Upendra (IV.20) means "Indra's younger brother." In the Gitagovinda verse it is used to form a pun on the name of the meter upendravajrā.  

Janardana (VII.12) means "exciting to men." It is a common epithet of Krishna in the Mahābhārata, the Harivarsha, and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.

Nārāyana (XII.2*) literally means "related to nara, man." In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII.3.4.1) it is an epithet of Puruṣa, the primordial man. Throughout the Mahābhārata it is the name of Vishnu or Krishna in the role of cosmic creator.  

Yadunandana (XII.12, 12*) means "joy of the Yadu clan." Like the epithet Vāsudeva, it refers to Krishna's royal birth.

In addition to the epithets that Jayadeva chose to characterize Krishna, references to characters, places, and events from various Vaishnava myths are used to expand the context of the poem. The role of Krishna's foster-father, the cowherd-chief Nanda, in the opening verse is barely indicated by the adverbial compound nandanideśataḥ, "at Nanda's order." But the presence of the name emphasizes that Krishna is young as his sexual play begins. References to Krishna's defeat of the serpent-king Kāliya (I.19) and the bird-demoness Pūtaniṅgā (VIII.8) evoke heroic events of his legend. Kāliya was punished for befouling the Jumna waters and Pūtaniṅgā was killed when the baby Krishna sucked her life from her by taking the poisoned breast she offered him. Garuḍa (I.20) is the anthropomorphized eagle who usually serves as Vishnu's vehicle.

The sexual freedom enjoyed by the adolescent cowherd is symbolized by Krishna's simple bamboo flute, which is called vamsa (I.43; II.2, 19) or venu (V.9). Like the flower arrows shot by the god of love, Krishna's
magical flute is an adolescent instrument for arousing and sustaining sexual desire. Both the arrow and the flute, with their obvious phallic significance, function in this way in the myths of many societies. The culminating effect of Krishna’s flute-playing is the ritual circular dance, called rāsa (I.43; II.2*), which he performs under the full moon of autumn with the cowherdesses. The common version of the story recounts Krishna’s seduction of the cowherdesses by the melodic call of his flute in the woods of Brindaban (Vṛndāvana) on the banks of the river Jumna (Yamunā). Krishna remains elusive, but promises to dance with the girls in autumn, when the heat and rains are finished. On a night of the full moon, Krishna goes toward the forest playing his flute. The cowherdresses follow and form a circle around him, like stars around the moon. By his magic power, he multiplies himself to dance with all the cowherdresses at once. This rite of autumn acts as a foil for his springtime play with his cowherdess consort Rādhā.

In Indian myth, spring is the ally of Kāma, the god of love. The sexual aggression of Love is portrayed in the myth of his body’s destruction by Śiva when he interrupted Śiva’s meditation with flower arrows to arouse the divine ascetic’s desire for Pārvatī, the daughter of Himālaya. In his relation to Rādhā, Krishna is both the object of Love’s attack and the embodiment of Love’s creative sensuality.

By representing his divine hero with a complex of characteristics known from older religious sources, Jayadeva thus sets Krishna’s relation with Rādhā in a sacred framework. Krishna’s relation to all living beings is expressed through his ten incarnate forms. His personal spiritual relation to human beings is expressed through the form of the flute-playing adolescent cowherd. His intense spiritual intimacy with an individual human being is expressed through the divine sensuality of his love with Rādhā.

As the divine lover and object of the poet’s worship, Krishna is the embodiment of erotic mood (śīṅgāramūrdtman, I.46) and the essence of esthetic experience (ekarasa, XI.24*). His relation with Rādhā epitomizes the classical pattern of erotic love in Sanskrit drama and poetry. Krishna is referred to by standard forms of address given for the dramatic hero (nāyaka) in Bharata’s Nātyaśāstra, such as “beloved” or “lover” (kānta, VII.11, XII.10, 11; dayata, I.47, VII.17, 30; priya, IV.21, V.16, VII.30, VIII.1, X.12, XI.32, 33, XII.5, 13; vallabha, VII.30), “cheat” (kitava, VI.10), and “rogue” (tatha, VII.30). These familiar forms of address complement the sensuous surface that emerges from descriptions of Krishna’s ornamented physical presence and his manifestations of emo-

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tion. By such means the poet encourages his audience to approach the
divine lover through esthetic experience. The ingenious integration of
religious, erotic, and esthetic meaning that Jayadeva achieves in the struc-
ture of the Gitagovinda is basic in the character of Krishna too.

5 Rādhā: Consort of Krishna’s Springtime Passion

Rādhā is one of the most obscure figures in early Indian literature. Until
Jayadeva made her the heroine of his poem, she appeared only in stray
verses scattered through various Purāṇas, anthologies of Prākrit and
Sanskrit poetry, works of literary esthetics, grammar, poetry, drama, and
a few inscriptions. In the Gitagovinda, Rādhā is neither a wife nor a
worshipping rustic playmate. She is an intense, solitary, proud female who
complements and reflects the mood of Krishna’s passion. She is Krishna’s
partner in a secret and exclusive love, contrasted in the poem with the
circular rāsa dance Krishna performs with the entire group of cow-
herdesses. Krishna disappears after this dance, deserting the cowherdresses;
but he stays with Rādhā to admire and ornament her. Her relationship
with Krishna culminates in their union and mutual “victory” (jaya) over
each other. In Jayadeva’s view, the profound intimacy of Krishna’s con-
centration on Rādhā, in contrast with the diffusion of erotic energy in his
play with the cowherdesses, is the perfection of Krishna’s nature.¹

Jayadeva’s reference to his heroine focuses on one name, Rādhā (I.1, 26;
II.1; III.1; IV.20; V.1; VI.2*; XI.1, 13, 14*, 24, 32; XII.1, XII.11) and its
diminutive, Rādhikā (I.37; III.2; IV.1, 11*; X.9, XI.2*; XII.2*). Names
of Krishna’s divine consort, such as Śrī (I.2; I.23), Padmāvatī (I.2; X.9;
XI.21), Kamalā (I.17), Padmā (I.25), and Lakṣmī (XI.22), occur to place
Rādhā in the appropriate cosmic context. Rādhā’s role as the female
counterpart of her lover is consonant with the meaning of her name,
which is related to the word rādhas. In Vedic and Purānic literature,
rādhas and other forms of the root ṛādḥ have meaning of “perfection”
and “success,” even “wealth.”² The Vedic god most closely associated
with rādhas is Indra, who bears the epithet “Lord of Success” (rādhas-
pati).³ In the Mahābhārata and various Purāṇas, the rivalry between
Indra and Vishnu/Krishna results in the transference of elements of
Indra’s great power to Vishnu/Krishna. Among these elements are female
powers associated with Indra, such as Śrī in the episode of the churning

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of the ocean. Indra lost Śrī through a curse by the sage Durvāsa and Vishnu reclaimed her as his spouse. A similar pattern may well account for Krishna’s role as “Lord of Success” (rādhaspati) in relation to Rādhā, the feminine personification of rādhā. This explanation helps to clarify the parallelism between the pair Śrī/Lakṣmi-Vishnu/Krishna and the pair Rādhā-Krishna that is suggested in many stray verses antedating the Gitagovinda. There is no need to construct fanciful etymologies for the word rādhā, but this has been the approach of the Sanskrit commentators on the Gitagovinda and more recently of the linguist Sukumar Sen. Such accounts offer no clue to why the association between Rādhā and Krishna was made.

In the absence of direct textual evidence it remains impossible to know when and in what circumstances the Rādhā-Krishna pair originated. What we find in the available Prākrit and Sanskrit sources suggests that the poets and critics are dealing with a familiar subject. The name Rādhā seems to carry overtones of meaning from astral mythology. Although there is no reference to the pair in Vedic literature, the word rādhā occurs in the Atharva Veda (XIX.7.3) in relation to the two stars called vīśākhā. Later references to rādhā as the name of a feminine constellation or star-cluster (naksatā) associate her with Indra. Indra is called a “cowherd” (gopā) and is paired with a vīśākhā in several Vedic contexts. In the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa (3.1.1.11) two vīśākhās are described as the chief female consorts (adhipatni) of the male constellations (naksatāra) and are paired with Indra and Agni, who are called the two best cowherds. In the Taittiriya Samhitā (4.4.11), in the section where the building of the fire altar (agnīcayana) is described, the layers of bricks are pairs of feminine constellations and masculine deities. The feminine vīśākhās are paired with the masculine deities Indra and Agni. These associations are especially significant when it is recalled that Indra is the “Lord of Success” (rādhaspati).

In the same Taittiriya Samhitā passage the pairs of months of the various seasons are named; the months of spring (vāsantkāv rtā) are named madhu and mādhava. In the Mahābhārata, Vishnu is related to the constellations by his epithet Nakṣatrin, “Lord of Constellations,” and to spring by the epithets Mādhu and Mādhava that he shares with Krishna. Mādhava is a major epithet of Krishna in epic and later literature. Krishna is also associated in several contexts with various feminine constellations. Whether or not the equation of rādhā with vīśākhā in commentaries on the Atharva Veda passage is based on a “misunder-
standing” of the word anurādhā, as Whitney suggests, it is clear that by the fifth century, rādhā was held to be another name for the constellation viśākhā.11 With the equating of month names and constellation names, viśākhā became one of the months of spring, creating another link between rādhā and mādhava. The somewhat esoteric character of these associations may have increased the appeal of Rādhā as a consort for Krishna in a secret relationship. In these two aspects, she represents, like Lakṣmī, the power of “success” and she incarnates, like Śiva’s Pārvatī, a phenomenon of nature. Both aspects illuminate her association with Krishna.12

Because of the fluidity of Purānic texts, it is impossible to date or locate the relationship of Rādhā and Krishna from them. However, the pattern of Rādhā’s presence and absence in some major Purāṇas is relevant to the problem. As disciples of the sixteenth-century Vaishnava saint Caitanya, who was considered an incarnation of the divine lovers Rādhā and Krishna, the Gosvāmins searched Purānic literature to find references that would establish Rādhā’s old and high status within orthodox Vaishnavism.13 References to Rādhā by name in early Purāṇas such as the Matsya, the Līnga, and the Varāha are significant, but few. Rādhā’s elaborate treatment in the Brahmavaivarta and Padma Purāṇas seems to postdate the Caitanya movement.14 There is no direct reference to Rādhā in the Hariyamāṇa, the Vismu Purāṇa or the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. But the mention of a favored cowherdess who is “worshipped” or “desired” (ārādhitā) by Krishna in the tenth book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa15 led the Gosvāmins to derive the name Rādhā from ārādhitā and to claim Rādhā’s place in the text.16

The heroine of the Gitagovinda is so complex that it seems absurd to seek Jayadeva’s model for her in the allusions to the arrogant girl (dṛptā) of the Bhāgavata episode. Krishna’s special mistress is presented there to criticize the exclusivism that Krishna’s relationship with her represents. If the Bhāgavata authors are referring to Krishna’s consort Rādhā, they seem to be rejecting her relationship with Krishna as an inappropriate model for the devotee. The possessive attitude manifested in her secret encounter with Krishna is antithetical to the values presented in the Bhāgavata and the attitude is criticized for its perversity (dauṭāmya, X.30.42). It is not unlikely that the authors of the Bhāgavata knew a rival cult centering on Krishna and his cowherdess-consort and were critical of it.

Charlotte Vaudeville, in her article entitled “Evolution of Love-
Symbolism in Bhagavatism, has stated her supposition that the author of the *Bhāgavata* was specifically rejecting the figure of Nappināi, as she appears in the Tamil Āḻvār poetry of Āṇḍal and Nāmāḻvār. Here Nappināi is the daughter, or daughter-in-law, of Nandagopāl and the wife of Krishna; she is an incarnation of Vishnu’s consort Niladevi. It is possible that Nappināi is the source of the Rādhā conception in Prākrit and Sanskrit literature, but the two figures more likely represent independent variants; their characteristic relations with Krishna are different. In the ritual dance called *kuravai*, Krishna dances with his wife Nappināi, while Krishna’s relationship with Rādhā is a secret, erotic rite.

The character of Rādhā and her unique association with Krishna that Jayadeva brought to his *Gitagovinda* from earlier literature is not apparent from any single source, but details emerge from the collection of stray verses that refer to her. A chronological catalogue of these references suggest an old tradition surrounding the secret love of Rādhā and Krishna.

From the *Sattasai* of Hāla (dated first to seventh centuries by various scholars):

- Krishna, removing cow-dust from Rādhikā
- With the breath of your mouth,
- You sweep away the high esteem
- These other cowherdesses have for you. (86)

From the *Gaudavahā* of Vākpati (late seventh or early eighth century):

- Let nail marks Rādhā makes remove your pain—
- They are rich with mood.
- They are shining on Krishna’s chest
- Like his magical kaustubha gem. (22)

From the *Venisāṁhāra* of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa (antedates A.D. 800):

- Angered in sensual play, she lost her mood for love
- In the rāsa dance on sandbanks of the Jumna river.
- When Kaṁsa’s foe followed Rādhikā
- As she left in a choking veil of tears,
- His body hairs seemed to bristle
- From his steps touching her footprints
- And from her calmed, loving looks—
- May you prosper from Krishna’s innocent plea! (2)

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From the *Dhvanyāloka* of Anandavardhana (mid-ninth century): 24

Say, friend, if all is well still with the bowers
that grow upon the Jumna bank,
companions to the dalliance of cowherd girls
and witnesses to Rādhā's love.
Now that there is no use to cut their fronds
to make them into beds for love,
I fear their greenness will have faded
and they grown old and hard. (2.6)

Gracious love, Rādhā is difficult indeed to please—
her tears fall even as you wipe them away
With the cloth that covered some true love's loins.
"Women's hearts are hard, so enough flattery! Leave me alone!"
He was told this whenever Hari tried to placate her—
May he grant you his blessing! (3.41)

From the *Dhvanyālokalocana* of Abhinavagupta (early tenth century): 25

Then when demon Madhu's foe had gone to Dvāravatī,
Rādhā embraced a sweet vine growing on the Jumna bank,
A little bent from the way he made it quiver—
Rādhā's lamenting
In a faltering voice choked by heavy tears
Made even the waterbirds wait regretfully.

From the *Kāvyamāṇa* of Rājaśekhara (late ninth or early tenth century), as an illustration of the poetic figure *tulyadehitulya*, an imitation that resembles the similarity between two similar persons: 26

Then we are going to give the different types of the imitation *tulyadehitulya*. . . . the change of subjects gives a different shape to the same theme: this is the change of subject.

May the winds of Śiva's sighs protect you
As they arise from the hollow of his right nostril,
Making lines in the ash-dust on his body,
Disrupting his yogic breathing exercise,
Licked by the serpent sheltered in his ear,
Stealing coolness the moon gives,
Witnessing the agony his mind suffers
When his body is parted from angry Pārvatī
May Hari's sighs protect you
As they burn from the fire deep within,

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Boiling the lotus-honey from his navel,
Wilting the garland on his breast,
Drunk in and spit out because of their heat
By the trembling serpent who forms his couch,
Witnessing his memory of Rādā's love,
And heard jealously by goddess Śrī.

The occurrence of Rādā's name in the two oldest-known Sanskrit compositions in mixed prose and verse (campū-kāvya) is significant. But the name occurs only once in the Damayantikāthā (early tenth century), and once in the Yalastilakacampūkāvya (a.d. 959) and the passages are spare in detail relating to Rādā. 27 In the Damayantikāthā passage the name Rādā is part of an elaborate pun. The Yalastilaka reference simply says, "Thus indeed—formerly, did Gaṅgā not sport with Maheśvara, Rādā with Nārāyaṇa, Bṛhaspati's wife with the Moon, Tārā with Valin?"

From inscriptions (dated a.d. 974, 982, and 986) of Vākpati-Muṇja, a Paramāra ruler of Malwa, in which the same two verses open each inscription, one in praise in Śiva as the lord of Pārvatī and this one in praise of Krishna as the deserted lover (vrahin) of Rādā: 28

May the active body of demon Mura's enemy protect you!
Lakṣmī's face could not please it, the ocean's waters could not cool it,
The lotus in the lake of his own navel was powerless to pacify it,
Fragrant breath from serpent Sesa's thousand mouths could not soothe it—
It was so sick with the pain of Rādā's desertion.

From the Sarasvatikanṭhābharana of Bhoja (ca. a.d. 1000–55) 29 is a verse (2.294) that is an exercise in word play known as kunnāmānīkaśta-patrābandha. Here the poet's name, Rājaśekhara, is hidden in a poem in palindromes and puns; the name emerges through a diagram of an eight-petaled lotus. The diagram was executed by H. S. Phātak of the Mysore Oriental Research Institute. The verse can be paraphrased roughly as follows: "She who bestowed a kingdom of defects, a knower of rasa that gives expansion (√ra), who speaks pretentious speech, who does wrong to the world, the full-moon maiden, whose eyelashes are like serpent Śeṣa, whose eye leads to nītiśāstra, she who travels in the sky, whose love is praiseworthy, who is charming, whose penance is several, carrier of the moon, Śrī, whose sword is sharp—let Rādā protect me; she is the incarnation who brings down serpent knowledge for masters of will who have their egos centered in Śiva." Also, from the same text:

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राजगृहरूकमलबन्धः
"Are you comfortable, Rādhā?" "Are you happy, Kāṁsa?"
"Kāṁsa?" "What is the difference between Kāṁsa and Rādhā?"
With these retorts of the cowherdess Pāri,
Hari triumphs in self-conscious laughter. (2.351)

As he tries repeatedly to lift
The raincloud-dark reflection of his own bright form,
Mistaking it for the black border of a garment
On the golden globe of Rādhā's breast,
Hari triumphs,
Laughing in shame as his love laughs at him. (3.110)

You left the house for the river to fetch water—you do not return.
Saying, "I shall bathe," you stop at bowers of vines on the Jumna bank.
Tethering the cows, you enter the thick woods of Mt. Govardhana.
Rādhā, didn't you catch sight of Krishna, Devaki's son? (4.177)

May the god who gracefully toys with Rādhā's cloth
On the surface of her breasts protect you!
Hari's hand is trembling
With sudden fear at their first encounter. (5.235)

"I have recently left Gokula, and the thought of Rādhā
Confounds me out of sleep—let it leave my bed and let 'Rādhā'
Stop coming in place of other names by day! I am afraid of this!"
May Hari's fatigue protect you!
He is spending sleepless nights, repeating Lakṣmī's name alone by day,
Trying to forget Rādhā, and delighting goddess Śrī. (5.448)

Seeing how thin Hari's arms were as he carelessly lifted Mt. Govardhana,
She rested her hand on Hari's shoulder and placed her feet on his,
Wanting to help him lift the mountain that was out of her reach—
Let the empty motions of Rādhā's hands in the sky triumph forever! (5.493)

From the Daśavatāra-carita of Ksemendra (composed in a.d. 1066): 30

While Krishna was kissing swarms of glowing nubile women,
Rādhā became most beloved for his joy—like jasmine for a bee. (83)

Then in the morning, having mounted the armed chariot,
Akrūra, Balarāma, and Krishna went to Mathurā with their retinue. (169)
"How could I have come here without bidding farewell to Rādhā?"
Mādhava sighed, felt discontent, languid, anxious at leaving. (170)
Going by way of hidden places in secret thickets of Gokula,
Krishna looked longingly, his face turned back,
The border of his garment held by his friend the forest earth—
He recalled Rādhā's "No! No! No!" while he loosened her skirt knot.
Her syllables marked by her confusion,
Her body wondrous in fear of love, her words barely intelligible. (171)
Filled with fire of Krishna’s desertion when he left for Kamsa’s city,
Like antelopes lying on smooth green banks in secret coves of the Godāvari,
Secretly, in Gokula grass, cowherdesses passionately sang Krishna’s virtues,
Heard by herds of cows standing ruminating, ears intimately erect. (172)
“His love is new and graced by shining youth,
Seductive to young women in the easy play of its gentle enchantment;
He subjugates the family of serpent Kāliya in turbulent Jumna waters,
Black as swarms of bees, cuckoos, dark lourises, and kohl;
He is harsh in killing great demons like Kesi and his sons,
Tearing dangers from Gokula, upholding Mt. Govardhana—
Could anyone’s eyes help drowning in him when he is addicted to passion,
A trembling wave of love, delighting delightful young women?” (173)
While each virtue in Krishna’s ocean of virtues
Was sung with passionate feeling,
Passion rose secretly in the cowherd girls
And frenzy struck them again and again. (174)
Since Krishna had gone away without speaking
In his zeal to show deference in the presence of the elders,
Doe-eyed women who carelessly slept on cool ground under bakula trees,
When they met him in dream embraces,
Made their slender creeper bodies echo their words by writhing—
“Rogue, let go! Let go, cheat!” the young women loudly cried. (175)
With tears, flowing away like life in Mādhava’s desertion,
Falling on her breasts’ firm tips, Rādhā was like a laden kadamba tree
As tears were strewn by her endless sighing and trembling gait—
Darkened by the delusion that was bound to all her hopes,
She became like the new rainy season engulfed in darkness (176)

From the Subhāṣitaratnakosa compiled by Vidyākara (latter half of eleventh century); these three references have not been noted in earlier works:

“O Lakṣmana, these clouds distress me who have lost my Sītā
The cruel kadamba-scented breezes cut me to the quick.”
So speaking, in his sleep, of separation
suffered in a former birth, may Hari,
glanced at jealously by Rādhā, bring you joy. (131)

“Go on ahead, milkmaids, taking home the pots already full.
Rādhā will follow later when the older cows are milked.”
May Krishna, who by subterfuge thus made the cattle station
deserted but for Rādhā and for him,
the god, foster-son of Nanda,
stole away your ills. (139)

The pilgrims in the street have warded off the painful cold
with their broad quilts sewn of a hundred rags;
and now with voices clear and sweet
they break the morning slumber of the city folk
with songs of the secret love of Mādhava and Rādhā. (980)

From the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* of Bilhana (late eleventh century): 32

Let Krishna's sword, "Delighter," reflecting joyful Lakṣmī
In its blade, hold out intense joy for you—
For demon Mura's enemy it perpetually revives
The memory of graceful Rādhā in the Jumna river's flow. (I.5)

[On his journey southward from Kashmir, Bilhana stops at Brindaban.]

Broken by Rādhā's broad hips, which sway as she swings them,
Even now the trees in Krishna's playground have not recovered—
When the circle of Mathurā's sages was shaken by playful banter,
The poet spent several days in wandering around Brindaban. (XVIII.87)

From the *Siddhahemāśabdānusāna* of Hemacandra (A.D. 1088–1172): 33

Hari danced in the courtyard, the world was wonder-struck.
Let the glow of Rādhā's breasts endure! (4.420.2)

Though Hari sees every person with full regard,
Still his glance goes wherever Rādhā is—
Who can arrest eyes ensnared by love? (4.422.5)

From the *Nasadhiyacarita* of Śriharsa (latter half of twelfth century) 34
is a verse based on the double meaning of the names Rādhā and Śrīvatsa.
The name Rādhā here refers to both Krishna's consort and Karna's foster
mother in the *Mahābhārata*, the enemy of Rādhā's son Karna is Arjuna.
Śrīvatsa means "Śrī's child" and the curl of hair on the chest of Vishnu
or Krishna.

Rādhā is as dear to you as your life—
Your friendship with Arjuna, foe of Rādhā's son, is unfitting.
But is it fitting for Śrī's lover
To hold "the child of Śrī" on your own heart forever?

From the *Āryasaptātati* of Govardhana (late twelfth century): 35

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*Introduction* 35
Friend, Tulasî, garland on the head of Madhu’s foe,
Why compare yourself in vain with Râdhâ?
All the outpouring of your fragrance
Is just to perfume her feet. (431)

When stories of how his head was washed
In royal ablution are told about Krishna,
Râdhâ, her eyes slowed by the weight of pride,
Looks down at the lotus of her own feet. (488)

In order to shame demon Madhu’s enemy,
Whose mind was drunk with all the cowherd girls,
Râdhâ, feigning innocence, asked for the story of Śiva,
Who was satisfied with half his wife. (508)

Lovely women on shores of the milky sea
Eat balls of milk made thick
By hot winds of Laksmî’s sighing,
And they sing the praises of Râdhâ. (509)

When Krishna is wandering in search
Of Râdhâ’s impassioned quivering eyes,
The god of love is creating an arrow
Perfected to pierce the ten directions. (530)

To complement Krishna’s role as the dramatic hero (nâyaka) and the embodiment of erotic mood (śrîgâramûrûman), Râdhâ is the dramatic heroine (nâyikâ) and is identified with passion (rati), the emotion (bhâva) through which erotic mood (śrîgârrasâ) develops. As passion personified, she is also consort to Kâma. When Râdhâ fulfills Krishna’s passion, she provides the emotional means for a sympathetic audience (rasâkâyana) to enjoy the extraordinary experience of Krishna’s springtime love. Through her suffering during Krishna’s desertion, as described by her to her friend (sakhi) and by her friend to Krishna, she is transformed into a powerful consort, appropriate to share Krishna’s divine love.36

Râdhâ is referred to by the standard forms of address for a dramatic heroine. Among them are “foolish woman” (mugdhadhâ, I.38; mugdha V.17; X.11,12; XI.2), “fiercely angry woman” (candi, X.11,13; XI.7),37 “proud woman” (mânî, IX.2), and “emotional woman” (bhāmnî, XII.6).

Râdhâ plays the classical heroine in seven of the eight stylized psychological states of relation to the hero (nâyikâvasthâ) that are delineated by

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theorists of Indian drama. Each of the states is identified in the text by Jayadeva with reference to its technical name or to its characteristic sign. The increasing intensity of Rādhā's desolation is dramatized by concrete manifestations of her condition in the various states. The culminating emotional intensity of her divine love with Krishna is not effected through psychological depth. It is effected through the accumulation of sensuous details expressing the chaos of feeling and fantasy a deserted woman suffers.

After their first night of love, Krishna deserts Rādhā to play with other cowherdesses. Her demand for Krishna's exclusive love, in the context of his common love (sādhāraṇapranaṇya, II.1) with the other cowherdresses, generates her state of envy (īrṣyā). A deserted cowherdess longing for love (uκtāṇḍhitagopavadhū, II.18) is her basic condition throughout the night of the drama. The power of her longing makes Krishna reciprocate her love and suffer as much as she does in their separation. The longing is emotionally amplified by the other states. She waits in vain for Krishna, dressed and ornamented for love (vāsakasajjā, VI.8). She feels herself deceived (vāścētā) by her friends (VII.3*) and by Krishna (VIII.7,9). She is jealously enraged (khandhitayuvatā, VIII.9), imagining the marks of love a rival has inflicted on Krishna. She is remorseful after quarreling (kalahāntaritā, IX.1). At her friend's urging, her modesty abandons her (salajjā lajjā vyagamad uva, XI.33) and she goes to meet her lover. After their ecstatic reunion, she feels her lover in her power (svādhīnabhārtīkā, XII.11). The graceful intimacy of Rādhā's triumph gives Jayadeva's drama its unique flavor.

The character of Rādhā in the Gitagovinda established her as Krishna's consort within later traditions of the Krishna cult. Her relative obscurity in earlier literature encouraged the view that Jayadeva had invented "Rādhā." Although he clearly did not invent her, he did create a unique heroine for Indian devotional literature.
1. There exist other literary works whose authorship is also designated "Jayadeva," but there is no evidence to associate the author of the Gitagovinda with any of these works. The play on the life of Rāma, entitled Prasanna-rāghava (edited by S. M. Paranjpe; Poona: Shiralkar, 1894), bears little conceptual or stylistic resemblance to the Gitagovinda. It is first quoted in the anthology Sūkhmuktiśāri of Bhagadatta Jalhana (edited by E. Krishnamacharya, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, 82; Baroda: Central Library, 1938), dated A.D. 1257. The Sikh tradition that lists Jayadeva among the great saints of India is based on the sixteenth-century Bhaktamāl legend (see note 2 below), but the two mixed Prākrit-Aparāthamā verses attributed to him in the Guru Granth Sahib are characterized by the kind of abstract devotionalism that is not present in the Gitagovinda; see M. A. Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion (1909; reprint, New Delhi: S. Chand, 1963), vol. VI, pp. 4-17. Jayadeva the author of the work on prosody entitled Chandahśāstra is referred to by the tenth-century critic Abhinavagupta in his Abhinavabhārati; see P. K. Gode, Studies in Indian Literary History (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1953), vol. I, pp. 138-43. The one-act Sanskrit drama Pīyūṣalahari is attributed to the author of the Gitagovinda on the basis of similarity in content; see K. Kar, "Pīyūṣa-lahari: A One-act Drama of Poet Jayadeva," Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society, 1956, pp. 291-327. Many other derivative works are attributed to the author of the Gitagovinda with no better claim. The author of the Candrāloka, a work on poetics, is known as Jayadeva Pīyūṣayya (see text edited by N. S. Khiste, Kashi Sanskrit Series 75; Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1929), nothing in the text suggests identical authorship of it and the Gitagovinda.

2. The most widely known version of the legendary life of Jayadeva is in the Hindi Bhaktamāl, edited and rewritten by Nārāyanadāsa in the middle of the seventeenth century from old Hindi verses by Nābhājīdāsa (edited by S. B. Rupakula; Lucknow: Tej Kumar Press, 1969), pp 343-64; see G. Grierson, "Modern Vernacular Hindi Literature," Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 57 (1888), 27. On the Hindi version is based the Sanskrit Bhaktamālā of Candradatta, sargas 30-41, which give the life of Jayadeva, are quoted in the introduction to the Telang and Panthakar edition of the Gitagovinda with the commentaries of Kumbhakarna and Śankarāmiśra (Bombay: Nirmayasāgara Press, 1899), pp 1-19. The best-known Bengali version of the Jayadeva legend is Vanamālidāsa's Jayadevacharita (edited by A. K. Goswami; Calcutta: Vangiya Sahitya Parishad, 1905, 85 1312). The legend is also related in the sixteenth-century Śekhisubhodaya, which centers on the life of a Muslim holy man who visited the court of Lakṣmanasena; see Sukumar Sen, ed., Śekhisubhodaya, Bibliotheca Indica, no 286 (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1963). Aspects of the legend are referred to in all the later commentaries.

A count of Jayadeva's life identifies Bhojaideva as a brahman of Kanpanji who migrated to the village of Kindubulva.

3 S. N. Chatterji, Jayadeva, Makers of Indian Literature (New Delhi: Sahitya...

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Akademi, 1973); this is largely based on the material of Harekrishna Mukhopadhyaya that introduces his edition of the Bengali version of the Gitagovinda, with the commentary of Caitanyadasa entitled Bhalobodhini, in Kavijayadeva o irigita

Richard and Carol Solomon have reminded me how similar the controversy about Jayadeva's place of origin is to the controversy surrounding the "Old Bengali" Caryapada literature. The two cases suggest that the culture, as well as the language and literature, of eastern India was more or less uniform at this time. See note 13 to section 2 below.


5. Skm. 659 = GG. VI.11; Skm. 1144 = GG. XII.10. Three additional verses attributed to Jayadeva in the Saduktikarnamrta are found in the text of the Gitagovinda on which Kumbhakarna commented (see edition of Telang and Panthikar) and which became the popular version after the sixteenth century. However, these are not found in conservative versions of the Gitagovinda and are included in the present critical edition only as variants: Skm. 294 = GG XI 33a, Skm. 1134 = GG XII.13a (a); Skm. 1160 = GG XII.13a (c). Many of the remaining verses show thematic and stylistic similarities to the Gitagovinda verses, but others attest the poet's ability to compose panegyrics to a king and descriptions of battle; see Chatterji, Jayadeva, pp. 20-28, for a collection of these verses.

6. Both Kumbhakarna, in whose text this is I.4, and the other early commentator, Mananka (text and commentary edited by V. M. Kulkarni, Ahmedabad: L. D. Bharatiya Sanskriti Vidya Mandira, 1965), interpret this verse with reference to Lakshmanasena. Mananka considers the king to be the author of the verse and Kumbhakarna considers the five, plus another named Shrutdhara, to be scholars at the court of Lakshmanasena. If Jayadeva composed the verse, he is probably elaborating the preceding reference to the goddess of speech (vagdevata. I.2) with a comment on how some famous contemporary poets, including himself, use speech in their poetry.

7 Pavanaduta of Dhoya, edited by C. Chakravarti (Calcutta: Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad, 1926). This is modeled on the Meghaduta of Kalidasa, here Kuvalayavati, a nymph from the Malaya hills, sends the wind (pavana), instead of a cloud (megha), as a messenger to Lakshmanasena.

8. See Pischel, "Die Hofdichter", Monmohan Chakravarti, "Sanskrit Literature during the Sena Rule," Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, n.s., 2, no. 5 (1906),

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157–76; S. C. Mukherji, Viymavim in Bengal, pp. 71-83; D. K. Mukherji, “Identification of some Verses by Umiśanidhara found in Two Inscriptions of Laksmanasa,” Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 41st ser., 9, nos. 3-4 (1967), 183-92. Some verses from the Arjüśaptalab from Govardhana are translated in section five of this study; texts are given in note 35 to that section. The following verse is quoted in the Durgaprasad and Parab edition of the text, Kāvyamālā, no. 1 (Bombay: Nītikāsāghara Press, 1888), p. 1:

\[ \text{govardhanā ca śarāno jaya-deva umā-patīḥ} \\
\text{ka-virājaś ca ratanāni samitān laksmanarnya ca} \]

This is reported to have been seen by Caitanya’s disciple Sanātana Gosvāmin in an inscription over the assembly hall at Laksmanasena’s capital of Navadvipa. It is otherwise unnoticed.

9 Royal patronage of Sanskrit language and literature at the court of Laksmanasena was linked to a renaissance of Sanskrit in northern India during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. The courts of Bengal, Orissa, Kashmir, Kanauj, and Dhāra were notable among centers of brahmanical scholarship and literary activity. Scholars and poets travelled extensively in the quest for patronage. Their philosophical, religious, and literary products were as complex and highly eclectic as the great Hindu temples that marked the style of the period. See K. K. Handique, Yaśantaka and Indian Culture (Sholapur: Jana Sanskrita Samrakshaka Sangha, 1949); R. C. Majumdar, et al., The Age of Imperial Kanauj and The Struggle for Empire, vols. IV and V in The History and Culture of the Indian People (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1955, 1957). Inscriptions of Vākpatu-Munija, the Paramār ruler of Malwa, at the end of the tenth century, make reference to the presence of brahmins who have migrated all the way from Bengal, see section five of this study, note 28. We also know from the poet’s biographical sketch in his Vikramāndavacarita that Bilhana travelled from Kashmir in the latter part of the eleventh century to serve as the court poet of Vikramāditya VI, the Chalukya king of Kalyani (in modern Karnataka); see Barbara Stoer Miller, Phaninars of a Love-Thief. The Courapanićcālīṭha Attributed to Bilhana (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), pp. 188-91; Helen Waddell, The Wandering Scholars (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1949).


11 For a review of the accounts of Rāmānuja’s life, see Dasgupta, History of Indian Philosophy, vol. 3, pp. 100-5. Dasgupta notes (p. 100n2) “Most of the details of Rāmānuja’s life are collected from the account given in the Prapannāmṛta by Anantācārya, a junior contemporary of Rāmānuja.”

12 J. F. Fleet, “Sanskrit and Old-Kannarese Inscriptions: Grants of Anantavarman-Chodagangadeva,” The Indian Antiquary, 18 (1889), 167-76. The most detailed analysis of the reign of Chodagangadeva is in H. K. Mahtab, History of Orissa (Cuttack: Prajñāntara Prachar Samity, 1959), pp. 196-231; a list of inscriptions by and referring to Chodagangadeva is given on pp. 209-211. See also Prabhat Mukherji, The History of Medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa (Calcutta: R. Chatterji, Introduction 41

13. See Misra, Cult of Jagannatha.


16. The Bālabodhini commentary of Caitanyadāsa, a Bengali Vaishnava scholar and devotee who lived in Vrndāvana in the late sixteenth century, gives this interpretation to the text; it is followed by Harekrishna Mukhopadhyāya in his introduction to his edition of the text and commentary, as well as by most contemporary Vaishnava writers on the Gitagovinda.


18. See Misra, Cult of Jagannatha, p. 149 Kalī Charan Patnaik, the Oriya poet who has composed an Oriya lyric version of the Gitagovinda (Cuttack: Das, 1970) and from whom I have learned much about Oriya traditions surrounding the poem and its performance, holds the title "Gitagovinda-sevaka" in the Jagannatha temple of Puri. This means that he is responsible for the singing of the daśavatāra song before the image at every evening worship and various other songs at night.

19. Cited from R. K. Majumdar, "A 15th Century Gitagovinda Ms. with Gujarati Paintings," Journal of the University of Bombay, Arts and Law, 6, no. 11, pt. 6 (1937), 127, with plate. The significance of this inscription is discussed below in relation to the critical text of the Gitagovinda.

20. These manuscripts form the basis of my critical edition of the Gitagovinda, they are described and analyzed in detail in the critical apparatus in the clothbound edition of this book. Evidence of the poem's status by the fourteenth century is the citation of verse III.11 as an example of the poetic figure nivṛtta, "certainty," in the tenth parecheda of the Sāntyadarpana of Visvanātha, edited with notes by P. V. Kane (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965), X.39.

21. See Kulkarni's edition of the text and commentary and my analysis of the early dated manuscripts of the Shorter Recension of the Gitagovinda, see also Majumdar, "15th Century Gitagovinda Ms."

22. See Telang and Panchikar edition; also R. C. Majumdar, et al., The Delhi Sultanate, vol V in The History and Culture of the Indian People (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1960), pp. 332-38; the introduction to Premlata Sharma's edition of
2 The Lyrical Structure of Jayadeva's Poem


2. Because Jayadeva's songs are characterized by long compounds in which the relations among words are fluid, any translation of the *Gitagovinda* is necessarily tentative.


6. "Song cycle" is an attempt to put the terms *prabandha* and *padavali* as Jayadeva uses them, in a meaningful relation.

7. For examples of alliteration in the verses, see I 7, 35, 36, III.15, 20; V.19. The *Rāsaśāstra* commentary offers the most complete analyses of the standard figures employed in individual verses, see Gerow, *Glosary*.

8. I use the terms *aksaraśrītta* and *śivalśrītta*, following the nomenclature most commonly found in commentaries on the *Gitagovinda*, but the term *chandhas* is sometimes found in place of *rūta* as the general word for meter. Thus syllabic meters are designated *aksaraśrītta* and *śivalśrītta*; *vānśrītta* is also used. Metric meters are designated *mātrāśrītta* and *nāṭraśrītta*, as well as *śivalśrītta*, *guṇaśrītta* is used for some meters where the beats are organized into measured units (*gona*). The metrical analysis presented here draws on the following studies. C. Lassen, *Gitagovinda* (Bonn, 1836), pp. xxv-xxvi, Sadhushan Bhattacharyya in Harakrishna Makhnopādhyāya’s *Kavipadave o Iyitagovinda* (Calcutta: Gurudas Mukhopadhyay, 1974).

9 With the exception of the meter Sloka, which allows of considerable variation, and Puspitāgrā, which is a syllabic meter with paired quarts of unequal length (ardhasamacatuspadī), the syllabic meters in the Gitagovinda have quarter-stanzas of identical length and form (samacatuspadī). The meters are noted here in order of their frequency within the text:

Sārdūlavikrīditā ( "- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - " ) I.1, 3, 16, 36, 46, 47; II.19; III.12, 13, 14; IV.10, 19, 21, V.7, 17, 18; VI.11; VII.11, 30; IX.10; X.13; XI.10, 11, 22; XII.10, 21.

Hariṇī ( "- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - " ) II.1, 10; III.11; V.16, 19; VII.2; X.10, 12; XII.1, 20.

Vasantatilakā ( "- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - " ) I.3, 25, III.15; VII.1, 41; X.1, 11; XI.12, 13.

Śākhariṇī ( "- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - " ) I.26; II.20; VIII.10; XI.32, 33.

Sloka (a and c, X X X X X X [either heavy or light], b and d, X X X X X X) [III.1; IV 1; X.13, XII.11.

Mādī ( "- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - " ) I.35, VI.10; XI.1.

Puspitāgrā (a and c, X X X X X X [either heavy or light], b and d, X X X X X X) [I.2, V.1; VIII.1.

Vamśiastha ( "- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - " ) I.37; III.2; VII.37.

Druṭatilakīṇī ( "- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - " ) I.4; VII.21.

Uṛṇḍavājra ( "- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - " ) IV.20, VII.12.

Prthvī ( "- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - " ) X.14.

Upaṭāti ( "- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - " ) XII.22.

Five of the meters are named by punning in verses where they occur: Śākhariṇī (II.20), Sārdūlavikrīditā (IV.10), Puspitāgrā (IV.22), Uṛṇḍavājra (IV.20), Prthvī (X.14). This punning is further evidence of Jayadeva's interest in the integration of sense and sound.


11. Āryā is expressed in couplets of seven and one-half measures. Most measures (gana) consists of four beats, with the standard exception of the sixth measure of the second line, which has a single beat, making the two lines asymmetrical. Further restrictions in the syllabic patterns of certain other measures give Āryā a fairly
fixed form. The opening verse of the sixth sarga (VI.1) is an example of how Sanskrit syllables may be ordered in terms of this form:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aṣṭa tūṁ gantum āśāktum ciraṁ anuraktaṁ lāṭāgrhe ċṛīvaśa} \\
\text{taucaritaṁ gopinde manuṣānāmendo sakhi prāha} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Four-beat measures in the forms \(\_\_\_\_\_\_), \(\_\_\_\_\_\_\_) or \(\_\_\_\_\) occur freely. The syllabic sequence \(\_\_\_\) is restricted to the second and fourth measures of both lines, and to the sixth measure of the first line, in which the sequence \(\_\_\_\_\_) is its only alternative. The eighth measure of each line is conventionally a heavy or light monosyllable. The frequency and position of heavy syllables, including the spondaic sequence \(\_\_\_\_), is notable in comparison with the meters of the songs; the amphibrach sequence \(\_\_\_\_) occurs only a few times in refrain verses of the songs.

12. In the terminology of classical Indian music theory (śaṅgītaśāstra), the songs are called prabhāda (the term Jayadeva uses at L2) or gītabandha. See V. G. Apte, ed., Śaṅgītaraṇāgara, Anandārama Sanskrit Series, no. 35 (Poona, Anandārama Press, 1942), chapter 4 (prabhādaḥbyāya), pp. 271-254 Chandahprabhāda designates songs that are bound up in meter (yāti), which provides their rhythmic component.


14. For example, the tenth-century Jain author Somadeva applied Prākrit and Apabhramśa meters to Sanskrit in his Yaśastilakacampu (edited by Švadatta and...
Parab, Kāvyamāla, no. 70; Bombay: Nūnayagātra Press, 1903). In the “Krṣṇāva-
tāra” chapter of Kṣemendra’s Daśāvatāracantā (VIII.173, quoted below in note 36 to section 5), the narrative is interrupted by a song sung by the cowherdesses in four lines of long, end-rhymed compounds, set in a rhythm of ten four-beat measures followed by a heavy syllable, and so resembles the metrical structure of the Gitagovinda songs. It is notable that both of these works are among the scattered sources antedating Jayadeva that contain references to Rādhā (see section 5). If one accepts the convincing argument of H. D. Velankar in favor of the authenticity of the Apabhraṃša stanzas in the fourth act of the Vikramorvaśya of Kālidāsa, there is an even earlier example of Apabhraṃśa stanzas, and stanzas in a more conven-

15: This meter is identified by the commentator Kumbhakarna as Layachandas; see Kumbha’s Sangitarāja, edited by P. Sharma (Varanasi: Hindu University Press, 1963), I.3.21; see also, H. D. Velankar, “Hemacandra’s Chandonūṣīśana,” Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 20 (1944), 29 (VII.4). The same meter occurs in songs 4, 5, 6, 8, 11, 17, 20, 22, and 23. Several other meters patterned in four-beat measures are only variants of Layachandas. The meter of the first song has couplets in unequal lines of sixteen and twenty beats; it is identified by Kumbha as Kirtikāvihalachandas and is defined in the Sangitarāja (I.3.36). The meter of songs 9, 12, 14, and 18 has couplets of four-four-beat measures. The meter of song 16 has three four-beat measures followed by a trochaic cadence (— .). The meter of song 15 has six four-beat measures followed by an iambic cadence (— —). The meter of song 24 has six four-beat measures followed by a cletic cadence (— — —). The less regular meter of the second song, which Kumbha calls Mangalachandas and defines in the Sangitarāja (I.3.39), has couplets in unequal lines of twenty and eleven beats, the first line consisting of five four-beat measures and the second line of two four-
beat measures followed by a trochaic cadence (— —). The four-beat measures are expressed predominantly in two out of five possible syllabic combinations of groups of four beats: four light syllables (— — —) or a heavy syllable followed by two light syllables (— —). Given the syllabic structure of Sanskrit, with the prominence of consonant clusters and heavy vowels, the control that Jayadeva exercises on the placement of heavy syllables is masterful. A measure of two heavy syllables (— —) normally occurs only in final position in a line of a couplet; a measure of two light syllables followed by a heavy syllable (— — —) is rare; and no measure with a heavy syllable between two light syllables (— — —) occurs.

Of the remaining five songs in the Gitagovinda, three have meters based on measures of five beats, one has a meter that is best resolved into measures of seven beats, and another is entirely irregular. The five-beat meters generally show the same preference for light syllables and the same restriction of heavy syllables to initial position within a measure that characterize the four-beat meters. The combina-
tions of five light syllables (— — — — —) or a heavy syllable followed by
three light syllables \((\ldots)\) are predominant. The meter of song 13 has couples of four five-beat measures, the last of which is a cretic cadence \((\ldots)\). The meter of song 19 has couples of six five-beat measures followed by a spondaic cadence \((\ldots)\); the cretic pattern \((\ldots)\) in the fourth measure of almost every line gives this long meter a distinctive rhythm. The meter of song 21 has couples of three five-beat measures, but the first line of each couple is lengthened by the addition of a final heavy syllable. The meter of song 7 divides into three seven-beat measures in the fixed sequence \((\ldots)\), followed by a trochaic cadence \((\ldots)\). Song 10 is expressed in five metrically identical verses of asymmetrical quarter-stanzas. The quarter-stanzas all differ in syllable sequence and moraic length, while consistently rhyming in the pattern \(a\,b\,a\,b\). The first verse of the song shows the fixed pattern:

\[
\text{vahati malayaramīre maṇadanaṁ upanidhāya} \\
\text{sphutati kuśumanīkāre virahahṛdayadānanāya} \\
\text{(\ldots) (\ldots) (\ldots) (\ldots) (\ldots) (\ldots) (\ldots)} \\
\text{(\ldots) (\ldots) (\ldots) (\ldots) (\ldots) (\ldots) (\ldots)} \\
\]


18. The refrains whose measured unit differs from the gana organization of the couples in the song may be resolved as follows:

**Song 9**: two measures of seven beats, followed by a light syllable; cf. song 7, which also seems to follow a satigana pattern, a rarity in Indian prosody.

**Song 10**: four measures of four beats, followed by two light syllables

mears

**Song 22**: one line has five measures of four beats, the second line begins with a unit of eight beats \((\ldots)\), followed by five measures of four beats.

19. There are more heavy syllables in the four-beat measures of the refrains, the spondaic unit of two heavy syllables \((\ldots)\) and the anapestic unit of two light syllables followed by a heavy syllable \((\ldots)\) occur in the interior of lines, e.g. song 16 (VII.31, refrain). The amphibrach unit of a heavy syllable between two light syllables, which is nowhere used in the four-beat meters of the couples, occurs in the refrains of songs 1, 4, 7, 17, 20, and 24.

20. See Gerow, *Glossary*, pp 102–7. It should be noted that the repetition of consonant clusters is minimal in the Gītagovinda, suggesting comparison with Prākrit and Apabhramṣa, where the clusters are normally reduced; see Gerow on grāmyānu-


21. For example, II.5.

\[
\text{vipulāra} | \text{lekhabha} | \text{polāra} | \text{valạṣta} | \text{baliạṣa} | \text{yuvạṣa} | \text{havrṣam} \\
\text{(\ldots) (\ldots) (\ldots) (\ldots) (\ldots) (\ldots) (\ldots)} \\
\text{krtriṣa} | \text{nara} | \text{manigapra} | \text{bhūṣa} | \text{krtrṣa} | \text{bhunātrasa} | \text{matrastra} \\
\text{(\ldots) (\ldots) (\ldots) (\ldots) (\ldots) (\ldots) (\ldots)} \\
\]

\*

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22. An early instance of the use of antānuprāta is the sixth sarga of Sundarākānda in the Valmikirāmāyana. Though the date of this section is debated by scholars, it is accepted in the critical edition; see G. C. Jhala, ed., Valmikirāmāyana (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1966), vol. 5, pp. 76-80.


24. See, e.g., Dandin, Kavyadarśa, edited by V. N. Ayer (Madras: Ramaswamy Sastrulu, 1964) I.51-60. Dandin discusses anuprāta in the context of delineating the differences between the two major styles of poetry, called vaucharbhīriti and gaudīriti (I.40-54). The gaudī style was located in eastern India; its exponents were noted for their love of anuprāsa. See also Bhūpa, Sarasvatīkantādhārana (Bombay: Nīr-nayāsa-gāra, Press, 1934) II.76, 77, 106; Jagannātha, Rasagandādhāra (Bombay: Nīr-nayāsa-gāra, Press, 1939), p. 89.

25. See note 9 above.

26. See section 4 below. For other examples of Jayadeva's word-play, see rasana, rāta, ranta in song 14 (VII 16, 17); and bāra, bāra, bāra in song 20 (X.6). Song 19, which begins the climax of the poem, has rich word-play on various levels. Puns in verse 1.36, in the long compound dhyānāvadhānakṣaprapātirānapurānamāmsāṣāmvarasollāsa which modifies pathikā, relate yogic meditation to lonely travelers' evocation of erotic union.

27. See Gerow, Glossary, on anuprāsa (pp. 102-7), citra (pp. 175-89), yamaka (pp. 223-38).

28. See Stella Kramrisch, The Hindu Temple, 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1946). The interplay of "surface beauty" and underlying structure is also characteristic of Indian dance and music.

29. My initial appreciation of the music of the Gitagovinda came from many hours of listening to singers in various regions of India render their versions of the songs. A deeper appreciation is based on formal study under the tutelage of Vasant Rai, Director of the Alam school of Indian Music in New York, who belongs to the tradition of Allaudin Khan, and under V. Deshpandeh at the Mysore College of Fine Arts. This attempt to define the rāga draws on Ravi Shankar's exposition in My Music, My Life. See also Daniolu, Northern Indian Music, pp. 20-63, 75-96ff., N. A. Jarrazhboy, The Rags of North Indian Music Their Structure and Evolution (London: Faber and Faber, 1971), Walter Kaufmann, The Ragas of North India (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968), Sambamoorthy, South Indian Music, books I-V; V. G. Apte, ed., Sangitaratnakara (Poona Anandāśrama Press, 1942), 2 vols.

30. The northern versions of the songs, as I heard them in Orissa and Bengal, follow the rāga designations most commonly found in the manuscripts; these differ from those of Kumbhakarna, which are defined in his Sangitarāja. In articles written for the "Geet Govind Celebrations" held at the Sangeet Natak Akademi in Delhi (March 18-20, 1967), Premlata Sharma and C. S. Pant both suggest that the rāgas and tālas Kumbha prescribed were associated with his own compositions. The South Indian versions of the songs, as I heard them in Madras, Mysore, and Guruvayor (Kerala), accord with the rāgas given by Semmangudi S R Sreenivasa Iyer in Gitagovindam with Musical Notations (Tripunithura Sanskrit College, 1962).
designations in the present text of the Gitagovinda are those common to the oldest manuscripts; significant variants are noted in the critical apparatus in the cloth-bound edition of this book. For a comparison of the musical characteristics associated with different rāgas of the Hindusthani and Karnatak systems, see B. Subba Rao, Rāganidhi (Madras: Music Academy, 1964-66), vols. I-IV.

3 Jayadeva’s Language for Love

1. The background for this analysis is provided by the rasa theory of dramatic esthetics in its general form. The relation between esthetic experience and religious experience that is central to the Gitagovinda encouraged me to search for evidence of Jayadeva’s direct reference to the special theories of Abhinavagupta or Bhoja, but the vocabulary of esthetics that Jayadeva uses is drawn directly from the Nātyaśāstra. The technical terminology of dhvani theory and śringāra theory is notably absent; individual terms are analyzed in the glossary to the hardcover edition. For a general introduction to basic notions of Indian literary esthetics, see Edward C. Dimock, Jr., et al., The Literatures of India (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), chapter 3. Within Sanskrit literature, the rasa theory is summarized in book 4 of Dhanaśayya’s Daśarūpa, translated, with Sanskrit text and notes, by G. C. O Haas (reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1962), pp. 166-48. The summary is based on book 7 of Bharata’s Nātyaśāstra, edited, with the commentary of Abhinavagupta, by M. R. Kavi, Gaekwad’s Oriental Series, 4 vols (Baroda: Central Library, 1926), vol. I, pp. 343-86.

2. Bhoja, in his Śrṅgārpakāśa, concentrated on rati and the śringāra developing from it. He expanded and further universalized śringāra into an absolute rati called ahamkārasringāra, a rarefication of ordinary love which is for him the universal of existence; see V. Raghavan, Bhoja’s Śrṅgāra Prakāśa (Madras: Punarvasu, 1963), pp. 425-532. Earlier, Rudraṭa had expressed the more general view of the importance of rati and śringāra by raising the question of how any other rasa except śringāra could be truly relished and how the name rasa could apply to any sentiment but śringāra, Kāvyālaṃkāra XIV 38 says.

anuṣarata raśinām rasayatūmya nānyah
sakulam idam anena vṛyātam abhātavṛddham


3. A conventionalized blending of the two modes is made in the adhyāpi smarāṇa formula that dominates the Caurapāṇḍita attributed to Bhāṣa; see my Phantasties of a Love-Thief (New York Columbia University Press, 1971). The interplay of the two modes is dominant in Indian literature from the epic period, as well as later. Outstanding examples include the Nalopakhyaṇa of the Mahābhārata, the Vālmīkīramayana, and Kālidāsa’s Kumārasamāhāra, as well as his plays.

4. See the introduction to my translation Bhartrihari: Poems (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967). It seems significant to me that the esthetic presentation of emotion in the Gitagovinda can be characterized by the same generalizations that I applied to the Bhartrihari collection.

5. The earliest known crime to contrast what is vulgar (grāmya) from what is conducive to rasa was Dandin, in his Kāvyadarśa, edited and translated by V. N.
3 Jayadeva’s Language for Love (cont.)

Ayer (Madras: Ramayamy Sastrulu, 1964), 162-64 Abhinavagupta used the example of the breasts of a woman exciting most profoundly when they are only half revealed; in the Dhvanyālakālocana (edited with the Bālapriyā, Varanasi: Kashi Sanskrit Series, 1940), p. 138, he says:

... gopyamānam sannayikākucayugalam
iva mahārghatam upayad dhvanyate ||

The material is taken from J. L. Masson, "Obscenity in Sanskrit Literature," Mahfil, 7, nos. 3-4 (1971), pp. 197-207.


8. The technical term for such an opening verse is vastunirdesā. It is possible that the much-debated phrase nanda-nideśatah is Jayadeva’s pun on the type of this verse, referring to the fact that the subject of the poem is nanda, “joy,” which is experienced as Krishna himself in the final song of the Gitagovinda, where he is addressed by the two epithets Yadunandana and Hrdayānandana.

9. In his Kavijayadeva o śrigitagovinda (Calcutta: Gurudas Mukhopadhyāya, 1957, p. 1362), Harekrishna Mukhopadhyāya devotes an entire chapter (15) to the analysis of this verse. Each of the commentators gives it detailed consideration.

10. Kumbhakarna gives an elaborate statement on poetic propriety in support of this interpretation. He glosses nandanieśatah with nandāsamipāt. He points to the combination of īrṣāra and bhayanaka here.

11. Mānānka interprets the speech as the svagata of Rādhā, spoken from excessive love, as an alternative to understanding Nanda as the speaker.

12. This is the most frequent interpretation. It is related to the story that the child Krishna followed Nanda into the woods one evening at dusk and became afraid. Ṣankaramāra gives this story in its simplest form. See Suntū Kumar Chatterji, Jayadeva, Makers of Indian Literature (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1973), pp. 15-18.

13. Caitanyadāsa explains that the words spoken by Rādhā’s friend are intended to bring joy (nanda); Krishna’s foster father is thus removed from any involvement with the erotic relationship between Rādhā and Krishna and is replaced by the conventional figure of the sakhi.

14. Cf. Brhadāranyaka Upanisad 1.4.2

so bhūtah tasmād ekāki-bhūte sa hayaṁ ikṣum eke ṣe nām anśaṁ nās tasmaṁ nu bhakāri tata evāṣya bhayam viyāya kasmād hy abhētyaṁ devīyād vas bhayam bhavati.

He was afraid. Therefore one who is alone is afraid. This one then thought to himself, “since there is nothing else than myself, of what am I afraid?” Thereupon his fear, verified, passed away, for of what should he have been afraid? Assuredly it is from a second that fear arises.

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Text and translation quoted from S Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upanisads* (New York: Harper, 1953), pp. 163-64. Although there is no evidence that Jayadeva consciously refers to this analysis of fear in the creative process, the dynamic role of fear in connecting isolation with pairing seems suggestive in interpreting the opening verse of the *Gītāgovinda*.

15 In the second half of the poem it is increasingly clear that Krishna himself is the mysterious power of darkness, the essence of night in which Rādhā's love develops through various stages of desertion to consummation.

16. Mānānka makes the point, which is followed by other commentators, that the word order of the dual compound is irregular in its priority (*pūrvaṇīpūta*), like *prarājyamanuḥ, umāmahēśvarau, kākamayūrau*, etc.

legend is focal to the contrast between him and Śiva, see Wendy O’Flaherty, Asceptism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva (London: Oxford University Press, 1973).

2. The main sources for Krishna’s legend in early Sanskrit literature are the Mahābhārata and certain Purāṇas, but the origins of many of his epithets and characteristics are found in Vedic literature. The following texts are referred to throughout this section in the editions cited:


3 Mahābhārata VI 33.30 = Bhagavadgītā II.30.

4 See Gonda, Aspects of Vīśnuism, p 159; Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p 213.

5 See Viṣṇu P. VI.2.17, where it says that singing of Kesava is the way of the Kali Yuga.


7 The contrast between the conception of Krishna in the Gītagoṇḍa and in the Bhāgavata P...


12. *Mādhava* and *Madhusūdana* are both commonly used of Krishna throughout the *Mahābhārata* and later; e.g., Mahābhārata I.213.20, 30 ff., 214.15 ff.; cf. Gonda, *Aspects of Vīśnuism*, pp. 16 ff., 237; Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, pp. 192-93, 203;


14. See, e.g., *Harivamsa* 48.1 ff.; Mahābhārata I 160


16. See, e.g., Bhāgavata P X 37

17. See Krishna as *Jagannātha*, Mahābhārata VI 33.25, 37 (= BG XI.25, 37); see Miśra, *Cult of Jagannātha*, pp. 57-58; section 1, note 14 above.


20. See the glossary in the clothbound edition, s.v. *adbhuta*, *brāhmaṇa*.


26. See Bhāgavata P. VIII.19-23.

27. See Mahābhārata III.115-17; Bhāgavata P. IX.15-17; Hopkins, Epic Mythology, pp. 184, 211.

28. See Bhāgavata P. IX.10-11.

29. See Mahābhārata III.189.31; Viṣṇu P. V.1 59-63.


32. See Dimock, Hidden Moon, pp. 26-29.

33. See Mahābhārata III.188-89; Bhāgavata P. I.3 25; Gonda, Aspects of Viṣṇuism, pp. 149-50.

34. See Harivamśa 50-64; Viṣṇu P. V.6-14; Bhāgavata P. X.5-37; Bālacakita in Plays Ascribed to Bālaka, edited by C. R. Devadhar (Poona: Oriental Book Agency, 1962), pp. 511-60. See also Gonda, Aspects of Viṣṇuism, pp. 154-64, Ruben, Krishna, pp. 45 ff.

35. The more common reading of the refrain as jaya jaya deva hare ignores the word play and the significance of jayadeva as an epithet.

36. A reference to the Mahābhārata as jaya, which comes at the beginning of the epic (I.1.1), may not be relevant to the meaning of Jayadeva’s signature and his epithet for Krishna, but it seems worth noting

nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya naraṁ cauva na rottamam

devīm sarasvatim cauva tato jayam udārayet


38. See Mahābhārata III.194 15; Harivamśa 52.2, Bhāgavata P. VIII.17.4; X.32.2.

39. See Harivamśa 52.4.

40. See Pāṇini, Aṣṭādhyāyī III.1.138, vārt 2: gāvādhu vnde saṃpūrṇas. In the form of Varāha, the Boar, Govinda is gāṇa vnde atr, “finder of earth”, Mahābhārata I.19.11

41. See Mahābhārata I.59.22.

42. See Mahābhārata II 13 33, V 126 37f.; Harivamśa 27, 44-48, 65-78; Bhāgavata P. X.1-4, 36-44.

43. See Ruben, Krishna, pp. 107-8.
45. Discussed in section 3; cf. *Harivamśa* 49; *Viṣṇu* P. 64 ff.; *Bhāgavata* P. X.5.1 ff.
46. See *Mahābhārata* I.31.10; *Harivamśa* 55-56; *Bhāgavata* P. X.16-17.
47. See *Harivamśa* 50.20-23.
51. The Jumna has its confluence with the Ganges at Allahabad. It flows through Brindaban. It is also called *Kalindanandini* (*GG* III.2), “daughter of Mt. Kalinda.” Cf. *Harivamśa* 55.27 ff.
53. See O'Flaherty, *Mythology of Śiva*, pp 141-72; also the glossary in the clothbound edition of this book, s.v. ananga, kānta, rati, and related references.
54. See the glossary in the clothbound edition of this book, s.v. kānta, dayita, priya
56. This is given as a way to angrily address a nāyaka, see *Nāṭyalāitra*, XXIV.310.

5 Rādhā. Consort of Krishna's Springtime Passion
omitted references from two works that make some claim for inclusion Original verses on Rādhā quoted in Śaṅkaraṅamṛta (edited by S K. Banerji, Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1965) are attributed to Jayadeva’s contemporaries Umāpatidhara and Śarana (1.5.3, 25.5.3, 1.6.2); another (1.5.8.4) is quoted below from Vakroktījīva (256). Verses on Rādhā in the Kṛṣṇaṅamṛta of Līlāsūka Bīlmangala are numerous, but the dating of the work remains problematic (it is variously assigned to periods ranging from the ninth to the fifteenth century). See S. K. De, The Kṛṣṇaṅamṛta, University of Dacca Oriental Publication Series, no. 5 (Dacca: University of Dacca, 1938), Francis Wilson, The Loe of Krishna The Kṛṣṇaṅamṛta of Līlāsūka Bīlmangala (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975).


3 Max Mühr, ed., The Hymns of the Rig-Veda, 2 vols. (London: Trübner, 1877) VIII.61.14; cf. I.30.5, etc.; related epithets vasupati, vasudā, etc.


5 E.g., R. C Artal, “A Note on Kṛṣṇa and His Consort Rādhā,” Anthropological Society of Bombay, 8, no. 5 (1907-9), 356-60; Sukumar Sen, “Etymology of the Name Rādhā,” Indian Linguistics, 8 (1943), 434 Sen speculates that the word rādhā must have been a common noun with the meaning of “beloved, desired woman.” He supports his argument with reference to the Vedic rādhas meaning “a desired object” and its masculine cognate in Avestan rāda, meaning “lover” in Yasna 9.23. My colleague Professor Dale Bishop informs me that the passage is problematic, but if it is taken with a Gāthic passage (Yasna 29.9) where the only other reference to rāda occurs, the contexts suggest that the word could mean something like “satisfaction” as an abstract; in any case, most scholarly interpretations indicate something or someone that “fulfills a need.”


rādhe sīśākhe suhāvānurādha

| Atharvaveda Samhitā, edited by W. D Whitney and R. Roth (Berlin F Dummler, 1856), p. 356. Although Whitney reports all manuscripts examined to read rādhe (from dual) and commentators to explain this as meaning that rādha is another name for sīśākha, he feels that it is an interpolation based on a later misunderstanding of anurādha as meaning “the one after (aun) or following rādha” He therefore changes the reading ot rādho and translates it “be the two Visīkhas bestowal (rādhas).” W. D. Whitney, trans, Atharva-Veda Samhitā (1905; reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1962), vol II, p 908 If one follows the manuscript evidence and reads rādhe, it can be understood that the two stars called Visīkha are identified a dual rādha. The identification is supported by the fifth century lexical work Amarakośa, I.3.22 rādha sīśākha upa in adhyatma iravīthayā, etc. Amarakośa, The Nāma śaṅkunīśānasam (Amarakośa), edited by Pandit Śivadatta (Bombay: Nāmaśaṅkunīśāna Press, 1944), p 38.

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9. Mahābhārata XIII.13560(c), nakṣatranemir nakṣatru; in the episode of the burning of Khāndava forest (1.214 ff.) Krishna is repeatedly addressed as Mādhava, and also Madhusūdana; see section 4, notes 9-12 above, esp. Gonda, Aspects of Vīnuṣm, pp. 16 ff., 237.


11. Anaraksā, 1.3.22; the authors of the Brahmavaivarta P. incorporate Rādhā’s nakṣatru associations into the story of her heavenly birth and descent; see Walter Ruben, “The Kṛṣṇacarita in the Harivamśa and Certain Purāṇas,” Journal of the American Oriental Society, 61 (1941), 126-27.

12. This Rādhā has no apparent connection with the epic figure named Rādhā, who is the wife of the charioteer Adhiratha and the foster-mother of Kunti’s son Karna. Mahābhārata 1.104 14(b) and 181.38(a):

\[
tam uṣṭrātām tadā gairham rādābhārata mahāyaśaḥ | \\
uṇītrate kalpayāmasya sabhāruga sūtanandah ||
\]

Rādhā’s renowned husband [Adhiratha], son of a charioteer,
Rescued the abandoned child and he and his wife made him their own son.

\[
ko hi rādāhāsūtir karnam sakto yodhayitum rane | \\
anyatra rāmād dronād vā kṛpād vāpi iṣvāvaḥ ||
\]

Who can fight in battle with Rādhā’s son Karna
Other than Paraśurāma, Drona, Kṛṣṇa, or Śāradvata?

13 See Dumock, Place of the Hidden Moon, pp. 32-35; B Majumdar, Kṛṣṇa in History and Legend, pp. 171-91.

14. References to Rādhā in these Purāṇas are given in tentative chronological order.

Matsya Purāṇa, edited by H. N. Apte, Anandārama Sanskrit Series, no 54 (Poona: Anandārama Press, 1907), XIII.38. In verses 24-53 of this section, Devī enumerates her various names at different holy places in response to Dakṣa’s question as to what names are to be invoked at the śrīkṣetas. Verse 38 is quoted by Jīva Gōvīmaṇa in his commentary on Bhāgavata X.21.17.

\[
śivaṅkunda śivaṁandā nandini devikātac | \\
rūkmini dvāravatīṃ tu rādā vrndāvana vane || 38 ||
\]

At Śivaṅkunda she is Śivaṅandā, at Devikātac she is Nandini;
At Dwāravatī, she is Rūkmini, in the forest at Vrndāvana she is Rādhā.

Lingga Purāṇa, edited by P. J. Vidyāsagara (Calcutta: Valmiki Press, 1885), Ustārārdhē 48.14. The verse is one of a series of mantras (48.5-26) in imitation of the Gāyatrī, all ending pracoḍayāt, in which various gods and goddesses are invoked; 48.12 invokes Viṣṇu, 48.13 Lakṣmī.

\[
svaṁudhītayai viṣṇava viśnuvaṅkena dhīmahi | \\
tan no rādā pracoḍayāt || 14 ||
\]

We know about one whom Viṣṇu himself redeems, we meditate on her—
Then let Rādā inspire us!

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Since Rādhā embraced tireless Krishna there, The tank was known by her name and a holy place was created nearby. It was known as "Rādhā's tank," removing all sins, auspicious. With ablation from the Arīṣṭa tank and the Rādhā tank One may doubtless attain the reward of Rājaśyā and Asvamedha rites— It quickly destroys the sin of cow killing and even Brahman killing.


An older version of this Purana may be as early as the eighth century, see A. J. Rawal, "Some Problems Regarding the Brahmaavartapurana," Purana, 14, no. 2 (1972), 107-24.

Padma Purana, edited with Hindi paraphrase by S S Sharma (Bareilly: Sanskriti-samstha, 1968); Pāṭalal-khaṇḍa (IV), 52, Śrīraḍhā-janmāṣṭami-mahāmya. This section is noted several times in the attempts of the Gosvāmīs to fix Rādhā's place in established textual traditions, but the section itself seems to me to be a crude interpolation aimed at elevating Rādhā's position in a more orthodox Vishnu cult Rādhā's lowly birth as a cowherdess is rationalized by explaining that she is called


For discussions of Puranae chronology, see A. D. Pusalker, Studies in the Epics and Purānas (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1963), pp. 205-30; R C. Hazra, "Studies in the Puranae Records on Hindu Rites and Customs," University of Dacca Bulletin, no. 20 (Dacca, 1940); M. Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Literature (Leipzig: C. F. Amerlangs Verlag, 1909), vol I, pp. 440-83 In The Puranae Index (Madras: University of Madras, 1951-55) under "Rādhā" V.R.R. Dikshit lists additional references to Rādhā in Brahmanda Purana (III.36.56; 42.21, 47-48; 43.21 and 29; 44.29) and Vāyu Purana (105.52), but these could not be located in editions.

15. Bhāgavata Purāṇa (Gita Press edition) X.30 28:

anayārdhito nūnām bhāgavan hair īvāraḥ  
yan no vihāya govindah prito yām anayad rahah

Lord Hari, God, was certainly satisfied by her—

For, leaving us, Govinda, the lover, led her in secret.

16. Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Murshidabad edition, with the commentaries of Śrīdharavāmin, Sanātana Gosvāmin, Jīva Gosvāmin, and Viṣvanātha Cakravartī (Bermāpur: Rādhāraman Press, 1888, as 1294). Later commentators identify the figure of the solitary gopi with śāmanīśākṣī, the means by which Krishna gives bliss to his devotees; see Dumick, Place of the Hidden Moon, pp. 134, 205-4. It is worth noting again that in the Bhāgavata, the rāsa dance is an autumnal rite where the emphasis is on Krishna’s ability to love all the cowherdesses simultaneously, whereas Krishna’s love with Rādhā is an erotic duet enacted in springtime. Following the Bhāgavata identification, other commentators claim reference to Rādhā in similar passages in other texts, e.g., Hariavamśa, critical edition, edited by P. L. Vaidya (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1969), 6.33.

hāhēt kūrautas tasya prabhṛṣṭas tā varānganāḥ  
jaghrhr mhmśām vāmmā śāmānā dāmodaravēmām


18. The Hariavamśa episode of Krishna’s marriage to Niłā is not known in the Northern Recension and is given by Vaidya as Appendix I, no 72. Local traditions contribute many variants to events and figures in the Krishna story; see Walter Ruben, Krishna. Konfordinz und Kommens der Mucve Seines Heidenlebens, Istanbuler Schriften, no 17 (Istanbul, 1944).


20. Occurrences of the name Rādhā in prose portions of Līlāvatīśāstra (tena khalu punar bhikṣasāh samayena suṣṭiyā grāmikadāhustṛdāsi rādhā nāma kālagatāhūti),

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5 Rādhā: Consort of Krishna’s Springtime Passion (cont.)
edited by P. L. Vaidya (Darbhanga, 1958) and the vulgate of Pañcatantra (kāṁ
paraṁ tu rādhā nāma me bhāryā gopakula-prasīṭā prathamam āsit śa tvam atrava-
tīnā) edited by K. P. Parab (Bombay: Nīnayāsāgara Press, 1950, p. 54) are diffi-
cult to date.

21. On dating, see A. B. Keith, History of Sanskrit Literature (1920; reprint,
London: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 223–24. For Sattasai, see vulgate, en-
titled Gathasaptasāti, edited with the commentary of Gāndhārabhātta by P. Dur-
gāprasād and K. P. Parab, Kāvyamālā, no. 21 (Bombay: Nīnayāsāgara Press, 1933),
I.89; and critical text, Saptasatākam des Hāla, edited with German translation by
Albrecht Weber, Abhandlungen fur die Kunde des Morgenländers, 5, no. 3 (1879;
reprint, Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1966), I.86:

muhamārucena taṁ kanha goraṁ rāhāč avanento |
etānāṁ vallavināṁ annānam vi goraṁ haras || I.89 (Weber I 86) ||

The Sanskrit version would be:

muḥkhamārutena tvam krṣṇa goraṁ rādhikāyā apanayan |
etāsāṁ bhallāvināṁ anyāsām aṣṭi gauravam haras ||

In another verse (2:28; Weber, 131) an unnamed gopi is singled out and associated
with singing and spring, the alliterative pattern of the verse also makes it relevant
to Gītāgūrīṇa.

mahumāsamārṇāmahārāṇahamkāranibhāre ranne |
gāu virahakkhvaravaddhapahatamamohananī govi ||

“In woods full of humming bees attacked by winds of the honeyed month of spring,
a gopi sings a seductive chant to bind a traveler’s heart with words of her neglected
love.”

22. Dated according to the-dating of Vākpati’s patron, Yaśovarman of Kanauj, by
Kalhana in the Rājatarangini Gaṇḍavaḥo A Historical Poem in Prākṛta, edited by
S. P. Pandit, Bombay Sanskrit Series, no. 34 (Bombay, Central Book Depot, 1887),
v. 22:

naha-rehā rāhā-kāranā orī karunamī harantu vo sarasā |
vacca-ṭhalaṁmaṁ kothinā-krvanānī om kanbhassā ||

Pandit’s Sanskrit version reads nakharekhā rādhā-kāranā (rādhāyā gopyā nirmūṭh
karaṭpahārāḥ) karunāṁmūtmā (samsāraduhkhām) harantu (nāsayantu) sarasā
(śreṇī) caukṣṣaṇāhāl kuṣṭaddhakuravandhāmānī kṛṣṇaṁyā.

23. Bhaṭṭa Nārāyana is dated to the first half of the seventh century by D. D. Ko-
sambi in his introduction to Stūbhājitaratnākosa, edited by Kosambi and V. V.
Gokhale, Harvard Oriental Series, no. 42 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University
Press, 1957), p. lxxiii, but the only basis for dating is the citations to his work by
Vāmana and Anandavardhana, which places him before the ninth century; see
A. B. Keith, The Sanskrit Drama (1934, reprint London: Oxford University Press,

Venisamkhara of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyana, edited by Julius Grill (Leipzig: Fues’s Verlag,
1871), nāndī 2:

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This māṇḍi, like the two others accompanying it in most editions, could have been added to the text at any time, but the subject of Rādhā's talking and Kṛṣṇa's pacifying her is sufficiently relevant to the theme of Draupadi's insults and Bīśma's soothing her with revenge to be part of the original play. It is noteworthy too that after the three māṇḍi verses, the sīraadhāra goes on to praise Vishnu and to inform the audience that Kṛṣṇa has undertaken to act as mediator between the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas.


This verse is attributed to the poetess Vidyā in the Subhāṣītaratnākara (808). The cited here are by Daniel H. H. Farvard Oriental Series, vol. 44.

It seems significant that Anandavardhana is the earliest writer to illustrate his theories with examples from existing Sanskrit and Pāścāti literature rather than composing his own Abhinavagupta, in commenting on these two verses, attributes the first to Kṛṣṇa after he has left Mathurā for Dwārakā; he says the second is Rādhā's words to Kṛṣṇa.


V. Raghavan notes that in his Abhinavabhairati, Abhinavagupta quotes from a work, now lost, entitled Rādhāpratamāhā, Bhāṣya categorizes the work as a rāṣṭrākā. See V. Raghavan, Bhāṣya's Śrīnivāsa Prakāśa (Madras: Puravasa, 1963), p 567; idem, "Writers Quoted in the Abhinavabhārati," Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, 6 (1932).

See also the Vairoctānīta of Kuntaka, dated ninth to tenth centuries (edited by S. K. Dc, 3d ed; Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1961), chapters 1-3.

Introduction 61
The verse tesām gopavadhū, quoted from Dvanyāloka (2.6), is cited illustratively in the svopajñavruti on 3.3–4; the verse yāte dvāravatī, quoted from the Loka, is cited in the svopajñavruti on 2.59, with the variants (a) taddattasamāpādanām (b) kālindijalakelivajaralatām ālambya.

26. Kāvyamināmsa of Rājaśekhara, edited by C. D. Dalal and R. A. Shastry, Gaekwad’s Oriental Series, no. 1 (Baroda: Central Library, 1916), p. 71. Two verses comparing the breaths of Śiva and Hari are quoted in adhyāya 13 following the comment atha tulyadehitulasya bhidāḥ... tasya vaṣṭunā viṣayāntarayojanād anyarāpāpattir viṣayāparivartah.

ye śāntitatingātrabhāsmararajāyos ye kumbhakadvesino ye līḍāḥ śraṇanāsrayena phaṇinā ye candrīṣṭiṣṭyardrūhah
| te kusyadgirivibhaktavapusā cittavyathāsākṣinah
sthānor daksinānāsākṣikāpūtabhavah śvāsāntāh pántu vah ||
| ye kīnmayathitodārṇaṃadhaiva ye mālāpitoderhrajo
te śātāt karalena talpaphaṇinām pitaprāpatīṣṭhitah |
te rādākāmrtīṣṭākṣināh kamalayā sāvyam ākṣamitā
gādāñtardaravathoḥ prataptasaralāh śvāsā harcḥ pántu vah ||

See Subhāṣitaratnakosa 136, with variants.

27 Damayanti-kathā is the oldest extant campū-kṛṣṇa; Keith, History of Sanskrit Literature, pp. 332–33 Damayanti-kathā (also called Nalacampū) of Trivikrama Bhatta, edited by N. B. Parvanikar, P. Durgaprasād, and P. Śivadatta, with the commentary of Candrapāla (Bombay: Nīrṇayāsagāra Press, 1931), p. 108 (chapter 4).

kevalam anavaraṭasāṣṭavandagadhyakalaparādhātmikātrapāparāpirītya gunino
gurūn parapuruṣe māyāvini kṛtakṣiṣ ضدhe bhramandarāge ṛgām badhāṇāti |

The sense of this passage is based on a series of puns. “She being not very much taught [or, “not newly taught in sexual pleasures”] in the arts of cunning [or, “passion”] and committing a fault of giving up modesty [aparādhā-ātmika, rādhā-ātmikā means “as Radha did”], ignoring the virtuous elders, set her passion on the highest man [or, “a stranger, other than her husband”], Krishna [māyāvin also means “trickster”], slayer of demon Keśi [kṛta-kṣiṣṭadhe; kṛtakā śūvade means “who is artificial, who confers evil”], upholder of Mt. Mandara [or, “whose passion was inactive”].”

For the Yaṣatilakacampūkṛṣṇa the dating is firm; at the end of the text itself Somadeva says that he composed the work in jāka 881 (A.D. 959); verse from Yaṣatilakacampūkṛṣṇa of Somadeva, edited, with the commentary of Śrutadeva Śuri, by M. P. Śivadatta and K. P. Parab, Kāvyamālā, no 70 (Bombay. Nīrṇayāsagāra Press, 1903), p 142. The example of Rādhā is cited in chapter 4, while the king is narrating the love of Amṛtamaṇi:

tathā hi—purāṇa kim na vane gangā saha maheśvaraṇa, rādhā nāryāyanena, brhaspanati dvijarjena, tārā ca vālasnā |

See K. K. Handiqui, Yaṣatilaka and Indian Culture (Sholapur: Jana Samskrti Samrakshaka Sangha, 1949), pp. 1–21.

28 Three copper-plate inscriptions of Vākpati Muhi, dated vs 1031 (A.D. 974), vs. 1035 (A.D. 982), vs. 1043 (A.D. 986); vs. 1031 plate: N. J. Kirtane, “On Three Mālwa Inscriptions,” Indian Antiquary, 6 (1877), 48–53; vs. 1038, 1043 plates: K. N.

yal laksmi vadanendm na sukhitam yan nardrim virdher vāyān na nijena nāhhi sarai sañdmena jānumi gam | yac chesāhīpaharānaḥ saradharāvaśat na rāvāstam tād rādhāvaihāturai numiron velladvapuh pānu vah |

On the relation between Vākpatu-Muṇja and Bhoja, see Kirtane, pp. 49-50. Dikshit notes, "The most important information contained in these plates is regarding the migration of Brāhmaṇas from various parts of the country to Mālwā where they were recipients of donations at the hands of the Paramāra prince. In several instances the donors seem to have migrated all the way from Bengal..." (p. 103).


rādhāvaihāturai visaranusaranvājātā kṣamāpakārā | rādā pakṣābhāsaḥ nayananānāyavanavā (sūkhyā) stavyamārā | rāmā�rasyatahārāva tuhmananābhisthe tīh karaṇāradhāra | rādāhā rakṣatah mahīyā śiśvamamāsāsavyāvādyāvātarā || 2.294 ||

kuṇālān rādhe sukhitot śi kamsa kamsah kva nu sā rādāḥ | in pārāparāvacanaḥ ulakājāhā koṛt jayati || 2.351 ||

karaṇaḥ kālaśasvišeke rādāhāpyodharamandale navajalodhāryāmām ānimadystharm prathihātām | antaścayeprāntaḥkṛtāyā mukhā mukhā utdāpān jayati janardāvīhārāḥ prṣyāhanto hārhi || 3.110 ||

This verse is cited again as 5.17, same as Subhāṣitaratnakūsā, 147 (Kosambhi and Gokhae ed., p. 29); Hemacandra's Kavyānāsana 2.110, with variants (Parakh and Kulkarni ed., cited in note 31, p. 115).

gahād yātā sarasām udakam hānkhā nāpisha 
monkiyānīt irayaśa yamanāśtriśāirugāhāṃ |
gosamādyā stīna prātā prharma eva govardhānādārā 
nāmān rādhe dris neputī ādveśānīrājānaya || 4.177 ||

nīśo nāsane vakkhih barātī śhahnātī | 
harino padhāmasamāntamamugnāsvaśvabhimste vēvura hāstho || 5.355 ||

The Sanskrit version reads: nīśīto neatane rākṣatu vunāi rādhākāyāḥ sthānātātuḥ | 
haheh prahmaśamāgangasachitraśvar varanāīlo hāstah ||

pratyaśoḥpratyaśogokulīnaśa śiṇyanād ut sniperāmīśhāya ma 
sū govardhaḥānād apatva ca dvārā rādhātī bhīrāvā vā 
rātrāv asuvapito dvā ca stīrām kālyānīt cātyaśaśato 
rādhām pramāratah śīrām rāmāyatah kheko hāreḥ pātu vah || 5.448 ||

helodamālāhārānacana tātāja vāloka ādvar hāre 
hastānāmāśatāt valambya ca ranāmū ṛopya tatpadayok ||

śaṅkodaḥkāraśāyaṃ jivaṃ civaśas avatpadhayah || 5.493 ||

cause the context seems important, the entire passage VIII.169-76 is quoted following VIII.83. It is this passage which Sukumar Sen considers to be the prototype of the Gitagovinda, see History of Bengali Literature (Delhi: Sāhitya Akademi, 1960), pp. 15-16.

prityai bahubhāva krṣṇasya śyāmānicayacumbinah 
| jāti madhukarasya rūdhervādikavallabhā || 83 |
tatat prábhāte saṁnaddhān ratham ārthya śānugāh 
mahurān yapur akṛṣatamsēkarsaṇaṇārdanāh || 169 ||
katham rūdhām anāmantryāgato 'ham iti mādhavah
aritam mūnaṁ cintām tvasaṁ tvasaṁ bheje vṛmāh svāsana || 170 ||
gacchan gokulagūdłowakūjagahānāh alocayan kēvah
sotkantah valīśānāro vanābhah svākhyevā ruddhāh ścalah ||
rūdhāyā na na neti nīśhvaraṁ vaiklavayalakṣyākṣarāh
sannāra smaraśūrāhsūrādābhutānā rāvokti [? ] rīktā girah || 171 ||
govindāya gataya kāniśanagarīm vyāptā viyogāṅgīnā
niśdhaṣyāmālakṣīlalatīnāharnī godāvarīgaṁvāre [? ]
romantahastigacahān paracayād utkarnam ākarnam

guptam gokulappallav āgunaṅgam gopyāh sarāgā pugwah || 172 ||
lagitavālaśakalinihkhrelanālalānābhaṁśobhanayavanamānītanavanamādāne
akulakokālkuvalakṣyakpalakālalakalindasūtavālakaḷyakalindadamāne
keśikisoramahāsūramāraṇāduśramogokulārūstāvidārānggovernamāh karadhārane
kasya na nayanayagam ratiṣajye mahāchā manasaṅtaraḷaḷaṁrānge vararamanīranāne
| 173 |
udgiyāmānu ganaṅgarāya gune gune rāgasenāṁ śaurhe

| 174 |
govindē gurasamābhau paracaitaeviśād anuketā vēte
suptānām baṅkulaṛyā śitalalāte swartaṁ kūrangaśīrām

| 175 |
svapnāṅgaṁanamāngate ngalātāśāvapalakṣyāya, muhur
mugdhā vaṅcaka muṅca kitaṇṭe uttavṛt uccair girah || 175 ||
rūdhā mādhavaśyavagavagalasātvāmpāmnāṁ muhur
bāsphaṁ pīnapyodharāragaṅgātā phullatadambākulaṁ

echinnāvaṅsane veggatāṁ vajākṣīrāmānāvā purāh
sarvānipratipaddāḥ mahāhamāṅā prāvrrnaṃvahavat || 176 ||

(a) ye samāṇṭatānābhīpadāmamāhdo ye snāpthagraha (b) prīṭapratīṣṭopasātim (c) sarasvataṁkāntakāraḥ 3.11 quoted above, with variant in the fourth pada (d) yamtaśrīdaṇamārpaṇyāhausto. 808 = Dhānyāloka 2.6 quoted above, with variants in the second and third pada (b) kahudaraṁ, (c) smaraṭpokalparanvidhi 980 Translations are by Ingalls, quoted from Sanskrit Court Poetry.

ete lakṣmāna jānakīvīraḥinām mām khadayanty ambudā
marmāṇiva ca ṣaṭṭhyanty amīti krīrāh kadambaṁlāh |

| 131 ||

| 131 |

| 139 |

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32. Dated fourth quarter of the eleventh century, according to the dates of Vikramāditya VI, the Chalukya king whom Bilhana served as tīḍyāpati and in whose honor Vīkramaṅka-devacarita was composed Vīkramāṅka-devacarita of Bilhana, edited by Georg Bühler, Bombay Sanskrit Series, no. 14 (Bombay: Central Book Depot, 1875), I, XVIII.87.

sāndrām mitānaa vacchatu nandaka vah soliśalakṣmīprabhībhārakhah
kurvan aśāratam yamunāpravāhah sa lārādhammanam murāreyah ||15||
dolālolag hanaghanayanā rādhāya yatra bhagānāh
krṣṇākṛtām dānāvamātapino rādhunāpy uĉhevasant
jalapākṛtām athathaś ihoṁ ātmeśakren ātīt
																
tasmin uṇḍavanapariśaṁ vāsāra yena niḥāh || XVIII 87 ||


hars narācāvan punanā vimbhaṇā pādū ṭolu
emutāhim rāha-poḥahram sam bhāva tam hou || 4.420 2 ||

The Sanskrit version reads: harih naratāḥ prāṇagane vṁagahe pāṭītah lokah | idānim rādhopayodhayoh yat (prati) bhūte tad bhavate | ekaṁkuvaṁ ja u ṭoṛi hari sambhū saṁvāyēnē | to vi śrihe pughiḥ kahim vi rāhi | ko saṁkṣa saṁvārem u ṭoḍhannayānē naṁīm ātītā || 4.422.5 ||

The Sanskrit version reads: ekaṁ kṣam pāyapaiḥ harah sūṣṭa saṁvāyaḥ | tathāṁ dṛṣṭī yatra kṛpā rādhaḥ | kah śaṭkṣaḥ sāmvāritam saṁvāram saṁvārīm saṁvāraḥ paryastai ||

In another work attributed to Hemacandra, the Kāvyānābādana (edited, with Alankāra-cūḍāmanas and Viveka, by R C Parakh and V. M. Kulkarni; Bombay: Śrī Mahāviśva Jaina Vidyālaya, 1964), 28 (example 107) is the verse teṣāṁ gopavadvha. . . quoted from the Dhvanyāloka, 26, occurring also in Vakrātutīvra, 256 and Subhāṣitaranākāsa, 808, 2.11 (example 110) is the verse kānaka-kalāda . . . quoted from Sarvasaṁkrtānābharana, 3.110, 2.29 (example 131) is the verse eva laksmaṇa . . . quoted from Subhāṣitaranākāsa, 131.

pranavatprayiradhana na râdhâputraisatruskhita sadrî te
irâprikasya sadgr eva tavâ irâvatram âtmahrdi dhartum ajatram

35. Dated according to dating of Govardhana’s patron Laksmanasena of Bengal (ca. A.D. 1185-1205); in Gitagovinda I.4, Jayadeva praises him for his erotic compositions. Aryasaptai of Govardhana, edited, with the commentary of Anantapandita, by P. Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, Kâvyamâl, no. 1 (Bombay: Narayanagora Press, 1886).

madhumathanamaulimâle sakhi tulayasi tulasi kim mudhâ râdhâm
yat tava padam adasiya sarabhyatum sarabhodhbedah \||43r ||
râjyâbhisekasalakshâtamaulek kathåsu ksirasya
garvabharamanthsarâjki paîyati padapankajam râdhâ

36. Jayadeva certainly knew Kâlidâsa’s Kumârasambhava, and his conception of the significance of Râdhâ’s suffering may have been influenced by the image of Pârvati’s austerities preceding her union with Siva.

37. Candâ is also an epithet of Devi, the great goddess, with whom comparison is implied in the use of the term.

38. See Bharata’s Natyasastra, edited and translated by M. Ghosh (Calcutta: Granthalaya, 1967), XXIV.210-24; see also Dimock, Place of the Hidden Moon, pp. 215-20. Each state is defined in quotations from the Natyasastra in the glossary to the Sanskrit text in the clothbound edition. The eighth of the classical states, that of a prontabhartrkâ, one whose lover is away in a distant place, is inappropriate to the context of the Gitagovinda and is not ascribed to Râdhâ.

39. A detailed discussion of the significance of external manifestations of emotion in Indian aesthetic theory is found in the introduction to my Phantasies of a Love-Thief, pp. 10-11.

40. Vaîcistâ is a variant designation for the state more usually called vipralabdha

41. Although Jayadeva does not use the term abhisârâkâ, he clearly refers to it in his use of the defining characteristic of this state, which is abandoned modesty.

42. See Dimock, Place of the Hidden Moon, pp. 33-35.
Gitagovinda Translation
THE FIRST PART

Joyful Krishna

"Clouds thicken the sky,
Tamāla trees darken the forest.
The night frightens him.
Rādhā, you take him home!"
They leave at Nanda's order,
Passing trees in thickets on the way,
Until secret passions of Rādhā and Mādhava
Triumph on the Jumna riverbank.

Jayadeva, wandering king of bards
Who sing at Padmāvatī's lotus feet,
Was obsessed in his heart
By rhythms of the goddess of speech,
And he made this lyrical poem
From tales of the passionate play
When Krishna loved Śrī.

Umapatiśvara is prodigal with speech,
Sarana is renowned for his subtle flowing sounds,
But only Jayadeva divines the pure design of words.
Dhoyi is famed as king of poets for his musical ear,
But no one rivals master Govardhana
For poems of erotic mood and sacred truth.

If remembering Hari enriches your heart,
If his arts of seduction arouse you,
Listen to Jayadeva's speech
In these sweet soft lyrical songs.
In seas that rage as the aeon of chaos collapses,
You keep the holy Veda like a ship straight on course.
You take form as the Fish, Krishna.
Triumph, Hari, Lord of the World!

Where the world rests on your vast back,
Thick scars show the weight of bearing earth.
You take form as the Tortoise, Krishna.
Triumph, Hari, Lord of the World!

The earth clings to the tip of your tusk
Like a speck of dust caught on the crescent moon.
You take form as the Boar, Krishna.
Triumph, Hari, Lord of the World!

Nails on your soft lotus hand are wondrous claws
Tearing the gold-robed body of black bee Hiranyakasipu.
You take form as the Man-lion, Krishna.
Triumph, Hari, Lord of the World!

Wondrous dwarf, when you cheat demon Bali with wide steps,
Water falls from your lotus toenails to purify creatures.
You take form as the Dwarf, Krishna.
Triumph, Hari, Lord of the World!

You wash evil from the world in a flood of warriors' blood,
And the pain of existence is eased.
You take form as the axman Priest, Krishna.
Triumph, Hari, Lord of the World!

Incited by gods who guard the directions in battle,
You hurl Rāvana's ten demon heads to the skies.
You take form as the prince Rāma, Krishna.
Triumph, Hari, Lord of the World!
The robe on your bright body is colored with rain clouds,
And Jumna waters roiling in fear of your plow's attack.
You take form as the plowman Balarama, Krishna.
Triumph, Hari, Lord of the World!

Moved by deep compassion, you condemn the Vedic way
That ordinates animal slaughter in rites of sacrifice.
You take form as the enlightened Buddha, Krishna.
Triumph, Hari, Lord of the World!

You raise your sword like a fiery meteor
Slashing barbarian hordes to death.
You take form as the avenger Kaiku, Krishna.
Triumph, Hari, Lord of the World!

Listen to the perfect invocation of poet Jayadeva,
Joyously evoking the essence of existence!
You take the tenfold cosmic form, Krishna.
Triumph, Hari, Lord of the World!

For upholding the Vedas,
For supporting the earth,
For raising the world,
For tearing the demon asunder,
For cheating Bali,
For destroying the warrior class,
For conquering Ravana,
For wielding the plow,
For spreading compassion,
For routing the barbarians,
Homage to you, Krishna,
In your ten incarnate forms!
The Second Song, sung with Rāga “Gurjari”

You rest on the circle of Śrī’s breast,
Wearing your earrings,
Fondling wanton forest garlands.
    Triumph, God of Triumph, Hari! 17

The sun’s jewel light encircles you
As you break through the bond of existence—
A wild Himalayan goose on lakes in minds of holy men.
    Triumph, God of Triumph, Hari! 18

You defeat the venomous serpent Kāliya,
Exciting your Yadu kinsmen
Like sunlight inciting lotuses to bloom.
    Triumph, God of Triumph, Hari! 19

You ride your fierce eagle Garuḍa
To battle demons Madhu and Mura and Naraka,
Leaving the other gods free to play.
    Triumph, God of Triumph, Hari! 20

Watching with long omniscient lotus-petal eyes,
You free us from bonds of existence,
Preserving life in the world’s three realms.
    Triumph, God of Triumph, Hari! 21

Janaka’s daughter Sītā adorns you.
You conquer demon Dūṣana.
You kill ten-headed Rāvana in battle
    Triumph, God of Triumph, Hari! 22

Your beauty is fresh as rain clouds
You hold the mountain to churn elixir from the sea.
Your eyes are night birds drinking from Śrī’s moon face.
    Triumph, God of Triumph, Hari! 23
Poet Jayadeva joyously sings
This song of invocation
In an auspicious prayer.
    Triumph, God of Triumph, Haril

As he rests in Śrī’s embrace,
On the soft slope of her breast,
The saffroned chest of Madhu’s killer
Is stained with red marks of passion
And sweat from fatigue of tumultuous loving.
May his broad chest bring you pleasure too!
When spring came, tender-limbed Rādhā wandered
Like a flowering creeper in the forest wilderness,
Seeking Krishna in his many haunts.
The god of love increased her ordeal,
Tormenting her with fevered thoughts,
And her friend sang to heighten the mood.

---[The Third Song, sung with Rāga "Vasanta"]---

Soft sandal mountain winds caress quivering vines of clove.
Forest huts hum with droning bees and crying cuckoos.
When spring’s mood is rich, Hari roams here
To dance with young women, friend—
A cruel time for deserted lovers.

Lonely wives of travelers whine in love’s mad fantasies.
Bees swarm over flowers clustered to fill mimosa branches.
When spring’s mood is rich, Hari roams here
To dance with young women, friend—
A cruel time for deserted lovers.

Tamāla trees’ fresh leaves absorb strong scents of deer musk.
Flame-tree petals, shining nails of Love, tear at young hearts.
When spring’s mood is rich, Hari roams here
To dance with young women, friend—
A cruel time for deserted lovers.

Gleaming saffron flower pistils are golden scepters of Love.
Trumpet flowers like wanton bees are arrows in Love’s quiver.
When spring’s mood is rich, Hari roams here
To dance with young women, friend—
A cruel time for deserted lovers.
Tender buds bloom into laughter as creatures abandon modesty.
Cactus spikes pierce the sky to wound deserted lovers.
  When spring's mood is rich, Hari roams here
  To dance with young women, friend—
  A cruel time for deserted lovers.  

Scents of twining creepers mingle with perfumes of fresh garlands.
Intimate bonds with young things bewilder even hermit hearts.
  When spring's mood is rich, Hari roams here
  To dance with young women, friend—
  A cruel time for deserted lovers.  

Budding mango trees tremble from the embrace of rising vines.
Brindaban forest is washed by meandering Jumna river waters.
  When spring's mood is rich, Hari roams here
  To dance with young women, friend—
  A cruel time for deserted lovers.  

Jayadeva's song evokes the potent memory of Hari's feet,
Coloring the forest in springtime mood heightened by Love's presence.
  When spring's mood is rich, Hari roams here
  To dance with young women, friend—
  A cruel time for deserted lovers.  

Wind perfumes the forests with fine pollen
Shaken loose from newly blossomed jasmine
As it blows Love's cactus-fragrant breath
To torture every heart it touches here.  

Crying sounds of cuckoos, mating on mango shoots
Shaken as bees seek honey scents of opening buds,
Raise fever in the ears of lonely travelers—
Somehow they survive these days
By tasting the mood of lovers' union
In climaxing moments of meditation.  

1 Joyful Krishna 75
Pointing to Mura’s defeater nearby
Delighting in his seductive game
Of reveling in many women’s embraces,
Her friend sang to make Rādhā look back.

—↓ The Fourth Song, sung with Rāga “Rāmakāri” ↓—

Yellow silk and wildflower garlands lie on dark sandaloiled skin.
Jewel earrings dangling in play ornament his smiling cheeks.
Hari revels here as the crowd of charming girls
Revels in seducing him to play.

One cowherdess with heavy breasts embraces Hari lovingly
And celebrates him in a melody of love.
Hari revels here as the crowd of charming girls
Revels in seducing him to play.

Another simple girl, lured by his wanton quivering look,
Meditates intently on the lotus face of Madhu’s killer.
Hari revels here as the crowd of charming girls
Revels in seducing him to play.

A girl with curving hips, bending to whisper in his ear,
Cherishes her kiss on her lover’s tingling cheek.
Hari revels here as the crowd of charming girls
Revels in seducing him to play.

Eager for the art of his love on the Jumna riverbank, a girl
Pulls his silk cloth toward a thicket of reeds with her hand.
Hari revels here as the crowd of charming girls
Revels in seducing him to play.

Hari praises a girl drunk from dancing in the rite of love,
With beating palms and ringing bangles echoing his flute’s low tone.
Hari revels here as the crowd of charming girls
Revels in seducing him to play.
He hugs one, he kisses another, he caresses another dark beauty.
He stares at one's suggestive smiles, he mimics a 'willful girl.'
Hari revels here as the crowd of charming girls
Revels in seducing him to play.

The wondrous mystery of Krishna's sexual play in Brindaban forest
Is Jayadeva's song. Let its celebration spread Krishna's favor!
Hari revels here as the crowd of charming girls
Revels in seducing him to play.

When he quickens all things
To create bliss in the world,
His soft black sinuous lotus limbs
Begin the festival of love
And beautiful cowherd girls wildly
Wind him in their bodies.
Friend, in spring young Hari plays
Like erotic mood incarnate.

Winds from sandalwood mountains
Blow now toward Himalayan peaks,
Longing to plunge in the snows
After weeks of writhing
In the hot bellies of ground snakes,
Melodious voices of cuckoos
Raise their joyful sound
When they spy the buds
On tips of smooth mango branches.

"Joyful Krishna" is the first part in Gadagovinda
THE SECOND PART

Careless Krishna

While Hari roamed in the forest
Making love to all the women,
Radha's hold on him loosened,
And envy drove her away.
But anywhere she tried to retreat
In her thicket of wild vines,
Sounds of bees buzzing circles overhead
Depressed her—
She told her friend the secret.

---

The Fifth Song, sung with Raga “Gurjari”

Sweet notes from his alluring flute echo nectar from his lips.
His restless eyes glance, his head sways, earrings play at his cheeks.
My heart recalls Hari here in his love dance,
Playing seductively, laughing, mocking me.

A circle of peacock plumes caressed by moonlight crowns his hair.
A rainbow colors the fine cloth on his cloud-dark body.
My heart recalls Hari here in his love dance,
Playing seductively, laughing, mocking me.

Kissing mouths of round-hipped cowherd girls whets his lust.
Brilliant smiles flash from the ruby-red buds of his sweet lips.
My heart recalls Hari here in his love dance,
Playing seductively, laughing, mocking me.
Vines of his great throbbing arms circle a thousand cowherdesses.
Jewel rays from his hands and feet and chest break the dark night.
My heart recalls Hari here in his love dance,
Playing seductively, laughing, mocking me.

His sandalpaste browmark outshines the moon in a mass of clouds.
His cruel heart is a hard door bruising circles of swelling breasts.
My heart recalls Hari here in his love dance,
Playing seductively, laughing, mocking me.

Jeweled earrings in sea-serpent form adorn his sublime cheeks.
His trailing yellow cloth is a retinue of sages, gods, and spirits.
My heart recalls Hari here in his love dance,
Playing seductively, laughing, mocking me.

Meeting me under a flowering tree, he calms my fear of dark time,
Delighting me deeply by quickly glancing looks at my heart.
My heart recalls Hari here in his love dance,
Playing seductively, laughing, mocking me.

Jayadeva’s song evokes an image of Madhu’s beautiful foe
Fit for worthy men who keep the memory of Hari’s feet.
My heart recalls Hari here in his love dance,
Playing seductively, laughing, mocking me.
My heart values his vulgar ways,
Refuses to admit my rage,
Feels strangely elated,
And keeps denying his guilt.
When he steals away without me
To indulge his craving
For more young women,
My perverse heart
Only wants Krishna back.
What can I do?

\[ The \textit{Sixth Song}, \textit{sung with Rāga “Mālava”} \]

I reach the lonely forest hut where he secretly lies at night.
My trembling eyes search for him as he laughs in a mood of passion.
  \textit{Friend, bring Keśi’s sublime tormentor to revel with me!}
  \textit{I’ve gone mad waiting for his fickle love to change.}

I shy from him when we meet; he coaxes me with flattering words.
I smile at him tenderly as he loosens the silken cloth on my hips.
  \textit{Friend, bring Keśi’s sublime tormentor to revel with me!}
  \textit{I’ve gone mad waiting for his fickle love to change.}

I fall on the bed of tender ferns; he lies on my breasts forever.
I embrace him, kiss him; he clings to me drinking my lips.
  \textit{Friend, bring Keśi’s sublime tormentor to revel with me!}
  \textit{I’ve gone mad waiting for his fickle love to change.}

My eyes close languidly as I feel the flesh quiver on his cheek.
My body is moist with sweat; he is shaking from the wine of lust.
  \textit{Friend, bring Keśi’s sublime tormentor to revel with me!}
  \textit{I’ve gone mad waiting for his fickle love to change.}

I murmur like a cuckoo; he masters love’s secret rite.
My hair is a tangle of wilted flowers; my breasts bear his nailmarks.
  \textit{Friend, bring Keśi’s sublime tormentor to revel with me!}
  \textit{I’ve gone mad waiting for his fickle love to change.}
Jewel anklets ring at my feet as he reaches the height of passion. My belt falls noisily; he draws back my hair to kiss me.
Friend, bring Kes'e's sublime tormentor to revel with me! I've gone mad waiting for his fickle love to change.

I savor passion's joyful time; his lotus eyes are barely open. My body falls like a limp vine; Madhu's fec delights in my love.
Friend, bring Kes'e's sublime tormentor to revel with me! I've gone mad waiting for his fickle love to change.

Jayadeva sings about Rādhā's fantasy of making love with Madhu's killer. Let the story of a lonely cowherdess spread joy in his graceful play.
Friend, bring Kes'e's sublime tormentor to revel with me! I've gone mad waiting for his fickle love to change.

The enchanting flute in his hand Lies fallen under coy glances; Sweat of love wets his cheeks; His bewildered face is smiling— When Krishna sees me watching him Playing in the forest In a crowd of village beauties, I feel the joy of desire.

Wind from a lakeside garden Coaxing buds on new aśoka branches Into clusters of scarlet flowers Is only fanning the flames to burn me. This mountain Of new mango blossoms Humming with roving bumblebees Is no comfort to me now, friend.

"Careless Krishna" is the second part in Gitagovinda

ni Careless Krishna, 81
THE THIRD PART

Bewildered Krishna

Krishna, demon Kamsa's foe,
Feeling Rādhā bind his heart with chains
Of memories buried in other worldly lives,
Abandoned the beautiful cowherd girls.

As he searched for Rādhikā in vain,
Arrows of love pierced his weary mind
And Mādhava repented as he suffered
In a thicket on the Jumna riverbank.

---

The Seventh Song, sung with Rāga "Gurjari"

She saw me surrounded in the crowd of women,
And went away.
I was too ashamed,
Too afraid to stop her.
Damn me! My wanton ways
Made her leave in anger.

What will she do, what will she say to me
For deserting her this long?
I have little use for wealth or people
Or my life or my home.
Damn me! My wanton ways
Made her leave in anger.

---
I brood on her brow curving
Over her anger-shadowed face,
Like a red lotus
Shadowed by a bee hovering above.
    Damn me! My wanton ways
    Made her leave in anger.

In my heart's sleepless state
I wildly enjoy her loving me.
Why do I follow her now in the woods?
Why do I cry in vain?
    Damn me! My wanton ways
    Made her leave in anger.

Frail Rādhā, I know jealousy
Wastes your heart.
But I can't beg your forgiveness
When I don't know where you are.
    Damn me! My wanton ways
    Made her leave in anger.

You haunt me,
Appearing, disappearing again.
Why do you deny me
Winding embraces you once gave me?
    Damn me! My wanton ways
    Made her leave in anger.

Forgive me now!
I won't do this to you again!
Give me a vision, beautiful Rādhā!
I burn with passion of love.
    Damn me! My wanton ways
    Made her leave in anger.
Hari's state is painted
With deep emotion by Jayadeva—
The poet from Kindubilva village,
The moon rising out of the sea.
   Damn me! My wanton ways
   Made her leave in anger.

Lotus stalks garland my heart,
Not a necklace of snakes!
Blue lily petals circle my neck,
Not a streak of poison!
Sandalwood powder, not ash,
Is smeared on my lovelorn body!
Love-god, don't attack, mistaking me for Śiva!
Why do you rush at me in rage?

Don't lift your mango-blossom arrow!
Don't aim your bowl
Our games prove your triumph, Love.
Striking weak victims is empty valor.
Rādhā's doe eyes broke my heart
With a volley of glances
Impelled by love—
Nothing can arouse me now!

Glancing arrows your brow's bow conceals
May cause pain in my soft mortal core.
Your heavy black sinuous braid
May perversely whip me to death.
Your luscious red berry lips, frail Rādhā,
May spread a strange delirium.
But how do breasts in perfect circles
Play havoc with my life?
Her joyful responses to my touch,
Trembling liquid movements of her eyes,
Fragrance from her lotus mouth,
A sweet ambiguous stream of words,
Nectar from her red berry lips—
Even when the sensuous objects are gone,
My mind holds on to her in a trance.
How does the wound of her desertion deepen? 14

Her arched brow is his bow,
Her darting glances are arrows,
Her earlobe is the bowstring—
Why are the weapons guarded
In Love's living goddess of triumph?
The world is already vanquished. 15

"Bewildered Krishna" is the third part in Gitagovinda
**THE FOURTH PART**


**Tender Krishna**

In a clump of reeds on the Jumna riverbank
Where Mādhava waited helplessly,
Reeling under the burden of ardent love,
Rādhikā’s friend spoke to him.

---

*The Eighth Song, sung with Rāga “Karnāta”*  

She slanders sandalbalm and moonbeams—weariness confuses her.  
She feels venom from nests of deadly snakes in sandal mountain winds.  

Lying dejected by your desertion, fearing Love’s arrows,  
She clings to you in fantasy, Mādhava.

Trying to protect you from the endless fall of Love’s arrows,  
She shields her heart’s soft mortal core with moist lotus petals.  

Lying dejected by your desertion, fearing Love’s arrows,  
She clings to you in fantasy, Mādhava.

She covets a couch of Love’s arrows to practice her seductive art  
She makes her flower bed a penance to win joy in your embrace.  

Lying dejected by your desertion, fearing Love’s arrows,  
She clings to you in fantasy, Mādhava.

She raises her sublime lotus face, clouded and streaked with tears,  
Like the moon dripping with nectar from cuts of the eclipse’s teeth.  

Lying dejected by your desertion, fearing Love’s arrows,  
She clings to you in fantasy, Mādhava.
She secretly draws you with deer musk to resemble the god of love,
Riding a sea monster, aiming mango-blossom arrows—she worships you.
Lying dejected by your desertion, fearing Love's arrows,
She clings to you in fantasy, Mādhava.

She cries out the words, "Mādhava, I fall at your feet!
When your face turns away, even moonlight scorches my body."
Lying dejected by your desertion, fearing Love's arrows,
She clings to you in fantasy, Mādhava.

She evokes you in deep meditation to reach your distant form.
She laments, laughs, collapses, cries, trembles, utters her pain.
Lying dejected by your desertion, fearing Love's arrows,
She clings to you in fantasy, Mādhava.

If your heart hopes to dance to the haunting song of Jayadeva,
Study what her friend said about Rādhā suffering Hari's desertion.
Lying dejected by your desertion, fearing Love's arrows,
She clings to you in fantasy, Mādhava.
Her house becomes a wild jungle,
Her band of loving friends a snare.
Sighs fan her burning pain
To flames that rage like forest fire.
Suffering your desertion,
She takes form as a whining doe
And turns Love into Death
Disguised as a tiger hunting prey.

---

The Ninth Song, sung in Rāga “Deulakhya” —

An exquisite garland lying on her breasts
Is a burden to the frail wasted girl.

Krishna, Rādhikā suffers in your desertion.

Moist sandalbalm smoothed on her body
Feels like dread poison to her.

Krishna, Rādhikā suffers in your desertion.

The strong wind of her own sighing
Feels like the burning fire of love.

Krishna, Rādhikā suffers in your desertion.

Her eyes shed tears everywhere
Like dew from lotuses with broken stems.

Krishna, Rādhikā suffers in your desertion.

Her eyes see a couch of tender shoots,
But she imagines a ritual bed of flames

Krishna, Rādhikā suffers in your desertion.

She presses her palm against her cheek,
Wan as a crescent moon in the evening.

Krishna, Rādhikā suffers in your desertion.

iv Tender Krishna 88
“Haril Haril” she chants passionately,  
As if destined to die through harsh neglect.  
Krishna, Rādhikā suffers in your desertion.

May singing Jayadeva’s song  
Give pleasure to the worshipper at Krishna’s feet!  
Krishna, Rādhikā suffers in your desertion.

She bristles with pain, sucks in breath,  
Cries, shudders, gasps,  
Broods deep, reels, stammers,  
Falls, raises herself, then faints.  
When fevers of passion rage so high,  
A frail girl may live by your charm.  
If you feel sympathy, Krishna,  
Play godly healer! Or Death may take her.

Divine physician of her heart,  
The love-sick girl can only be healed  
With elixir from your body.  
Free Rādhā from her torment, Krishna—  
Or you are crueler  
Than Indra’s dread thunderbolt.

While her body lies sick  
From smoldering fever of love,  
Her heart suffers strange slow suffocation  
In mirages of sandal balm, moonlight, lotus pools.  
When exhaustion forces her to meditate on you,  
On the cool body of her solitary lover,  
She feels secretly revived—  
For a moment the feeble girl breathes life.

She found your neglect in love unbearable before,  
Despairing if you closed your eyes even for a moment.  
How will she live through this long desertion,  
Watching flowers on top of mango branches?

“Tender Krishna” is the fourth part in Gitagovinda
THE FIFTH PART

Lotus-eyed Krishna Longing for Love

I'll stay here, you go to Rādhā!
Appease her with my words and bring her to me!
Commanded by Madhu's foot, her friend
Went to repeat his words to Rādhā.

"A Tenth Song, sung with Rāga "Deśavarādī" -

Sandalwood mountain winds blow,
Spreading passion.
Flowers bloom in profusion,
Tearing deserted lovers' hearts.
Wildflower-garlanded Krishna
Suffers in your desertion, friend.

Cool moon rays scorch him,
Threatening death.
Love's arrow falls
And he laments his weakness.
Wildflower-garlanded Krishna
Suffers in your desertion, friend.

Bees swarm, buzzing sounds of love,
Making him cover his ears.
Your neglect affects his heart,
Inflicting pain night after night.
Wildflower-garlanded Krishna
Suffers in your desertion, friend.

v Lotus-eyed Krishna Longing for Love 90
He dwells in dense forest wilds,
Rejecting his luxurious house.
He tosses on his bed of earth,
Frantically calling your name.
Wildflower-garlanded Krishna
Suffers in your desertion, friend.

Poet Jayadeva sings
To describe Krishna's desolation.
When your heart feels his strong desire,
Hari will rise to favor you.
Wildflower-garlanded Krishna
Suffers in your desertion, friend.
Mādhava still waits for you
In Love’s most sacred thicket,
Where you perfected love together.
He meditates on you without sleeping,
Muttering a series of magical prayers.
He craves the rich elixir that flows
From embracing your full breasts.

---

The Eleventh Song, sung with Rāga “Gurjari”

He ventures in secret to savor your passion, dressed for love’s delight.
Rādhā, don’t let full hips idle! Follow the lord of your heart!
   In woods on the wind-swept Jumna bank,
   Krishna waits in wildflower garlands.

He plays your name to call you on his sweet reed flute.
He cherishes breeze-blown pollen that touched your fragile body.
   In woods on the wind-swept Jumna bank,
   Krishna waits in wildflower garlands.

When a bird feather falls or a leaf stirs, he imagines your coming.
He makes the bed of love; he eyes your pathway anxiously.
   In woods on the wind-swept Jumna bank,
   Krishna waits in wildflower garlands.

Leave your noisy anklets! They clang like traitors in love play.
Go to the darkened thicket, friend! Hide in a cloak of night!
   In woods on the wind-swept Jumna bank,
   Krishna waits in wildflower garlands.

Your garlands fall on Krishna’s chest like white cranes on a dark cloud.
Shining lightning over him, Rādhā, you rule in the climax of love.
   In woods on the wind-swept Jumna bank,
   Krishna waits in wildflower garlands.
Loosen your clothes, untie your belt, open your loins!
Rādhā, your gift of delight is like treasure in a bed of vines.
In woods on the wind-swept Jumna bank,
Krishna waits in wildflower garlands.

Hari is proud. This night is about to end now.
Speed my promise to him! Fulfill the desire of Madhu's foel
In woods on the wind-swept Jumna bank,
Krishna waits in wildflower garlands.

While Jayadeva sings his enticing song to worship Hari,
Bow to Hari! He loves your favor—his heart is joyful and gentle.
In woods on the wind-swept Jumna bank,
Krishna waits in wildflower garlands.

Sighing incessantly, he pours out his grief.
He endlessly searches the empty directions.
Each time he enters the forest thicket,
Humming to himself, he gasps for breath.
He makes your bed of love again and again,
Staring at it in empty confusion.
Lovely Rādhā, your lover suffers
Passion's mental pain.

Your spitefulness ebbed .
As the hot-rayed sun set
Krishna's mad desire
Deepened with the darkness.
The pitiful cry of lonely cuckoos
Keeps echoing my plea,
"Delay is useless, you fool—
It is time for lovers to meet!"
Two lovers meeting in darkness
Embrace and kiss
And claw as desire rises
To dizzying heights of love.
When familiar voices reveal
That they ventured into the dark
To betray each other,
The mood is mixed with shame.

As you cast your frightened glance
On the dark path,
As you stop at every tree,
Measuring your steps slowly,
As you secretly move
With love surging through your limbs,
Krishna is watching you, Rādhā!
Let him celebrate your coming!

"Lotus-eyed Krishna Longing for Love" is the fifth part in Gitagovinda
THE SIXTH PART

Indolent Krishna

Seeing Rādhā in her retreat of vines,
Powerless to leave, impassioned too long,
Her friend described her state
While Krishna lay helpless with love.

--- The Twelfth Song, sung with Rāga “Nats” ---

In her loneliness she sees you everywhere
Drinking springflower honey from other lips.
    Lord Hari,
    Rādhā suffers in her retreat.

Rushing in her haste to meet you,
She stumbles after a few steps and falls.
    Lord Hari,
    Rādhā suffers in her retreat.

Weaving bracelets from supple lotus shoots
As symbols of your skillful love, she keeps alive.
    Lord Hari,
    Rādhā suffers in her retreat.

Staring at her ornaments' natural grace,
She fancies, "I am Krishna, Madhu's foe."
    Lord Hari,
    Rādhā suffers in her retreat.

vi Indolent Krishna 95
“Why won’t Hari come quickly to meet me?”
She incessantly asks her friend.
Lord Hari,
Rādhā suffers in her retreat.

She embraces, she kisses cloud-like forms
Of the vast dark night. “Hari has come,” she says.
Lord Hari,
Rādhā suffers in her retreat.

While you idle here, modesty abandons her,
She laments, sobs as she waits to love you.
Lord Hari,
Rādhā suffers in her retreat.

May poet Jayadeva’s song
Bring joy to sensitive men!
Lord Hari,
Rādhā suffers in her retreat.

Her body bristling with longing,
Her breath sucking in words of confusion,
Her voice cracking in deep cold fear—
Obsessed by intense thoughts of passion,
Rādhā sinks in a sea of erotic mood,
Clinging to you in her meditation, cheat!

She ornaments her limbs
When a leaf quivers or a feather falls.
Suspecting your coming,
She spreads out the bed
And waits long in meditation.
Making her bed of ornaments and fantasies,
She evokes a hundred details of you
In her own graceful play.
But the frail girl will not survive
Tonight without you.

“Indolent Krishna” is the sixth part in Gitagovinda
THE SEVENTH PART

Cunning Krishna

As night came
The mood displayed cratered stains,
Seeming to flaunt its guilt
In betraying secret paths
Of adulterous women,
Lighting depths of Brindaban forest
With moonbeam nets—
A spot of sandalwood powder
On the face of a virgin sky.

While the moon rose
And Mādhava idled,
Lonely Rādhā
Cried her pain aloud
In piteful sobbing

--- The Thirteenth Song, sung with Rāga “Mālava” ---

Just when we promised to meet, Hari avoided the woods.
The flawless beauty of my youth is barren now.
   Whom can I seek for refuge here?
   My friend’s advice deceives me.

I followed him at night to depths of the forest.
He pierced my heart with arrows of love.
   Whom can I seek for refuge here?
   My friend’s advice deceives me.

vii Cunning Krishna 97
Death is better than living in my barren body.
Why do I blankly endure love's desolating fire?
Whom can I seek for refuge here?
My friend's advice deceives me.

The sweet spring night torments my loneliness—
Some other girl now enjoys Hari's favor.
Whom can I seek for refuge here?
My friend's advice deceives me.

Every bangle and jewel I wear pains me,
Carrying the fire of Hari's desertion.
Whom can I seek for refuge here?
My friend's advice deceives me.

Even a garland strikes at the heart of my fragile body
With hard irony, like Love's graceful arrow.
Whom can I seek for refuge here?
My friend's advice deceives me.

I wait among countless forest reeds;
Madhu's killer does not recall me, even in his heart.
Whom can I seek for refuge here?
My friend's advice deceives me.

Jayadeva's speech takes refuge at Hari's feet.
Keep it in your heart like a tender girl skillful in love.
Whom can I seek for refuge here?
My friend's advice deceives me.

Has he waylaid some loving girl?
Do his friends hold him by clever tricks?
Is he roaming blindly near the dark forest?
Or does my lover's anguish mind so tangle the path
That he cannot come into this thicket of vines
And sweet swamp reeds where we promised to meet?
When Rādhā saw her friend come back
Without Mādhava,
Downcast and tongue-tied,
Suspicion raised a vision of some girl
Delighting Krishna,
And she told her friend.

- The Fourteenth Song, sung with Rāga "Vasanta" --

She is richly arrayed in ornaments for the battle of love;
Tangles of flowers lie wilted in her loosened hair.
Some young voluptuous beauty
Revels with the enemy of Madhu.

She is visibly excited by embracing Hari;
Her necklaces tremble on full, hard breasts.
Some young voluptuous beauty
Revels with the enemy of Madhu.

Curling locks caress her moon face;
She is weary from ardently drinking his lips.
Some young voluptuous beauty
Revels with the enemy of Madhu.

Quivering earrings graze her cheeks,
Her belt sounds with her hips' rolling motion.
Some young voluptuous beauty
Revels with the enemy of Madhu.

She laughs bashfully when her lover looks at her;
The taste of passion echoes from her murmuring.
Some young voluptuous beauty
Revels with the enemy of Madhu.
Her body writhes with tingling flesh and trembling.
The ghost of Love expands inside with her sighing.
Some young voluptuous beauty
Revels with the enemy of Madhu.

Drops of sweat wet the graceful body
Fallen limp on his chest in passionate battle.
Some young voluptuous beauty
Revels with the enemy of Madhu.

May Hari's delight in Jayadeva's song
Bring an end to this dark time.
Some young voluptuous beauty
Revels with the enemy of Madhu.
The lonely moon,
Like the lotus face of Mura’s foe,
Wan in love’s desolation,
Is calming the surface of my mind.
But the moon is Love’s friend—
It still inflicts his torments
On my heart.

---

The Fifteenth Song, sung with Rāga “Gurjari”

Her rapt face shows the passion her lips feel kissing him;
With deer musk he draws the form of a stag on the moon.

In woods behind a sandbank on the Jumna river,
Mura’s foe makes love in triumph now.

He lays an amaranth blossom in clouds of hair massed on her soft face—
A shimmer of lightning shines in the forest where Love goes hunting.

In woods behind a sandbank on the Jumna river,
Mura’s foe makes love in triumph now.

He smears the domes of her swelling breasts with shining deer musk,
He makes star clusters with pearls and a moonmark with his nail.

In woods behind a sandbank on the Jumna river,
Mura’s foe makes love in triumph now.

The dark sapphire bangle he slips over each lotus-petal hand
Encircles her arm’s cool pale supple stalk like a swarm of bees.

In woods behind a sandbank on the Jumna river,
Mura’s foe makes love in triumph now.

Her broad hips are a temple of passion holding Love’s golden throne;
He lays a girdle of gemstones there to mark the gate of triumph.

In woods behind a sandbank on the Jumna river,
Mura’s foe makes love in triumph now.
He applies a shining coat of lac to feet lying on his heart
Like tender shoots tipped with pearls to honor Lakṣmi's place inside.
   In woods behind a sandbank on the Jumna river,
   Mura's foe makes love in triumph now. 27

While Balarāma's fickle brother is delighting some pretty girl,
Why does barren disgust haunt my bower of branches, tell me friend?
   In woods behind a sandbank on the Jumna river,
   Mura's foe makes love in triumph now. 28

Jayadeva, king of poets, echoes Hari's merit in the mood of his song.
Let evil dark-age rhythms cease at the feet of Madhu's foe!
   In woods behind a sandbank on the Jumna river,
   Mura's foe makes love in triumph now. 29
Friend, if the pitiless rogue won't come,
Why should it pain my messenger?
He wantonly delights in loving many women.
Why is this your fault?
Seek His tenderness in love
Draws my heart to meet him.
It is trying to break away
From the pain of longing for him.

The Sixteenth Song, sung with Rāga "Detākhyā"

His eyes flirt like blue night lilies in the wind.
The bed of tender shoots won't burn her.
Wildflower-garlanded Krishna
careses her, friend.

His soft mouth moves like an open lotus.
Arrows of love won't wound her.
Wildflower-garlanded Krishna
careses her, friend.

His mellow speech is elixir of honey.
Sandal mountain winds won't scorch her.
Wildflower-garlanded Krishna
careses her, friend.

His hands and feet gleam like hibiscus blossoms.
Cold moon rays won't make her writhe.
Wildflower-garlanded Krishna
careses her, friend.

His color deepens like rain-heavy thunderheads.
Long desertion won't tear at her heart.
Wildflower-garlanded Krishna
careses her, friend.
His bright cloth shines gold on black touchstone.
Her servants' teasing won't make her sigh.
  Wildflower-garlanded Krishna
  Caresses her, friend.

His tender youth touches all creatures.
She won't feel the pain of terrible pity.
  Wildflower-garlanded Krishna
  Caresses her, friend.

Through words that Jayadeva sings
May Hari possess your heart!
  Wildflower-garlanded Krishna
  Caresses her, friend.

Sandalwood mountain wind,
As you blow southern breezes
To spread the bliss of love,
Soothe me! End the paradox!
Lifebreath of the world,
If you bring me Mādhava
For a moment,
You may take my life!

Friends are hostile,
Cool wind is like fire,
Moon nectar is poison,
Krishna torments me in my heart.
But even when he is cruel
I am forced to take him back.
Women with night-lily eyes feel love
In a paradox of passion-bound infinity.
Command my torment, sandal mountain wind!
Take my lifebreath with arrows, Love!
I will not go home for refuge again!
Jumna river, sister of Death,
Why should you be kind?
Drown my limbs with waves!
Let my body's burning be quenched!

"Cunning Krishna" is the seventh part in Gitagovinda
THE EIGHTH PART

Abashed Krishna

After struggling through the night,
She seemed wasted by the arrows of love.
She denounced her lover bitterly
As he bowed before her, pleading forgiveness.

—[The Seventeenth Song, sung with Rāga “Bhairavi”]—

Bloodshot from a sleepless night of passion, listless now,
Your eyes express the mood of awakened love.
Damn you, Mādhava! Go! Keśava, leave me!
Don’t plead your lies with me!
Go after her, Krishna!
She will ease your despair.

Dark from kissing her kohl-blackened eyes,
At dawn your lips match your body’s color, Krishna.
Damn you, Mādhava! Go! Keśava, leave me!
Don’t plead your lies with me!
Go after her, Krishna!
She will ease your despair.

Etched with scratches of sharp nails in the battle of love,
Your body tells the triumph of passion in gold writing on sapphire.
Damn you, Mādhava! Go! Keśava, leave me!
Don’t plead your lies with me!
Go after her, Krishna!
She will ease your despair.
Drops of red lac from her lotus feet wet your sublime breast.
They force buds from the tree of love to bloom on your skin.
Damn you, Mādhava! Gol Keśava, leave me!
Don't plead your lies with me!
Go after her, Krishna!
She will ease your despair.

The toothmark she left on your lip creates anguish in my heart.
Why does it evoke the union of your body with mine now?
Damn you, Mādhava! Gol Keśava, leave me!
Don't plead your lies with me!
Go after her, Krishna!
She will ease your despair.

Dark Krishna, your heart must be baser black than your skin.
How can you deceive a faithful creature tortured by fevers of Love?
Damn you, Mādhava! Gol Keśava, leave me!
Don't plead your lies with me!
Go after her, Krishna!
She will ease your despair.

Why am I shocked that you roam in the woods to consume weak girls?
The fate of Pūtanā shows your cruel childhood bent for killing women.
Damn you, Mādhava! Gol Keśava, leave me!
Don't plead your lies with me!
Go after her, Krishna!
She will ease your despair.
The red stains her lac-painted feet
Lovingly left on your heart
Look to me like fiery passion
Exposing itself on your skin.
Cheat, the image I have of you now
Flaunting our love's break
Causes me more shame
Than sorrow.

"Abashed Krishna" is the eighth part in *Gitagovinda*
THE NINTH PART

Languishing Krishna

Then, when she felt wasted by love,
Broken by her passion's intensity,
Despondent, haunted by Hari's
Response to her quarreling,
Her friend spoke to her.

"The Eighteenth Song, sung with Rāga "Gurpāri""

Hari comes when spring winds, bearing honey, blow.
What greater pleasure exists in the world, friend?
Don't turn wounded pride on Mādhava!
He is proud too, sullen Rādhā.

Your swollen breasts are riper than palm fruits.
Why do you waste their rich flavor?
Don't turn wounded pride on Mādhava!
He is proud too, sullen Rādhā.

How often must I repeat the refrain?
Don't recol when Hari longs to charm you!
Don't turn wounded pride on Mādhava!
He is proud too, sullen Rādhā.

Why do you cry in hollow despair?
Your girlfriends are laughing at you.
Don't turn wounded pride on Mādhava!
He is proud too, sullen Rādhā.
See Hari on his cool couch of moist lotuses!
Reward your eyes with this fruit!
   Don't turn wounded pride on Mādhava!
He is proud too, sullen Rādhā.

Why conjure heavy despair in your heart?
Listen to me tell how he regrets betraying you.
   Don't turn wounded pride on Mādhava!
He is proud too, sullen Rādhā.

Let Hari come! Let him speak sweet words!
Why condemn your heart to loneliness?
   Don't turn wounded pride on Mādhava!
He is proud too, sullen Rādhā.

May Jayadeva's lilting song
Please sensitive men who hear Hari's story!
   Don't turn wounded pride on Mādhava!
He is proud too, sullen Rādhā.

When he is tender you are harsh,
When he is pliant you are rigid,
When he is passionate you are hateful,
When he looks expectant you turn away,
You leave when he is loving.
Your perverseness justly
Turns your sandalbalm to poison,
Cool moon rays to heat, ice to fire,
Joys of loveplay to torments of hell

"Languishing Krishna" is the ninth part in Gitagovinda
The Tenth Part

Four Quickening Arms

As night came, he approached Radhā,
Finding the force of her anger softened,
Her face weak from endless sighing.
At dusk she stared in shame at her friend's face
As Hari stammered his blissful words.

The Nineteenth Song, sung with Rāga "Devaparādī-

If you speak, moonlight gleaming on your teeth
Dispels the dread darkness of fear.
Let your moon face lure my nightbird eyes
To taste nectar from your quivering lips!
Radhā, cherished love,
Abandon your baseless pride!
Love's fire burns my heart—
Bring wine in your lotus mouth!

If you feel enraged at me, Radhā,
Inflict arrow-wounds with your sharp nails!
Bind me in your arms! Bite me with your teeth!
Or do whatever excites your pleasure!
Radhā, cherished love,
Abandon your baseless pride!
Love's fire burns my heart—
Bring wine in your lotus mouth!
You are my ornament, my life,
My jewel in the sea of existence.
Be yielding to me forever,
My heart fervently pleads!
   Rādhā, cherished love,
   Abandon your baseless pride!
   Love's fire burns my heart—
   Bring wine in your lotus mouth!

Frail Rādhā, even with dark lotus pupils,
Your angry eyes are like scarlet lilies.
As your arrows of love arouse emotion,
My black form responds with red passion.
   Rādhā, cherished love,
   Abandon your baseless pride!
   Love's fire burns my heart—
   Bring wine in your lotus mouth!

Let pearls quivering on full breasts
Move the depths of your heart!
Let a girdle ringing on round hips
Proclaim the command of Love!
   Rādhā, cherished love,
   Abandon your baseless pride!
   Love's fire burns my heart—
   Bring wine in your lotus mouth!

Your hibiscus-blossom foot colors my heart
As your beauty fills the stage of love.
Speak, soft voiced Rādhā! Let me dye your feet
With the rich liquid of gleaming red lac!
   Rādhā, cherished love,
   Abandon your baseless pride!
   Love's fire burns my heart—
   Bring wine in your lotus mouth!

x Four Quickening Arms 112
Place your foot on my head—
A sublime flower destroying poison of love!
Let your foot quell the harsh sun
Burning its fiery form in me to torment Love.
   Radha, cherished love,
Abandon your baseless pride!
Love's fire burns my heart—
Bring wine in your lotus mouth!

This graceful loving coaxing
Mura’s foe spoke to Radhikā
Triumphs in the joy Jayadeva sings
To delight his muse Padmāvatī.
   Radha, cherished love,
Abandon your baseless pride!
Love’s fire burns my heart—
Bring wine in your lotus mouth!

Fretful Radha, don’t suspect me!
A rival has no place
When your voluptuous breasts and hips
Always occupy my heart.
Only the ghost of Love is potent enough
To penetrate my subtle core.
When I start to press your heavy breasts,
Fulfill our destined rite!

Punish me, lovely fool!
Bite me with your cruel teeth!
Chain me with your creeper arms!
Crush me with your hard breasts!
Angry goddess, don’t weaken with joy!
Let Love’s despised arrows
Pierce me to sap my life’s power!

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| Four Quickening Arms | 113 |
Your useless silence tortures me, frail Rādhā.
Sing sweet lyrics in the mode of love!
Tender girl, destroy my pain with your eyes!
Beautiful Rādhā, don't be indifferent!
Don't elude me! I am deeply devoted to you.
Lovely fool, I am here as your lover.

Your moist lips glow
Like crimson autumn blossoms;
The skin of your cheek
Is a honey-colored flower.
Fierce Rādhā, your eyes glower
Like gleaming dark lotuses;
Your nose is a sesame flower;
Your teeth are white jasmine.
Love's flower arms conquer worlds
By worshipping your face.

Your eyes are lazy with wine, like Madālasā.
Your face glows like the moonlight nymph Indumati.
Your gait pleases every creature, like Manorama.
Your thighs are plantains in motion, like Rambhā.
Your passion is the mystic rite of Kalāvatī.
Your brows form the sensual line of Citralekhā.
Frail Rādhā, as you walk on earth,
You bear the young beauty of heavenly nymphs.

"Four Quickening Arms" is the tenth part in Gitagovinda
THE ELEVENTH PART

Blissful Krishna

Soothing Rādhā with his pleas,
Keśava dressed elaborately
And went to lie on his thicket bed.
As night fell to blind prying eyes,
Rādhā dressed in gleaming ornaments
And one woman urged her to move quickly.

— The Twentieth Song, sung with Rāga “Vasanta” —

He made himself soothe you with flattery.
He made himself fall limp at your feet.
Now he waits for sensual play in his bed
On a bank of sweet swamp seeds.
Madhu’s tormentor
Is faithful to you, fool.
Follow him, Rādhikā!

Your full hips and breasts are heavy to bear.
Approach with anklets ringing!
Their sound inspires lingering feet.
Run with the gait of a wild goose!
Madhu’s tormentor
Is faithful to you, fool.
Follow him, Rādhikā!
Listen to enticing sounds of honey bees
Buzzing to bewilder tender women!
Sympathize when a flock of cuckoos
Sing Love's commands like bards.

Madhu's tormentor
Is faithful to you, fool.
Follow him, Rādhikā!

A mass of vines with thickly clustered shoots
Quivering in the wind like a hand
Seems to be gesturing to your tapering thighs
To quicken your pace. Stop loitering here!

Madhu's tormentor
Is faithful to you, fool.
Follow him, Rādhikā!

Strong waves of love throbbing in you
Suggest that you feel Hari's embrace.
Ask your rounded breasts if they wear
Seductive pearls or drops of pure water!

Madhu's tormentor
Is faithful to you, fool.
Follow him, Rādhikā!

Your friends know your armed body is ready
For passionate battle, fierce Rādhā,
By the war-drums beat of your clanging girdle.
Meet his rich mood without shame!

Madhu's tormentor
Is faithful to you, fool.
Follow him, Rādhikā!

As you cling to your friend in graceful play,
Nails on your hand are arrows of love—
Let your ringing bangles go to him!
Wake Hari! Claim his intimacy!

Madhu's tormentor
Is faithful to you, fool.
Follow him, Rādhikā!
Jayadeva's singing devalues necklaces;
It solves the paradox of beauty.
May it always adorn the throats
Of men who devote their hearts to Hari!

Madhu's tormentor
Is faithful to you, fool.
Follow him, Rādhikā!

"She will look at me, tell me a tale of love,
Feel pleasure in every limb from my embraces,
Delight in meeting me, friend," he says anxiously.
Your lover looks for you, trembles, bristles,
Rejoices, sweats, advances, falls faint
In the thicket buried in darkness.

Night is putting black kohl on their eyes,
Tamāla-flower clusters on their ears,
Dark lotus wreaths on their heads,
Leaf designs of musk on their breasts.
In every thicket, friend,
The night's dark cherished cloak
Embraces limbs of beautiful adultresses
Whose hearts rush to meet their lovers.

As saffron-bright bodies
Of women rushing to meet lovers
Streak the night
With clusters of light,
Night spreads darkness as dense
As tamāla leaves,
Making a touchstone
To test the gold of love.
Seeing Hari light the deep thicket
With brilliant jewel necklaces, a pendant,
A golden rope belt, armlets, and wrist bands,
Radha modestly stopped at the entrance,
But her friend urged her on.

---[ The Twenty-first Song, sung with Raga “Varadi” ]---

Revel in wild luxury on the sweet thicket floor!
Your laughing face begs ardently for his love.
Radha, enter Madhava’s intimate world!

Revel in a thick bed of red petals plucked as offerings!
Strings of pearls are quivering on your rounded breasts.
Radha, enter Madhava’s intimate world!

Revel in a bright retreat heaped with flowers!
Your tender body is flowering.
Radha, enter Madhava’s intimate world!

Revel in the fragrant chill of gusting sandal-forest winds!
Your sensual singing captures the mood.
Radha, enter Madhava’s intimate world!

Revel where swarming bees drunk on honey buzz soft tones!
Your emotion is rich in the mood of love.
Radha, enter Madhava’s intimate world!

Revel where cries of flocking cuckoos sweetly sound!
Your teeth glow like seeds of ripe pomegranate.
Radha, enter Madhava’s intimate world!

Revel in tangles of new shoots growing on creeping vines!
Your voluptuous hips have languished too long.
Radha, enter Madhava’s intimate world!
Consecrate your joyful union with Padmāvatī!
Enemy of Mura, grant a hundred holy blessings
While poet-king Jayadeva is singing!
Rādhā, enter Mādhava's intimate world!

Bearing you in his mind so long
Has wearied him, inflamed him with love.
He longs to drink your sweet berry lips' nectar.
Ornament his body with yours now!
He worships your lotus feet—a slave bought
With Śrī's flashing glance. Why are you afraid?
All his deep-locked emotions broke when he saw Radha’s face,  
like sea waves cresting when the full moon appears.
She saw her passion reach the soul of Hari’s mood—
The weight of joy strained his face; Love’s ghost haunted him.

He toyed with ropes of clear pearls lying on his chest,
like the dark Jumna current churning shining swells of foam.
She saw her passion reach the soul of Hari’s mood—
The weight of joy strained his face; Love’s ghost haunted him.

The soft black curve of his body was wrapped in fine silk cloth,
like a dark lotus root wrapped in veils of yellow pollen.
She saw her passion reach the soul of Hari’s mood—
The weight of joy strained his face; Love’s ghost haunted him.

Her passion rose when glances played on his seductive face,
like an autumn pond when wagtails mate in lotus blossom hollows.
She saw her passion reach the soul of Hari’s mood—
The weight of joy strained his face; Love’s ghost haunted him.

Earrings caressing his lotus face caught the brilliant sunlight.
Flushed lips flashing a smile aroused the lust of passion.
She saw her passion reach the soul of Hari’s mood—
The weight of joy strained his face; Love’s ghost haunted him.

Flowers tangled his hair like moonbeams caught in cloudbreaks.
His sandal browmark was the moon’s circle rising in darkness.
She saw her passion reach the soul of Hari’s mood—
The weight of joy strained his face; Love’s ghost haunted him.
His body hair bristled to the art of her sensual play.
Gleaming jewels ornamented his graceful form.
She saw her passion reach the soul of Hari’s mood—
The weight of joy strained his face; Love’s ghost haunted him.

Jayadeva’s singing doubles the power of Krishna’s adornments.
Worship Hari in your heart and consummate his favor!
She saw her passion reach the soul of Hari’s mood—
The weight of joy strained his face; Love’s ghost haunted him.

Her eyes transgressed their bounds—
Straining to reach beyond her ears,
They fell on him with trembling pupils.
When Rādhā’s eyes met her lover,
Heavy tears of joy
Fell like streaming sweat.

She neared the edge of his bed,
Masking her smile by pretending to scratch
As her friends swarmed outside—
When she saw her lover’s face
Graced by arrows of Love,
Even Rādhā’s modesty left in shame.

“Blissful Krishna” is the eleventh part in Gitagovinda
THE TWELFTH PART

Ecstatic Krishna

When her friends had gone,
Smiles spread on Rādhā's lips
While love's deep fantasies
Struggled with her modesty.
Seeing the mood in Rādhā's heart,
Hari spoke to his love;
Her eyes were fixed
On his bed of buds and tender shoots.

---

(The Twenty-third Song, sung with Rāga "Udbhāsa"---

Leave lotus footprints on my bed of tender shoots, loving Rādhā!
Let my place be ravaged by your tender feet!
Nārāyaṇa is faithful now. Love me, Rādhikā!

I stroke your foot with my lotus hand—You have come far.
Set your golden anklet on my bed like the sun.
Nārāyaṇa is faithful now. Love me, Rādhikā!

Consent to my love; let elixir pour from your face!
To end our separation I bare my chest of the silk that bars your breast.
Nārāyaṇa is faithful now. Love me, Rādhikā!

Throbbing breasts aching for loving embrace are hard to touch.
Rest these vessels on my chest! Quench love's burning fire!
Nārāyaṇa is faithful now. Love me, Rādhikā!

---

xii Ecstatic Krishna 122
Offer your lips' nectar to revive a dying slave, Rādhā!
His obsessed mind and listless body burn in love's desolation.
Nārāyaṇa is faithful now. Love me, Rādhikā!

Rādhā, make your jeweled girdle cords echo the tone of your voice!
Soothe the long torture my ears have suffered from cuckoo’s shrill cries!
Nārāyaṇa is faithful now. Love me, Rādhikā!

Your eyes are ashamed now to see me tortured by baseless anger;
Glance at me and end my passion's despair!
Nārāyaṇa is faithful now. Love me, Rādhikā!

Each verse of Jayadeva's song echoes the delight of Madhu's foe.
Let emotion rise to a joyful mood of love in sensitive men!
Nārāyaṇa is faithful now. Love me, Rādhikā!

Displaying her passion
In loveplay as the battle began,
She launched a bold offensive
Above him
And triumphed over her lover.
Her hips were still,
Her vine-like arm was slack,
Her chest was heaving,
Her eyes were closed.
Why does a mood of manly force
Succeed for women in love?

xii Ecstatic Krishna 123
Then, as he idled after passionate love,
Rādā, wanting him to ornament her,
Freely told her lover,
Secure in her power over him.

—« The Twenty-fourth Song, sung with Rāga “Rāmakāri” »—

Yādava hero, your hand is cooler than sandalbalm on my breast;
Paint a leaf design with deer musk here on Love’s ritual vessel!
She told the joyful Yadu hero, playing to delight her heart.

Lover, draw kohl glossier than a swarm of black bees on my eyes!
Your lips kissed away the lampblack bow that shoots arrows of Love.
She told the joyful Yadu hero, playing to delight her heart.

My ears reflect the restless gleam of doe eyes, graceful Lord.
Hang earrings on their magic circles to form snares for love.
She told the joyful Yadu hero, playing to delight her heart.

Pin back the teasing lock of hair on my smooth lotus face!
It fell before me to mime a gleaming line of black bees.
She told the joyful Yadu hero, playing to delight her heart.

Make a mark with liquid deer musk on my moonlit brow!
Make a moon shadow, Krishna! The sweat drops are dried.
She told the joyful Yadu hero, playing to delight her heart

Fix flowers in shining hair loosened by loveplay, Krishna!
Make a flywhisk outshining peacock plumage to be the banner of Love.
She told the joyful Yadu hero, playing to delight her heart.

My beautiful loins are a deep cavern to take the thrusts of love—
Cover them with jeweled girdles, cloths, and ornaments, Krishna!
She told the joyful Yadu hero, playing to delight her heart.
Make your heart sympathetic to Jayadeva's splendid speech!
Recalling Hari's feet is elixir against fevers of this dark time.
She told the joyful Yadu hero, playing to delight her heart.

"Paint a leaf on my breasts!
Put color on my cheeks!
Lay a girdle on my hips!
Twine my heavy braid with flowers!
Fix rows of bangles on my hands
And jeweled anklets on my feet!"
Her yellow-robed lover
Did what Rādhā said.

His musical skill, his meditation on Vishnu,
His vision of reality in the erotic mood,
His graceful play in these poems,
All show that master-poet Jayadeva's soul
Is in perfect tune with Krishna—
Let blissful men of wisdom purify the world
By singing his Gitagovinda.

Bhojadeva's heir, Rāmadevī's son, Jayadeva,
Expresses the power of poetry
In the Gitagovinda.
Let his poem be in the voice
Of devotees like sage Parāśara.

"Ecstatic Krishna" is the twelfth part in Gitagovinda.
Gitagovinda Sanskrit Text
श्रीजयदेवकविचिन्तितमू
गीतगोचिन्दमू

॥ प्रथमः सर्गः ॥

śaṃśaṅga

मेघेनेंदरसम्म्यं वनस्पः स्यामालङ्काराद्
नको मीलयं त्यमेव तद्दितं राधे गृहं प्राप्य
हर्षं निदर्शनेशत्त्वालितोः। प्रत्येकः सुशुद्ध
राधामाण्डला वन्यप्रेयत पुनःकृत्ये रहणकृता: ॥ १ ॥

वामदेवताचिन्तितचिन्तितविचक्षः
पद्यपतिचरणचिन्तितविचक्षः
श्रीबाहुदेवविचिन्तितविचिन्तितविचक्षः
एते करोति जयदेवकृतिः प्रकृत्यं ॥ २ ॥

वाचः पद्यपतिचरणचिन्तितविचक्षः। सन्दर्शकितं तिरं
जानिते जयदेव एव शायणः श्रीशुद्धं दुर्दृष्टेऽ
श्रीकाश्चक्षसम्म्यः नरायणस्योऽयोऽयोऽयोऽयोऽयोऽयोऽ yab
स्यापी कोधि न विचु:। श्रुतिनमो रोक्यी कविश्मापिति: ॥ ३ ॥

यदि हरिसर्गः वर्षस्म्य मनो यदि विद्येस्तरलश्च कुतुहलम्
मधुरकोरसङ्कारस्यवतोषी श्रणु तदा जयदेवसरस्ताम् ॥ ४ ॥

भाल्वरागं नीयते ॥ गीतम् १ ॥

प्रलयप्रथायेः श्रुतवानसि वेदसः
विहितवाहितचरितमलेखसः
केशव ध्रुवमीन्द्रवीर जय जगदीश हरे ॥ ५ ॥
के श ाव भृत्य पर्यत्त जय जगदीश हरे ॥ ६ ॥

वसति दशानिष्करे धरणी तव रुपम्।
शाकिनि करुक्कलेव निममा ॥
के श ाव भृत्य पर्यत्त जय जगदीश हरे ॥ ७ ॥

तव करकमवरे नलमवूतखम् ॥
दलिततःत्रयवकनिष्पत्तुखम् ॥
के श ाव भृत्य पर्यत्त जय जगदीश हरे ॥ ८ ॥

छत्यसिः विकमणे चक्षुमभूतवामन ॥
पदनवनीरजनितजनपावन ॥
के श ाव भृत्य पर्यत्त जय जगदीश हरे ॥ ९ ॥

क्षत्रियरुपदयो जगदपाता पापम् ॥
सत्यसिः पवसिः शामितभवतापम् ॥
के श ाव भृत्य पुपातित्तेः जय जगदीश हरे ॥ १० ॥

वितरसि दिशु यो दिव्यपतिकम्यिनम् ॥
दशामुलमौदिव्यिं रमणियम् ॥
के श ाव भृत्य रामारीर जय जगदीश हरे ॥ ११ ॥

वदसिः चपुपि विगठे वसनं जल्यापम् ॥
हल्यत्मित्तितिमित्तिमुनाभम् ॥
के श ाव भृत्य पर्यत्त जय जगदीश हरे ॥ १२ ॥
निन्दसि यज्ञविलेषर्दृ श्रुतिजातम्।
सद्यहदस्मयाविचितवाः शुपातम्।
केशव धृतबुद्धशरीर जय जयदेव हरे ॥ १३ ॥

प्लेच्छनियहििननने कफ्यसि करालम्।
घुमकेरुभिव किमिपि करालम्॥
केशव धृतकलिकशरीर जय जयदेव हरे ॥ १४ ॥

श्रीजन्यदेवधर्मचितुधिरुद्यतः।
श्रुतु सुकदं शुभदं भवसारसु॥
केशव धृतिधर्मचित्रभ्य जय जयदेव हरे ॥ १५ ॥

केशवानुदरस्ते जयामुखते सूर्योद्योगस्ते
देवं दार्यते बोलं छयंते क्षत्रयां कुन्यते।
पौलंतरं जयंते हरं कहस्ते काहण्यमातनस्ते
प्लेच्छन्नरुहच्छवं देवान्तः कःः तु कःः नः: ॥ १६ ॥

॥ गुजरीनामेन निबधे ॥ गोतम ॥ २ ॥

श्रीकर्तमालवक्षणनन्दं धृतकुण्डलु।
कर्तिकशिवनमाल जय जयदेव हरे ॥ १७ ॥

दिनमणिगृहविशं भवलगन्नं।
मुनिजनानसहस्स जय जयदेव हरे ॥ १८ ॥

काठियाणखर्पर्ण जनसुखः।
यदुकुलकिलाञ्चलेश जय जयदेव हरे ॥ १९ ॥

मधुमुलखमण्डावन गर्वायस्त।
सुधकेश्वरनिर्यान जय जयदेव हरे ॥ २० ॥

Gitagovinda: Sanskrit Text 131
अमलकमरुद्दश्याचन मुच्योतनुः।
ञित्रभुक्तमुक्तनिधान जय जयदेव हरे ॥ २१ ॥

जनकरुद्धारतमुण जितंदुरुणा प।
समरभिमितदशकर्ण जय जयदेव हरे ॥ २२ ॥

अभिनवजलसमुद्र धृतमन्द्र प।
श्रीमुसलमनुकोर जय जयदेव हरे ॥ २३ ॥

श्रीजयदेवकवेरदं कुंते मुदम प।
मकरसुमघलगीतं जय जयदेव हरे ॥ २४ ॥

पद्मायोनिङ्कवंतीपरिरंभणं—
काखीसुमितसुरो मधुसुदनस्य।
व्यक्तानुगमिव खेलन्त्रयेदेन—
स्वेदमुपरमुपरयुज सिंहं व् ॥ २५ ॥

वसन्ते वासन्तीकुरमुद्दुकमौर्यवैर।
अमन्तः कान्तारे बलचिह्नक्रणानुसरणाम।
अमन्तं कन्दर्ज्वरणाविविचित्ता कुरुक्षेत्रं
विष्ट्वतं रायं सरससिद्धां नृपहरि। ॥ २६ ॥

॥ वसन्तरूपेण मीतते ॥ गीतम् ३ ॥

लक्ष्मिनामस्मतापरिशीलनकोपमतमयस्मार्थेः।
मधुकरनिकरकवरस्तत्केरस्तुजितकुजुड़ुरूपे ॥
निदाचित हरिरह सरसस्तने
मृत्युत्ते युक्तिजनम समं संस्करे विरहितनास दुःस्तने ॥ भवम् ॥ २७ ॥

Gitagovinda: Sanskrit Text 132
उन्मदस्तनमोक्षपथविकपुजनज्ञनित्विवलये || विह० ॥ २८ ॥
अविकलत्संकुलकुसमसमोहनिराकुर्मकुव्वकलये || विह० ॥ २९ ॥
मुसदसौरभमसदसंबद्धनामाल्लमाले ||
युक्तनहसविद्यारम्भनसमन्तस्तनिष्टिक्युकलाले || विह० ॥ ३० ॥
मदनमहृत्युतकरङ्गडेढुर्विकेशकरुणसबिसासे ||
मलितिमलीयुक्तपाद्यपत्सुकलात्रूणबिलसे || विह० ॥ ३१ ॥
विगत्त्वित्तजगयुकंकणतहनकणहतहसे ॥
विरहिनित्वनकुन्तुलाखितेतकुद्विरितारे || विह० ॥ ३२ ॥
माध्विकापरिवर्तनसे नवमाध्विकाजातिविषुगन्धी ॥
मुनिनसामपि मोहनकारिणी तरणाकारणवन्धी || विह० ॥ ३३ ॥
स्नावसिकसहायपरिश्रमभुक्तिपुर्वकचूते ॥
क्रृत्यातन्त्रिपिने परितपरिगतमुनावल्पृते || विह० ॥ ३४ ॥
श्रीजयचन्द्रभाट्टाणितद्वद्यति हरिसचरस्नितिसारम ॥
सरसवस्त्रसम्बनवनवर्णनमनुगतमदनविकारम ॥ विह० ॥ ३५ ॥

दरविद्वितिमहीविजीवक्ष्यनाग-
प्रकटितपत्यसौर्सर्वसयन कानानि ॥
हि हि दल्लति चेतः केतकीणरणस्तु: विह० ॥ ३६ ॥
प्रसरदसम्भावप्राणज्ञनवाहः ॥

उपदेश्यमुसंगतवास्यमप्राप्त चूतातुर- क्रोडःकवित्रकदुर्विके तत्वाणि: ज्ञातवरा: ||
नीयते परिष्कृ: कथमुक्तमिध्यानाभागनसण- प्राप्तानित्वमासमोहमसोहदासिंशी चासरः ॥ ३६ ॥
वनेकारपरिमेर्भस्मयम्
स्थुरम्भोहरिविलासललसम्
मुरारिकारादुपदशीघ्नत्यसौ
सब्ध सम्भ सुनाह राधिकाम् II ३७ II

II रामकीर्तिरागेस्न मिलाते II गीतम् ४ II

चन्दनचरित्रंपदीकलेघरकिरङ्गचक्रस्तवस्यस्यमालै
केलिकलिर् कुंजलङ्गविद्गंडगुणगुणसितश्वाली
हरिरिह मुग्धवधुनिकरे विलासिनि विलुप्ति केलिकैरे II धुमस् II ३८ II

पीनपयोधरामरेण हरिः परिम्य सरागम्
गोपवधुनुगायति काचितंदितपयतमागः II हरिरिहो II ३९ II

कापि विलासबिलोलिविलेखयेलनननजनितमानोजम्
ध्याती मण्डवपुरसिकं मण्डवदुनवदनसरोजम् II हरिरिहो II ४० II

कापि कपेललाते मिहिता हरिपुं विमभि श्रुतिमुले
नारु तुसुन्त नित्म्यवती दएति पुलिकेनुमुले II हरिरिहो II ४१ II

केलिसकुलुकेन च काचिर्मु सजस्य यमुनाजलकूले
मण्डवबल्मुकुलुक्काते विन्यकरा करेण दुकुले II हरिरिहो II ४२ II

कारंत्तललोकल्प्ताविरामकिरतिकलस्वनवरी
साससे सहस्त्रापि हरिए सुबति: प्रशासरे II हरिरिहो II ४३ II

श्रीपद्यति कामपि सुप्नति कामपि कामपि सम्बति रामाम्
पद्यति सामितसान्तरामप्राप्तनुगच्छति वामाम् II हरिरिहो II ४४ II

Gitagovinda: Sanskrit Text  134
श्रीगणेशवर्धणिसहिष्ठेश्वरगीतिश्चत्वरः
बुद्धायन्विन्यते सतति विलोक्तु सुभाषि यथास्यम् ॥ हरिरिह ॥ ४५ ॥

विधेयामनुरञ्जनेन जनयन्यान्यनन्दिवरः
णिज्ञामलकोमलवद्वयस्यक्ष्यमोहरोत्सवम् ॥

स्नेहन्द्र वञ्जन्द्रेिरभिः प्रत्यासाधितः
श्रुतं ससि मूर्तिमानिव सप्तमुखो हरि: कीर्ति ॥ ४६ ॥

अचीतसद्यसहूज्ञकस्तलकेशादिविशाले
प्रायम्युक्तेनवच्च्यानुसरति श्रीरामदेशानितः ॥

किं च सिद्धसात्मकैसिद्धासुबल्वायालोक्य हरोद्वादु
उन्मीलित कुहः कुहरिति कलोचालः पिनान्ति गिरः ॥ ४७ ॥

इति श्रीमदद्रोहस्य समोदराधमद्रो नाम प्रथमः तर्गः ॥
हरिदति करे राधा साधारणपान ये हरि
विश्वानिजोजेकर्षीदीयोक्षरेण गतान्यति
कनपिर लताकुङ्कु गुज्जरमधुबनमण्डली
मुक्तरशिलरे जीना दीनाफुवाच रहः सलीयः

शुरुजीवाग्ये गीते
भितम्

संवरदरमुद्गामपुरुरपृतिकरितमोहनवंशमः
चक्रिताश्रावलक्षणमातुरविभोजलोकविषयसम्
रासे दरिमिह विहितविगसं सरति मनो मय शुल्कपरिहासम्
धवम्

चन्द्रकात्मयूशितंकणकणकलकवितिश्चायम्
प्रजुपुरुषाुरुरुजातिमदुरसुदरसुकैशाः
रासे।

गोपकर्मनितिमवस्तीमुखसुमन्बलबिलाभोभम्
बन्धुजीवमुहुरारपवलालसितसितशोभम्
रासे।

विपुलपुजयुजपहलचलितसमतकामसहसम्
कारणोपसि मणिमण्डस्यसिद्धणिविभिन्ततमिळम्
रासे।

जस्त्रपतलरबदिन्दुविनिदकचन्द्रनितिकलागतम्
पीतपनकनम्भूनन्दननिर्दयसुहृदधकपातम्
रासे।

मणिमयकरनीलकुण्डलमिदतगणमुदारम्
पीतचपननुगत्युनिजनजुहृरवरपरिवारम्
रासे।

विशादकर्मचते मिलितं कथिकुपमयं कल्याणम्
शासिप निमिति तत्कादतक्षमा मनसा रामदत्तम्
रासे।
श्रीजयदेवभाषितमतिमत्मदयमोदमधुमक्तिपुरुषः
हरिचरणसर्प्यः प्रति संप्रति पुष्पवतामनुलस्म॥ रासे । ॥ २ ॥

गणयति धुनग्राम मां मायादेवि नेतिते
वहति च परीतोपयो द्वीय विमुखति दूरतः।
युवतिः वल्स्तृणों रूपं विहारिणि भां विना
पुत्तरि मनो सांवं कामं करोति नरोमि किम् ॥ १० ॥

॥ मात्वरागिन मगिते ॥ गीतम् ६ ॥

निब्धतनिकुञ्जः गतया निषिः रहसि निलीय वसन्तम्।
चबित्तिकविजन्तस्यकुलदिशा रतिमसरसेन हसन्तम्।
सलिः है केशिमधयमुदारे
रमय मया सह मदनमोहरथभावितया सविकारम्। श्रुवस् ॥ ११ ॥
प्रथमसाधकमलजितया पञ्चनाटशैरयुक्तम्।
मदुमधुरसितभावितया शिविलीक्ष्जनननकुञ्जः। सलिः ॥ १२ ॥

किसम्यशायननिवेशितया चिरसुरसि मेवेच श्रवणम्।
कुतपरिरमणुचुनन्या परिरय्य कुताधरणम्। सलिः ॥ १३ ॥

अम्बानिमीरतिनिवेचन्या पुरुषाधिकुलितकयोलम्।
अमजलसकलकलेवरया बरसमदनमदारतिलोलम्। सलिः ॥ १४ ॥
कोकिलकर्कुक्तिजितया चितनसिजतनातिविचारम्।
स्थःकुमालकुक्तकलया नवलिखितपत्तनमारम्। सलिः ॥ १५ ॥

चालारणितमणिनुपवया परिपुर्विसुरसतवितानम्।
सुखविश्वकुलयोलया सकज्ञकुमाननाम्। सलिः ॥ १६ ॥
रतिमुखसायसालस्या दरमुकवितिनयनस्योज्य।
निसहनियपतितगुलज्ञा मयुरंद्रुस्मदित्यमनोज्य। संस्कृत । १७ ॥
श्रीजयदेवभणितमस्मतिशयमधुनियुगवनशीलम्।
मुखमुक्षितगोपवभूकितं चित्नोद्व सलीलम्। संस्कृत । १८ ॥
हस्तलसविलसवंशमुखमुक्षिविनायकस्व- 
बृन्दोत्सारिगतवीक्षितततिततिवेदाग्राण्ड्यूसलम्।
माधवीक्ष्य किलकन्त सितसुपामुद्योगं कान्ने
गोचन्द्र व्रजमुन्द्रीगण्डुलं परस्यामि हस्याभिः च ॥ १९ ॥

दुरालोकशोकशवकनवकाशोकस्थितिका-
विकासः कासारोपवनवनोधि न्यथवति।
अपि आस्यदुमुक्षीरविलितमणीया न शुकुलु-
प्रसूतिर्प्रूलानां संस्कृत दिशिरियंगं सुखवति ॥ २० ॥

इति श्रीदेवाधिकारिणे वेद्यवक्तव्यो नाम द्वितीयः सर्गः ॥

*Gitagovinda: Sanskrit Text* 138
II तृतीयं सर्गं: ।
सुगममधुसूदनं: ।
कंसारिरिव संसारवासानाबनभृत्त्वागम् ।
राधामाध्याय हुदये तत्याज मनसुन्दरीं: ॥ १ ॥

इतततत्सतामुखतय राष्ट्रकामनक्राणागमित्वामसं ।
इत्तनुवापि स कलिन्दनदिनीत्यादन्तुकैप विपसाद माथव: ॥ २ ॥

इत्तनीतेन गीतं ॥ गीतां । ॥

मामियं चरितं विकेयं वृतं चव्वृत्तिचेत ।
सपराभुवत्य मवापि न वारितात्मवेण ॥
हरिहरिः हतात्ततं गतासा कुष्ठितः ॥ मृवम् ॥ ३ ॥

किं कः मियतः किं वदिष्ठितः सा चिं तिरिहेण ।
किं धितेन जनेन किं मम जीवितेन ग्रुः ॥ हरिहरिः ॥ ४ ॥

चिन्तयामि तदानं कुटिलस्तु कोणमवेत ।
शोणिभ्रमश्वेषपि अमताकुलस्तु अमरेन ॥ हरिहरिः ॥ ५ ॥

तामरं हुदं संगतामनिं भूतं रम्यामि ।
किं वणकव्यसमां तामिन्तिं किं विभवं विलामि ॥ हरिहरिः ॥ ६ ॥

तन्निव विकसत्तुध्यायं हुदं तवाक्तवामि ।
तन वेलिः क्रूः गतासि न तेन तेजसः ॥ हरिहरिः ॥ ७ ॥

धर्मसं पुरो गतागतेव मे विद्यासि ।
किं पुरोह सस्माम परिम्यानं न बदलसि ॥ हरिहरिः ॥ ८ ॥

क्षम्यातामपि ग्नापि कैपेद्यं न करोमि ।
बेति सुन्दरि दर्शनं मम मनमयेन दुःखोमः ॥ हरिहरिः ॥ ९ ॥

Gitagovinda: Sanskrit Text 139
वर्णितं जयदेवकेन ह्येरिदं प्रवेणेन।
किन्नुरक्कलसुदुरभवरोहिणिरमणेन। हरिदिः। ॥ १० ॥
हृदि विसत्ताहारो नायं सुज्ञमानवः।
कुवल्लवल्लणी कुड्डे न सा गरल्लुति:।
मल्लवरखो नें भस्य धिवारुहिते मधि।
प्रहर न दराच्वात्तनाहः खुसा किन्तु धावसी ॥ ११ ॥
पाणी मा तु चुतक्षाक्षमुः मा चापमारोपयः।
कीडानिर्जितविधि मुर्तितजनाधातेन किं पौरुषम्।
तस्या पच्चु भुजस्यो मनसिंह सर्लकात्रसागुप्तः।
थ्रणीज्जर्जिते मनसापि मोहो नावापि संहुस्ते ॥ १२ ॥
श्चूचापे निहितः कठासविनिताः निश्चित मर्मव्यथाः।
प्रायामासा कुडी: करेभु कवरभारोक्षपि मारोधमयः।
भोहं तावदर्थं च तन्व तनुताम विभापरो रागवान्।
सर्गृहवउस्तमप्रवेष्टव कर्म प्राणेन्म नीर्जिति ॥ १३ ॥
तालि वाणुपालिन् ते च तर्ला: भिष्ठा द्रोहपीविभासु।
तद्वायुस्ताक्षाश्रम स च सुंदरसन्दी गिरां शक्रिया।
सा विभापरामाधुरीति विपायासऽक्षिपि चेमानासं।
तस्यं लम्समाधि हन्त विरहयापिः कर्म हथि: ॥ १४ ॥
श्रुपविष्यं धनुरास्तराभितानि।
बाणाम गुण: श्रवणपालितति सरः ॥
तस्मात्तहज्जयज्ञमदेश्वतायाम्।
अख्यानि निर्जितवन्ति किमपेतानि ॥ १५ ॥
इति ध्रोपीतोऽविद्वे सुभमधुसुदनः नाम त्रृतीयः सर्वं: ॥

Gitagovinda: Sanskrit Text 140
निन्दति चन्द्रनगिनि कराणमु निन्दति हेदमधीरसामु।
व्यालिनद्यक्तिनेन गरालिनि कत्यति मल्लसमीरसामु।
सा विराहे तव दीनानां।
माधवं मनसिजविशिष्टभयाणियानयों भावनया लखि हीनानां।
कुडस्मृ।
अविनिधनिपत्तिमनवानिशादिद भवजनाय विशालसामु।
महद्वराणिमीणो वर्ण करोति सजनननिन्नीदल्लगलाम।
सा विराहे।
कुसमविशिष्टशारतल्यमनल्यविलासलक्षाकमियानयम।
नसिन्धुस्तथापानरविवृतमालनकन्नमुदारसामु।
विद्युमिनिविजुविषुद्यन्त्यबुद्धगलिनियुत्पारritte:।
सा विराहे।
विलितस्य रहस्य कुरकमदेन भवत्तममभावमय्याच।
प्रणमिति मकरमाणों विनिधानुषेच च शरण नवत्तृतम।
सा विराहे।
प्रतिपद्मिदमाणे निगद्वृति माधवं तव चरणे पनिताहसामु।
लाच्छिल्ये मभय सपिदि मुधानिपिपेन ननुते कुनातहसामु।
सा विराहे।
ध्यानवेने पुरुषक परिल्य भवसमातीव दुरामामु।
विलिति हसति विश्वदिति रोदिति वजहति मुधाति नाशपामु।
सा विराहे।
श्रीजयदेवाणितसिद्धान्तं यदि मनसा नादनियमः
द्विविधकृतावध्रुवतिसलीवचनं पदनियमः सा चि ० ॥ ९, ॥
आचासो विपन्याये प्रियसतीमालापि जालायते
lapsapati श्रस्तितेन दारद्वजाध्राक्षलापायते ॥
सापि त्वमिहें नहं दरिणीपुपायते हा कथं
फलकपश्चि यथाये विसयवशार्धृविविक्षितमः ॥ १० ॥
॥ देवसायणरागेन भोयते ॥ गोतमः १ ॥

शननिगितितमापि द्वासादारमः
सा मनुष्य द्वेषत्नुमारिभारसः ॥
राधिका विपदें तब केशवः भुवमः ॥ ११ ॥

सरसम्मणामापि दल्यजपः
पश्चित्विनिविव बघुपि सराहसः ॥ राधिका ० ॥ १२ ॥

श्रस्तिपवनमुपपरिणामः
मदनद्वजामिव वहति सराहसः ॥ राधिका ० ॥ १३ ॥

दिशि दिशि विश्रयं सञ्जलगामः
नयननिगितितानुभमः ॥ राधिका ० ॥ १४ ॥

नयननिगितितपि किमल्यतल्पमः
कल्याति विभिन्नमतादिविहरमः ॥ राधिका ० ॥ १५ ॥

त्वालिति न पाणिलोकं कपोलमः
बालशिनिमिव सायममेदमः ॥ राधिका ० ॥ १६ ॥

हरिजिति हरिजिति जपिति सकामसः
विरहनिगितिमष्ठ्व निकामसः ॥ राधिका ० ॥ १७ ॥
श्रीजयदेवमणितमिति मीलाम् ।
सुखयुतः कैशवपदसुपनीतम् ॥ राधिकः ॥ १८ ॥
सा रोमाण्वति सौन्त्रोति विदिसपुकङ्खते तामति
भायसुइड्राति प्रसीलति पक्षुद्राति गृहुद्यापि ।
पतावायस्युज्जवे वरतुर्जनिचि किं ते स्रावः
स्वेदप्रतिम प्रसीदति यदि लक्षिणयथा नान्तकः ॥ १९ ॥
सरात्तरं दैवतेवैहयं लघुरसकार्यात्मसाधयाम् ।
विदुक्तावः कुर्वेन न राधामुनेन वज्ञाद्रि दार्णोदसि ॥ २० ॥
कन्दर्पज्वरसंज्वत्वतनोरार्ध्यमस्याधिरि
चेतन्त्र्युज्ज्वलनचन्द्रमः कमततीनविनाल्मु संताप्यति ।
किंतू कार्तिकृश्रोत श्रीतात्तुने त्यामेकमेव प्रियं
भायती रहसि स्थिता कथमपि क्षीणा क्षणं प्राणिति ॥ २१ ॥
क्षणपि विरप: पुरा न छेदे
नवनिर्मीलन्याय यथा ते ।
शोभिति कथमसः रसााशालां
चिरविरहेन चित्रोक्तिपुन्नन्तामाम् ॥ २२ ॥
इति शृगोविन्दे स्मार्थमायशेऽम चूड़मो वर्गः ॥

Gita Govinda Sanskrit Text 143
वहति मृत्युसमीै मदनसुपनिधाय।
सुधिति कुसुमनिकरे विरहिण्यवदन्नय।
तव विरहे वनमाली सलि सीदति।
ध्रुवमू। ॥ २ ॥

वहति-शिशिरंधुै मरणमुक्तोति।
पति मदनविचिळेव विश्वपी विकल्पोशित।
तव वित। ॥ ३ ॥

ध्यनं मधुपस्मै श्रवणमनिद्याषि।
मनसि विठ्ठकरी निशि निशि रुक्षुपशि।
तव वित। ॥ ४ ॥

बसति विधिनिविनाने लयजि करहिताय।
ढूढ़ित भरणिजाने बहु विरहसि तव नाम।
तव वित। ॥ ५ ॥

भण्डि कविजयदेवे विरहिणिसितेन।
मनसि श्रमसाविरे हरिहरकुल सुकृतेन।
तव वित। ॥ ६ ॥

पूर्वे यत्र समे व्या रतिपतेरासादिताः सिद्धायस।
तस्मिन निकुञ्जमन्त्रमहातीर्थे पुनर्मधवः।
ध्यायंत्रानिति जपश्री तदवांशमन्त्रावली।
मूत्तत्त्वकुप्प्रभृतिमबरपरम्भास्मृत्यो वाच्यति। ॥ ७ ॥

Gitagovinda. Sanskrit Text 144
रतिन्वलसारे गतभीसारे मदनमोहरवेशम्।
न कुरु नितिविनि गमनविलयनमनससरं हृदयेरम्।
धीरसमीरे यमुनातीरे कसाति वने वनमाली। ॥ भ्राम्य ॥ ८ ॥

नामसेवेने कृतसंस्कृते नाध्यसे मुदुवेषु।
बहु मनुष्य नगृ ते सदुसागरनामकोलमि रेषु। ॥ धीरे ॥ ९ ॥
पतति पत्रे विचारति पत्रे शाखितसब्दुपाणाम्।
रचयति शयने सचित्तनयनं प्रस्थति तत्व पत्नामाम्। ॥ धीरे ॥ १० ॥

मुखमर्मार्य तनं मद्दीरे नियुमित केसिसभीतोम।
चह सति कुंज सतिनिरुप शीत्य नीतिसोलम। ॥ धीरे ॥ ११ ॥

वरसि मुरारेशुहिलारे वन इव लल्ले च।
तदनिव पति रतिविरति राजसि मुक्ताविकि। ॥ धीरे ॥ १२ ॥

विगोलितसं परिहारसं घटया जनमविधानम्।
किलखयाने पहुँचनये निधिमित हरपनिदानम्। ॥ धीरे ॥ १३ ॥

हरिभिमानी रजनिरितालीमितविषं सति विश्रमम्।
कुरु मन वचने सत्वसचने पूर्ण मदुरियुकाम। ॥ धीरे ॥ १४ ॥

शीर्जयदेवे कृतआर्ये भगति परससरणायम्।
प्रखुदिक्षद्य हरिभिषिद्यं नमद मदुरकमनीयम्। ॥ धीरे ॥ १५ ॥

विचित्रति भृत्: भामानाशा: पुरो मुद्रीक्षते।
प्रविशति भृत्: कुः गुजानुरब्धे नामादिति। ॥

रचयति भृत्: शम्य पद्मकुकुं मुद्रीक्षते।
मदनकदनकांल: कान्ते प्रियस्व वर्तति। ॥ १६ ॥
त्वद्यांश्ये समं समवमहुः तिमांगुरसं गतो
गोविन्दं मनोवशेषेन च समं प्रातं तम: सान्द्रतामः।
फोकानां भक्तर्सनेन सदासी दीर्घी मद्यपर्यङ्गाः
तन्नुभे विफलं विकान्तने स्त्र्योद्भविषारक्षणः ॥ १७ ॥

आक्षेपश्च जुम्नाादतु नरोल्लादतु स्तान्तपः
प्रोदोषादतु संभादतु रतारभादतु श्रीतयोः।
अन्यायं गतयोभिमांमित्योः संधापणेष्वीजीन्तः
स्थ्योरपि को न को न तमसी तीव्राविमिश्रो रसः ॥ १८ ॥

समयवक्तृतं विन्यस्यर्तीं द्रां तिमिरेण पथि
प्रतिहरु मुदः स्थिताः मन्दं पदानि विलन्वतीमः।
कथमापि रहः प्रातामझेिरक्तरपिन्मिः
सुमुखः सुभगः पस्यन्त लामुपेतु ईतार्थंतः ॥ १९ ॥

इति श्रीगोविन्देभिमिताराक्षणे साक्षुपुण्ड्रीकाशो नाम पश्चः सर्गः ॥
पद्यतिः दिशि दिशि रहसि भवत्तम्।
तदयुगतप्पम् प्रविष्टम्॥
नाथ हरे सीति राथा वासग्रहे॥ रघुम् ॥ २ ॥
लदसेराद्वन्द्वम् चरति।
पलचि चदानि क्रियति चरति।॥ नाथ हरे॥ ३ ॥
बिहिनि विद्वंद्विसकिस्त्यविलया।
जीवति परस्मिह ततं सतिकल्या।॥ नाथ हरे॥ ४ ॥
शुद्धर्व्वधिनिष्ठाम्बन्दीला।
मधुपुष्परहसिः भावनशीला॥ नाथ हरे॥ ५ ॥
लाृतिमापृति न कथामिसारम्।
हरिमाति कदति सरलमदनवारम्॥ नाथ हरे॥ ६ ॥
क्षणति चम्पति जाधाकल्पम्।
हरिस्पतिः इति तिमिरसन्हल्पम्॥ नाथ हरे॥ ७ ॥
भवति विलक्षिनि विगतितकल्या।
विलयति रोदिति वासकसिजा॥ नाथ हरे॥ ८ ॥
श्रीजयदेववर्तिदुर्लक्षितम्।
रसिकशनं वनुतामविलक्षितम्॥ नाथ हरे॥ ९ ॥

Gitagovinda Sanskrit Text 147
निपुल्युक्कपालि: स्फीतसीत्कारमन्त-
ञःतिजजिन्द्रिमकुक्यावतुर्यमाहस्ति ॥
तत्व कितव विशायामन्दकन्दंपिन्तवां
सङ्कल्पिनिनिम्ना ध्यातलाभा सुग्राधी ॥ १० ॥

अज्ञेष्याय्यां करोति चहुँ: पोतेकपि संकारिणि
प्रासं लां परिवाष्टः वितुत्तेश्यं निरं ध्यायति ॥
इत्याक्कल्पिततत्त्वत्त्वत्वनासंकल्पपरिभाषात:-
ध्यानस्तकर्म विना त्वया वर्तनुवैयया निष्ठा नेप्तति ॥ ११ ॥

इति श्रीगोत्मोविन्दे वासवसजायणे कुष्टावङ्कटो नाम पदः सर्गः ॥

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*Gitagovinda: Sanskrit Text 148*
II सामः सर्गः II

I नागरतारायणः I

ञ्च्रान्तरे च कुलटाकुलर्वपातेषु संज्ञानपातक हव सुर्दलाभेषुः। श्रृण्डावननातरसदीपयदेशुगालेः दिक्सुंदरीवरुणचन्दनविन्दुवरिन्दूः। II १ II

प्रसरति शशाधविक्षे विहितविचारं च माधवे विधुरा। विरसिताविपासिलां सा परितां चकारेऽचे। II २ II

II नागरगोपेण गायते II गोतमः ११ II

कशीतस्मायेदप पं द्वारिहहं न यथी वनम्। मम विभजमिद्वभलुतपाय योः। यामि हे कंडिघ शरणं सतीजनव वचविधिता। श्रवः। II ३ II

यदुगमनाय निली गहनमिद्य वीलितम्।
तेन मम हदयामिद्वसमाहरकर्षितम्। यामि हे। II ४ II

मम भारमेव चरमतिबिधिथेतना।
किमिद वियदाहृ विहरानलम्पचेतना। यामि हे। II ५ II

मामहण्डुपुरपर्तिमधुसुकुनयामिनी।
कापि हारिनुमवति मधुसुकुतकामिनी। यामि हे। II ६ II

अह्व कल्याणिम वत्त्यादिमभवेश्वरः।
हरिविरहवहनवहनेति बहुदुहणुः। यामि हे। II ७ II

कुलयुक्तभारतनुमानुभावीळाः।
वगपि हुदिद हति मामलिविभावशीलाः। यामि हे। II ८ II

Gitagovinda Sanskrit Text 149
अहमसिम निवर्णित। नन्दनितवनवेतसा।
सरति मदुसूदनाः मामि न चेतसा॥। यामि है॥ २॥
हरिराजनायणप्रवक्तविभारि।
वसलु हृदि युवतिरिव कोमलकङ्गचत॥। यामि है॥ १०॥
तत्ति कामगी फारणीवधिसूत्। किं वा मलकेलिभिः
बद्री कन्युगमिरन्कारिणि चनोपान्ते किसु भास्यति।
कान्ति: क्षणमना मनागि पथि प्रसादुमेवास्मः।
संकेतिसंतम्। ज्ञवन्तुलुक्ताकुल्लेजिपि यवागतः॥ ११॥
अधागताः माधवमन्तः सबीमिः वीक्ष्य विगादमुकामः।
विदाभमाना रंगिः कयापि जनाधः दश्वदेतदाह ॥ १२॥
॥ परवन्द्वग्रेण मीनाये॥। मीलः १४॥
सारसमऽथि सन्तिविद्विनवेषा।
गलितकुसुमरकशिकतकेशा॥
कापि मदुरिपुणा विवसिति युवतिरक्षिपुणा॥। भुवमः॥ १३॥
हरिपरिमुण्डविलितिक्रिः।
कुचकुम्बोपिर विवितिदहा॥। कापि॥ १४॥
विचवदकलितितन्धनचन्द्रा।
तद्धनानवरसकलुमतत्तम॥। कापि॥ १५॥
चकलकुकुकुलितकर्मोऽरा।
मुखरितसननजनकालिस्तोऽरा॥। कापि॥ १६॥
दमितकालितितजित्वैसि।
बहुविदूषितितससस्रसि॥। कापि॥ १७॥

Gitagovinda. Sanskrit Text 150
विपुलपुलक्षपुपुष्कड़कमां ।
शशितनिमीलितविक्रमस्तदनः ॥ कायि ॥ १८ ॥

अमजलकण्ठभरसुभगायीर ।
परिपीतारसि रतितपारी ॥ कायि ॥ १९ ॥

श्रीजयतहमणितहरंसिमव ।
पञ्चकथा जनयत निरसिमव ॥ कायि ॥ २० ॥

विरहपपुषुरारिनिमुखान्धुपतिरं तिरयपित चेतनाम ।
विधुतीव तनोति मनोभवः घुडिण्येहदर्ये महतश्चायः ॥ २१ ॥

॥ कुमारीरोपण मोषे ॥ मोषे ॥ २२ ॥

समुद्दितगने रमणीवने सुभजनाविताधरे ।
मण्डमदतिलकः विस्तरति सपुरसं मण्डाविव रजनीकरे ॥
रमने यमुनापुलिनवने विजयी सुरारिधुआ ॥ भुववः ॥ २३ ॥

पञ्चकथाचे रचयति चिकुके तरलतत्तवाने ।
कुछकुसां चपलाचुम्मे रतितपितसम्माने ॥ रमने ॥ २४ ॥

पञ्चात्तिर पुरे कुघुपणगे मण्डमदविचित्ते ।
मणिदरणे तारकपत्रे नवपदरसिपूष्टे ॥ रमने ॥ २५ ॥

जितविस्ल्परे गुहुभुजुपाते करत्तविकलिते ।
मरकल्पे भडुकारिचे विस्तरति हिमशीले ॥ रमने ॥ २६ ॥

रतिगृहजने विपुलपथने मनसिवकनकाने ।
मणिमनसं तोरणहसं विकिरति कळतासने ॥ रमने ॥ २६ ॥
कनकनिकपरनिश्चितवसनेन ।
क्षतिः न सा परिजनहसनेन ॥ सति यथा ॥ १६ ॥
सकलसुवनननवरतवहेन ।
वहति न सा रुजसमुदिकरणे ॥ सति यथा ॥ १७ ॥
श्रीजयदेवभण्डिवचनेन ।
प्रविष्टु हरिरि पृहन्मनेन ॥ सति यथा ॥ १८ ॥
मनोवानन्दन चन्दनन्ति जसीव रे दक्षिण मुख वामनाम ।
क्षणे जगत्वाण विधाय भार्येन पुरो मम प्राणहरो भविष्यति ॥ २९ ॥

रिपुरिव सतीसंवाससौरं शिशीव हिमानिले ।
बिपमित खुशारस्यसिंधुनोति मनोगते ।
हतनमध्ये तमिमेवं पुनर्वलते बलात्
कुवल्यवशष्ण वामः कामो निकाममिनिर्वसामः ॥ ३० ॥

वाढां विरेद्य भद्यानिनि वचवाण
प्राणान्त्यवाण न गुँडे पुनरस्वायत्ते ।
किं ते क्षतान्तभण्डिनी कसयां तर्केऽरु
अम्बानि सिध सम मम शामयतु देहवाहः ॥ ३१ ॥

इति श्रीगीतिसौक्तविद्य विनिहत्याध्यक्षदने नागरकर्तव्यो नाम समसः भवः ॥
अः अट्टमः सर्गः ।

विलक्षणलक्षणीयः

अथ कथमपि यामिनीः विनीयः सरसराजजीतीरतिः सा प्रभाते ।
अनुन्यवचनं वदन्त्यां मे प्रणतमपि प्रया माह साम्यस्यम् ॥ १ ॥

अनार्द्रणेऽनुमो ॥ शान्तम् १७ ॥

रजनिजनितपुरुषार्गरागकपञ्चाधितम्यनवेशम् ।
वदति नयननुरागमिव सुरस्युदितसरसमवेशम् ॥
हरिहिरि वाहि माधव वाहि केशवं भा वद कैलवावादं
तामनुसर सरसीरहलीलन या तव हरितं विषादम् ॥ भ्रुवम् ॥ २ ॥

फळकर्माल्लिनविलोचनचुमा नितरानितनीतिकिमहुः ।
दशानवसनमयं तव क्रष्णं क्तोति तनोरनुरुपम् ॥ हरिहिरि । ॥ ३ ॥

विपुरुहरति तव सरसाक्षरनवराष्टरेलभम् ।
मरमत्सकपकलितकलहौतातिहिरेिसविरस्यतिवेशम् ॥ हरिहिरि । ॥ ४ ॥

चरणकर्मात्मकशरकस्तिस्वसंदि तव हदयमुदारम् ।
दर्श्यातीव बहुर्मदनुदेहकसितस्यपरिवारम् ॥ हरिहिरि । ॥ ५ ॥

दशानपदं भवद्यशगतं मम जनयति चेतसि क्षेदम् ।
कथयति कथमिथुनारि मया सह तव वपुरेतदेमदम् ॥ हरिहिरि । ॥ ६ ॥

बहिरिरि मलिनिरतं तव क्रष्णं मनोपि अभिश्चितं नुसम् ।
कथयत वदवसे नयननुगतसमवारजज्वरुनम् ॥ हरिहिरि । ॥ ७ ॥

प्रमाति भवानवदलकवलय बनेशु किमत्र चिन्त्रितम् ।
प्रथयति पृथिक्रेव वसूलयन्निरृत्याल्लायत्रितम् ॥ हरिहिरि । ॥ ८ ॥
भृजयदेशभग्निततिविषिताविणितपुत्रतिविलापम्।
भृणत स基辅धुःधु विबुधा विबुधान्यानोपि दुरान्युः॥ हरिहरि॥ १०॥

tवतें यद्यन्याः प्रसरदनुसार नाहिनिन
प्रियापाराजुक्षणरूपरघ्नच्छायात्वदम्॥
भगाच प्रस्याचप्रणयमरणमेन वितव
वदालोकः शोफाशृंगि किमपि लोका जनयति॥ १०॥

इति श्रीभगोत्तमोविन्दे साहित्यार्ब्धे विज्ञानोपरिनिर्मितं भाष्यम् सर्गः॥
तामथ मन्ययस्त्रिव शतिकात्मित्रां विद्यादस्समवालयु \nअनुचिन्तितरहरितार्कः कल्याणात्तितायुवाच सख्ती \n\\nगुजरावने गोयते \nगोत्रम् १८ \n\\nहरिमिश्रितपक्षेण वद्यति मुखवने \nकिमस्मिलक्षुं सदि अवने \nमाधवे मा कुर्म मानिनि मानवः \nअध्यायः २ \n\\nताँत्रिकलावपि गुरुमटिसरसम् \nकि विफलिकुलेषु कुष्ठेष्वर्यश्रु \nभाषा ३ \n\\nकति न कथितमिदमुदमचितम् \nमा परिवर्तिताहरितश्चर्चितसम् \nभाषा ४ \n\\
किमिति विष्णुदति रोदि न विकलप \nविद्वति गूढादशम तव सभाः \nभाषा ५ \n\\
साधनानिधिद्विद्विदालवशायने \nहरिमवल्कोशव समुद्र नयने \nभाषा ६ \n\\
जनयति मनसि किमिति गृह्वश्रृढ़ि \nशृणु मम वचनः महीत्मेदं \nभाषा ७ \n\\
हरिमस्यादु कदु भुमधुरवस्तु \nकिमिति करोपि हृदयमतिनिश्चितसम् \nभाषा ८ \n\\
श्रीजयदेवभार्तिमतिद्विशिष्टसम् \nमुखवतु रसिकज्ञने हरिवर्धितसम् \nभाषा ९ \n\\

Gitagovinda: Sanskrit Text  156
क्षिप्रे तत्प्रभासि मद्यप्रभासि सजग्धासि यद्रागिणि
हेप्सासि यदुन्याये विमुखता यातासि तस्मिन्निये।
युक्त तद्ह्विपरीतकारिणि तव श्रीमण्डल्याचि चिं
शीतांशुस्तपनो हिंस तुः सकः कीडासुदो यातना। ॥ १० ॥

इति श्रीमतार्कप्रते वर्णान्ततवितार्यने मन्दसुन्दरो नाम नवम: सर्गः ॥

Gitagovinda Sanskrit Text 157
दशमः सर्गः
चतुर्घुर्धुश्च
अत्रान्ते मस्त्रोपवशाशामसिः
नि:धासनी:सहमुखो नुस्मुसीयुपत्य ।
सबीड़मोक्षलक्षावदानो दिनान्ते
सानुमद्गदवपां हरिरिश्वाच ॥ १ ॥
देवदर्शीसर्वगिरि शीतर्यते ॥ नीतम ॥ १९ ॥
बहदः यदि किंचिद्विव्रह दन्तहकिंकौडृष्टि हरति दर्तितमिनिविअवर्म ।
स्युद्धधासीश्च तव वदनचन्द्रमा रोचयतु होचनचलकौ ॥
प्रिये चार्हिष्ठे मुख मयि मानमनिदाने ॥
सपदि मदनन्दनो बहदति मम मानसं देहि मुखमुदवपानम् ॥ षौवम् ॥ २ ॥
सत्येश्वानि यत्र वहदति मयि कोपिनी देहि सर्वनन्दकारातम ।
पत्य भुजवन्धनं जनय रस्तवपनं येन च भवति मुखजातम ॥ प्रिये ॥ ३ ॥
स्वमसिः मम भूषणं त्वमसि मम जीवनं त्वमसि मम भवजशविरलम् ।
अन्तु भवतीह मयि सत्यममुरोधिनी तत् मम हृदयमतिययलम् ॥ प्रिये ॥ ४ ॥
नीर्द्वलिनिभुभूषण तन्न्वतः तव होचनं धारतित कौन्दनदुर्म ।
कुमुदशशाबाह्वाचेन यत्र रस्तहसि कुमुदसमेतदुर्म ॥ प्रिये ॥ ५ ॥
स्मृतः कृत्यस्मृत्योहसी मणिमज्जी रजयतु तव हृदयदेश ॥
रस्तु रस्तवपि तत् प्रजन्तमन्त्रादि भोपयतु मन्मथनिदेशसि ॥ प्रिये ॥ ६ ॥
सर्वकलान्तं मम हृदयर्तवं अनितानिरहस्तमभाय ।
गण मस्तवाणि करवाणि पदपाणि सरसलसतुकरागम् ॥ प्रिये ॥ ७ ॥
सरसस्त्राणि मम शिसिः मण्डलं देहि पदमेहवस्वदार्म ।
ज्वलकति मयि दार्शो मदनकदनायो हरस तदुपाहितविकारसि ॥ प्रिये ॥ ८ ॥

Gitagovinda: Sanskrit Text 158
हति चलुचापुपुचाह मुरवरिनियो रथिकागिरि चलनजातम।
जयति पद्मावतीमण्डियदेवकविभारतीभगितमतिशानम्॥ प्रिये। ॥ ९ ॥

परिधर कृतार्केश राजाः लया सततं ढनः
स्तनजयनयाकामेत स्तानेपराकाशिनिः।
विशालं वितनोरयो धनों न कोडि ममान्तरः
सतनबरसरीरभारमेन विहेष्ठि विसेयताम्॥ १०॥

मुखे विहेष्ठि मधि निर्धयदुन्दंशीः
देवीकिर्मिनितिनिधसतनपोडनानि।
चण्डि तवमेव मुदमध्य न पदवणः
चण्डालकाण्डदलनादिसवः प्रायानुष्ठान।॥ ११॥

व्ययति कृत्या मौनं तन्वि प्रपच्छ प्रधमं
तहः मधुरालपैः स्विनवदय दशिमी।
सुमुखिः विकुलीवातं तावदिसुध न गुष्ठ मां
स्वयंतिशायकिः युधे प्रियोधस्वपिलिः॥ १२॥

चन्द्रकुकुटितिवान्धोक्रियायमधरः लिङ्गो मधुकुच्छेरिर्
गणपतिः च चक्कस्तु मीलक्षिनेत्रिहृदिनां लोकनां।
नासायेति तिलिसनुसबद्धं कुन्दमुदनाति प्रिये
प्रायवस्तवन्दुसंसायव विविधवे विश्व स पुष्मायुषः॥ १३॥

हलो तव मदरस्य वदनमिन्दुसंदीपिकं
गतिजनमोरमा विपुलरभन्मुद्द्वम्।
रतिङ्गव कलावती रुचिचित्रेष्ये नुववः
अहो विकुदधिृतं वहंति तन्वि पृथ्विगता॥ १४॥

हति श्रीगीतमकिन्द्रे मानिनीवर्मने मदुरवुङ्गो नाम दशम: सर्वं॥

Gitagovinda Sanskrit Text 159
एकादशः सर्गः

सानन्दामोदरः

सुचिरमननयने प्रीणयित्वा सुगार्षी
गतवति गुरुवेदारे कैशवे धुलशयामः
रचितसृजितमूर्तेः द्वितीयोपे प्रदेशे
स्फुरति निरवसादां कापि राभां जगादि

सानन्दामोदरः

विरचितमार्गवर्णनं चरणं रचितप्रणालम्
संप्रति मन्तजुलबबजुलस्मीगे कैलियामननामनातमम्
मुघे मधुमभनमनुगतमनुसरे राधिके

घनञचनल्कालभारे दुरसम्यरचरणविविदारम्
मुखरितमणिमजीरमुण्डे विषेषे मरालविकारम्
मुघे

भृणु समाक्षरं सहारयनमोहनमधुपविरावम्
कुछुमशासनशासनविन्दिनि पिकिनकरे भज भासवम्

अनिलदरवकल्याणिकरेन करे रत्नादिकुशमयः
प्रेयरमिव करमोह करोति गति प्रतिद्रुभ विरुम्बम्

स्फुरितमनववाचारादिव सुचितरित्वरिसमम्
पुच्छ मनोहररमाभिमालस्य कुचकुम्भम्
अभिगमितविस्तारसीमितं तव शुभः रत्निरसमम्
चड़िया रसितरमारविन्दिमममिशर सरसमल्लजः
स्फुरितमनववाचारादिव सुचितरित्वरिसमम्
पुच्छ मनोहररमाभिमालस्य कुचकुम्भम्
अभिगमितविस्तारसीमितं तव शुभः रत्निरसमम्
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Gilagovindu: Sanskrit Text 160
श्रीजयदेवभगिनिमं परिश्रमं सुन्दरसतिसंबामम्।
हरिनिहितमनसामधितिप्रत्यं कष्टदीर्घतः सिद्धम्।॥ १० ॥

सा मा द्रस्यति वक्ष्यति सारः प्रत्यक्षालिनः।
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Gitagovinda: Sanskrit Text 161
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Textual Criticism of the Gitagovinda
My early work toward a verse translation of the Gitagovinda convinced me that the poem's complexity demanded a detailed study of its form and content in terms of the various esthetic and religious traditions in which it is embedded. Several published commentaries on the poem revealed variations in the text that demanded textual analysis. I began collecting manuscript and printed materials relating to the Gitagovinda in 1971, with the aid of listings in the New Catalogus Catalogorum, edited by K. Kunjunnal Raja (Madras: University of Madras, 1971), vol. VI, pp. 26-37. The role of the Gitagovinda as a sacred work and its wide dissemination in the centuries following its composition encouraged me to search for early dated manuscripts in every region of the Indian subcontinent. It became clear in the initial stages of my study that textual variants do not follow the usual pattern of geographically located types.

Manuscripts and printed editions of the Gitagovinda readily divide into two groups, which I call the Longer Recension and the Shorter Recension. They are distinguished by the inclusion or exclusion of about fifteen kāvyā verses, most of which are mangala-type verses occurring at the close of each of the twelve sections of the poem. Aside from this obvious divergence, the text of the kāvyā verses and the songs has been preserved without major variations. Regional variation occurs mainly in the designation of rāga names. The absence of tāla designations in two of the earliest manuscripts is significant in relation to the randomness of tāla names in other manuscripts.

The Longer Recension of the text (LR) is prominently associated with the commentaries entitled Rasikapriyā, Rasakadambakalolini, and Bālabodhini. It is the most widely copied and printed form of the text, based on the critical excellence of Kumbhakarna's Rasikapriyā and on the importance of Caitanyadāsa's Bālabodhini in Bengali Vaishnavism.

The Shorter Recension (SR) is found associated with several lesser-known commentaries, including Mānāṅka's untitled tippanika, as well as...
that are reasonably approximated by A.D. 1447 and 1496. A paper manuscript in Devanagari script in the library of the University of Bombay, dated samvat 1573 (ca. A.D. 1515), also has the text of the SR. A paper manuscript in Devanagari script in the Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, dated samvat 1569, śāka 1434 (ca. A.D. 1512) is accompanied by the tippamākā of Mānāṅka, as is an undated paper manuscript from the collection of Pandit Bālā Shankar Bhattaji of Gujarat, which is illustrated by paintings in the Gujarati style of the fifteenth century. The readings of the four dated manuscripts form the basis of the present critical edition. They are corroborated by readings from a paper manuscript in Devanagari script of an anonymous commentary, in the collection of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, dated samvat 1557, śāka 1422 (ca. A.D. 1500).

More than fifty manuscripts located and examined in the Orissa State Museum in Bhubaneswar, in the Raghunandan Library in Puri, in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona, in the Adyar Library in Madras, and in the Oriental Research Institute in Mysore confirm the wide distribution and integrity of SR. This primary evidence has been corroborated by microfilms and descriptive reports from the major libraries in Baroda, Varanasi, Calcutta, Tanjore, Tirupati, and Trivandrum. The earliest dated manuscripts of LR known to me belong to the sixteenth century and are associated with the commentary Rasikapriyā, or commentaries derived from it.

2 Dated Manuscripts of the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries:
Basic Evidence of the Shorter Recension.

BIR. Bir Library, National Archives, Kathmandu, Nepal. Two manuscripts, in variant forms of Newari script, were chosen for study from among more than forty-five manuscripts of the Gitagovinda in the collection of the Bir Library on the basis of their dated colophons and old appearance. The manuscripts are listed in Śaṅkhyāpratipadātāram, compiled by Buddhāsāgara Parājulī (Kathmandu, 1963), pp. 35–36. They are briefly described in the four-volume handwritten catalog of the Bir Library.

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BIR.I No. 45 of vol. IV (complete). Examined in the National Archives and collated from a microfilm prepared at the library. The manuscript consists of 39 palm leaves, each having five lines per side. The script is called "Bhujimolla" in Pracina Lipi Varanamala by Pandit Sanakaramana Rajavami (Kathmandu, vikrama samvat 2017, A.D. 1960), pp. 15-19. In Indian Paleography (English trans. of 1896 German edition, Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1962), plate VI, p. 95, Georg Bühler describes this script as "Nepalese hooked characters." Bühler cites the evidence of Bendall’s Catalogue of Sanskrit Buddhist Manuscripts from Nepal (Cambridge, 1883) that the hooked characters came to Nepal from Bengal in the twelfth century and ceased to be used after the fifteenth. It is the opinion of Theodore Ricardi, Jr., that this evidence has not been contradicted by recent research in Nepalese epigraphy. The manuscript is dated ca. A.D. 1447.


This manuscript was examined and compared with Lassen’s edition by Valentini De Rigo; his notes were published in an article, “Un antico inedito del Gitagovinda,” Rivista degli Studi Orientali, 18 (1940), fasc. 1, pp. 59-90. There are many mistakes and misunderstandings evident in his reading of the manuscript, which was based on photographs brought to Italy from Nepal by S. E. Formichi. Because of the similarity of the no. 5 in Bhujimollala with the no. 2 in Devanagari, De Rigo reads the date as 267 and is forced into an elaborate attempt to relate the date to Laksmana saṁvat.

The date in the Bir Library catalogue is given as nepali saṁvat 467 (ca. A.D. 1347); however, this is not consistent with the form of the numbers in this script as they are used throughout the manuscript. The catalog error is reflected in the version of this colophon published by Luciano Petech in Appendix III of his Medieval History of Nepal (Rome: Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958), pp. 199-200. Petech compares this colophon with another, whose date he reads as 473, which also has the identifying phrase śri-yaingala-deśe śri-kailasakūta-vaja-mahāpātra śri-
udayasimhadeva. He takes the problematic word vaja to be an abbreviation of vanīśaja and translates the identification as follows: "Udayasimhadeva, the nobleman (mahāpātra) descended from the dynasty of Kālāsakūṭa in the district of Patan (Yāṅgala)." His misreading of the date makes him miss the possible connection between the mahāpātra for whom these Gitagovinda and Navagrahadaśavicāra manuscripts were written and the mahāpātra Udayasimhadeva, who was powerful during the reign of Jayayakṣamalla (1428-80; see Petech, pp. 160-69; cf. D. R. Regmi, Medieval Nepal, Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1965, pt. I, pp. 425-51, pt. III, pp. 54-85).

The analysis of this colophon was done with the help of Theodore Riccardi. It was he who provided the readings of the Old Newari phrase thva-dina-kohnu; "on this day," and the word juro, "was." Both are common in colophons of Sanskrit manuscripts written in Nepal. On this basis, he suggests that the unresolved words vaja and viccha may also be Newari forms. I have tentatively accepted Petech's interpretation of vaja and speculate that viccha may be a tadbhava form of the Sanskrit title vidvat, which belongs to the copyist Vijayarāma. The manuscript is generally legible, though sibilants are notably confused; the only major omission is song 16 (VII.31-38). Tāla names are not given for the songs, except in a few cases, where they are written in the margins in handwriting differing from that of the original copyist. Other emendations are written in the margins in various places.

br.2 No. 468 of vol. I, p. 70. Examined in the National Archives and collated from a microfilm copy, obtained through the kind offices of Albrecht Wezler, from the collection of the "Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project," which is kept at the Library of the German Oriental Society in Marburg. This manuscript is described by Haraprasad Shastri in his Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1905), vol. I, p. 16, no. 468. The manuscript consists of 22 palm leaves, each having seven lines per side. The script is standard Newari, described in Prācina Lipt Varnamālā, pp. 1-7. The manuscript is dated ca. A.D. 1496.

Text begins: auṁ namo bhagavate vāśidevāya, followed by GG l.1. The text of the Gitagovinda is randomly interspersed with bits of commentary which are strikingly similar to parallel passages in
the tippanika of Mānāṅka, suggesting that a manuscript with that commentary was the source of this copy. The readings corroborate this. GG XII.21 is followed in the manuscript by a song in eight verses to be sung in lalitarāga; it is the same as the Gaṅgastavaprabandha that is printed as an appendix to the Telang and Panshikar edition (Bombay: Nirmayasāgara Press, 1899), pp. 175-76. This is followed by GG XII.22 and a long colophon whose significant portions read: nepāle rasa-candra-sanmuṅkhe (= 616) saṁvatsare prālikhat, chandahstātryugam vidagdhakam api śrīgitagovindaḥkam. . . rājye śrī-jayarāyamalla-ṛṇpatēś cintāmaneh prārthinām śrīlaute ratikelisundarakathām autsukyataḥ prālikhat. . . subham astu.

Jayarāyamalla is identified by Regmi (Medieval Nepal, vol. I, pp. 452 ff.) as a son of Jayayakṣamalla, who is noted in the discussion of Bir.1.

Bomb Bombay University Library. One manuscript was chosen for study from several manuscripts of the Gitagovinda in the library’s collections because of its early date and the apparent independence of its readings. It was examined in the library and collated from a microfilm provided by the library. It is no. 4163 in the library listing. It is described by H. D. Velankar in A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the “Itcharan Suryaram Desas Collection” in the Library of the University of Bombay (Bombay: University of Bombay, 1953), p. 120, no. 599. The manuscript consists of 12 folios of paper numbered 16-25, 27-28, each having seven lines per side. The script is Devanagari. The manuscript is dated ca. A.D. 1515 The Gitagovinda text begins following: namo bhagavate vāsudevāya. The text ends with a brief colophon: subham astu. saṁvat 1573 samaye marge śudi 9 bhaume. rāmarāmārāmaprāmarāmarāmarāma.

With the exception of song 2, whose tāla is designated as māthatāla, tāla names are not given for the songs. The missing folio contains the portion of the text from XI.24-33

Ahm Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, Munīḍī Puyayayaji Collection, no. 1428. The manuscript is incomplete, with only fragments of commentary in sarga 12. Collated from a microfilm provided by the institute, in conjunction with the critical edition of Mānāṅka’s tippanika by V. M. Kulkarni (Ahmedabad: L. D. Bharatiya Sanskriti Vidyamandira, 1965), which is based on this manuscript, designated P in Kulkarni’s critical apparatus. The manuscript consists of 50
folios of paper, each having about six lines per side. The script is Devanagari. The manuscript is dated ca. a.d. 1512. Text begins: auro
namo śrīvāsudevāya. Text ends with a brief colophon: śrīkṛṣṇārpaṇam
astu. sari 1569 varṣe śaṅke 1434 pravartamāne lkhitā.

The manuscript that R. K. Majumdar describes in “A 15th Century
Gītāgovinda Ms. with Gujarāti Paintings,” Journal of the University of
Bombay, 6, pt. 7 (1937), could not be located through Majumdar’s infor-
mation that the manuscript “comes from the collection of my friend
Pandit Bālā Shankar Bhattajī Agnihotri, who is a descendant from an
old learned family, and who is the hereditary priest of the Kālikā Mātā
temple, on Pāvāgadh Hill, to the east of Gujarat.” But Majumdar’s de-
scription of the manuscript and his quotes from the tippanikā of Mānānka that accompanies the text establish the relation between this
manuscript and others that have the tippanikā.

Bori Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. One manuscript was
chosen for study from among about thirty-five manuscripts of the
Gītāgovinda in the collection because of its early date and the apparent
independence of the commentary. It was studied from a microfilm pro-
vided by the Bhandarkar Institute through the offices of Dr. H. S. Biligiri.
It is no. 208 in vol. XIII, pt. 1 of A Descriptive Catalogue of the Gov-
ernment Collections of Manuscripts Deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental
Research Institute by P. K. Gode (Poona, 1940), p. 256. The manuscript
is incomplete; it consists of 32 folios of paper, numbered 1-30, 36, 37
(folios 31-35 are missing), each having about fifteen lines per side. The
script is Devanagari, with pṛṣṭhamātras. The manuscript is dated ca.
a.d. 1500. The first leaf is worn; the legible bit of commentary begins: . . .
kādācit grāmāt. sutena saha . . . sthānāṁ gatah. sa nandagopāḥ rādhikā . . .
kāranāt. he rādhī śrīnāṁ kṛṣṇāṁ tuvaṁ etagrham prāpaya. The text
ends with a colophon: sri. saṁvata pārṣeadala ākhāḍhās 1557 varṣe śaṅke
1422 pravartamāne. daksināyane. sa[radat]au. bhādṛa . . . māse. kṛṣṇapakṣe,
dvitiyāṁ tīthau rabudhavā[u]re. gau(?)[rī] āgrāmavāstavya. bhaṭṭadevadāra-
pathanārtha unnatpuragrāmavāstavya rājārāmā paramāratasya sutarānā,
granthasāmkhyā 1700 gītāgovindatikā li . . . sri. cha. sri. cha.

Leaf no. 30 contains commentary on GīG X.9, and leaf no. 37 contains
commentary on XI.33. There is no commentary on sarga 12, which sug-
gests a close relation between this and Ahm. The commentary is a simple
ṭikā similar in type to Mānānka’s tippanikā, but it’s glosses and explana-
tions are different from those of Mānānka. Throughout the manuscript,
songs and verses are cited for reference but are not quoted in full; readings are taken from the commentary.

3 Selected Commentaries on the Gitagovinda

Commentaries Based on the Shorter Recension (SR)

Māṇāṅka. The untitled tippanikā of Māṇāṅka, who refers to himself as mahibhuj in the second of three verses that introduce the commentary:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kavīnāṁ mātrum ālokya satāṁ ca sukhabuddhaye} \\
\text{krīḍā tippanikā mukhyā māṇāṅkena mahibhujā}
\end{align*}
\]

He does not further identify himself in the commentary, nor is there any other work clearly attributable to him. The limiting date of the commentary is fixed by the manuscript Bir.2 (ca. AD 1496), which contains bits of this commentary, and by the manuscript Ahm (ca. AD 1512). The author of the tippanikā is clearly different from the Māṇāṅka who composed the Vṛndāvana-yamaka-kavya, which is referred to by Bhoja in his Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa (V. Raghavan, Bhoja’s Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa, Madras: Punarvasu, 1963, pp. 808–9).

The tippanikā is a simple commentary that consists mainly of glosses on individual words and analyses of compounds. The author does not identify meters or figures of speech. He does not interpret the verses and songs in terms of any discernible sectarian viewpoint. He occasionally cites lexical works like Amarakosa and Anekārthakosa, the grammatical sūtras called Kātantra, and various other works.

Māṇāṅka’s commentary on the controversial opening verse of the Gitagovinda is notable for its simple presentation of alternative interpretations:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rādhāmādhavayoh rahahkelahyoh nirjanasstänaṅkridāh jayanti} \\
\text{sarvotkārṣena varante | rādhā kāpi gopāganganā mukhyā |} \\
\text{mādhavaḥ kṛṣnarūpī nārāyanah | sā ca sa ca tav tavok |} \\
\text{vyabhicārati ceti vaśāt arṣṭapadasya pūrvanipātah |} \\
\text{yathā naranārāyanau unāmaheśvarau kākamayārav ityādi |} \\
\text{yamuna nādi | tasyāḥ kūlaṁ tatāṁ tasmin | ādāro saptama |} \\
\text{kimbhātayoh pratyadhvaksiṇijadrumāṁ calitayoh gatayoh |}
\end{align*}
\]

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Readings are taken from the edition of V. M. Kulkarni, cited for the manuscript Ahm above. This manuscript and a Devanagari manuscript of the text and commentary in the Adyar Library (DC #1038, XXXV.C.148) were also consulted. A manuscript of the Gitagovinda with the commentary of Mānānka is codex C in Lassen’s edition. Manuscripts A and B in Kulkarni’s edition are cited in the variant readings from Kulkarni’s notes.

NĀRĀYANADĀSA. The Sarvāṅgasundarī of Nārāyanadāsa, who is identified as a court poet of the fourteenth-century Kalinga king Narasimhadeva II by K. N. Mahapatra in A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of Orissa (Bhubaneswar: Orissa Sahitya Akademi, 1960), vol. II, pp. lxx–lxxii, and in an article entitled “Sarvāṅgasundarī Ṭīkā on the Gitagovinda,” The Orissa Historical Research Journal, 13, no. 3 (1965), 26–41. Mahapatra bases his argument on two references to a Nārāyana who was the grandfather of Viśvanātha, the author of Sāhityadarpana; see P. V. Kane, The Sāhityadarpana (reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965), pp. iii–viii. The evidence seems inconclusive, but the author of the commentary does demonstrate a broad knowledge of Sanskrit poetry and poetics in his quotations from works like Kumārasambhava, Kāvyadarśa, Kāvyaprakāśa, and Sarasvati-kantāhābharaṇa. The commentary offers analyses of words and verses that do not show obvious influence from any of
the other early commentators I have examined, but the author does refer to a Dhṛtidāsa, whom Mahapatra identifies as an earlier commentator on the *Gitagovinda*. The interpretations of the word *padmāvati*, as it occurs in the text, are quoted from Mahapatra’s article, as examples of Nārāyaṇadāsa’s commentary:

I.2—atra vāgdevatavanena kaveḥ pāṇḍityaṁ padmāvati
caranacaranetvanena lakṣmyābhaktyāśayena dāridryāpamagah |
avaṇyam kavinā dāridryopātasmāya yatanīyam |
X.9—padmāvatiramananācasaḥ jayadevakaviścetivigrahaḥ |
etanānyāganāvanāimukhyāṁ jayadevakavinātsmanah pratipāditaṁ |
XI.21—vihitah padmāvatyāḥ nijapreyasyāḥ sukhasamajāḥ
sukhacayo yeneti vigrahaḥ ||

A single palm-leaf manuscript of this commentary in Oriya script (L.129a) was examined in the Manuscripts Library of the Orissa State Museum in Bhubaneswar, with the help of K. N. Mahapatra. Neither a microfilm copy nor a transcription could be obtained. Another palm-leaf manuscript in Oriya script, with seventeenth-century paintings, was examined in the private collection of Kalicharan Patnaik in Cuttack. Both manuscripts begin: śrī kṛṣṇāya namah.

sarvāngaśundarā rādhā kṛṣṇāh sarvāṅgasundarāh |
tayor ānandaśanani tikā sarvāṅgasundarā ||
naṁvā śrī haricaranam kurute sarvāṅgasundarā tikām |
śrī nārāyaṇadāsakavrāja 'yam gitagovinde ||

Two manuscripts in Bengali script (G.3522, 58 folios; G.10813, 10 folios —inc.) were located in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, but these were not examined.

**Lakṣmīdhara** The *Śrutitāñjani-uyākhyā* of Lakṣmīdhara, also called Lakṣmanasūri, associated with the court of Tirumala I of the Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagara (ca. A.D. 1567-75). In some of the many manuscripts of this commentary that are found throughout South India, the authorship of the commentary is attributed to Tirmalarāja. From an account given by Lakṣmīdhara of his own family in the introductory verses of the *Ṣadbhāśacondrikā* (edited by K. P. Trivedi, Bombay Sanskrit Series, no. 71; Bombay: Government Central Press, 1916), vv. 6-13, we learn that he belonged to a family of Čerukūri in the region of the Krishna river in Andhra country. Lord Vēṅkata was the family deity and he was a worshipper of Śiva Dāksināmūrti. This information is cor-
roborated by similar references in the introductory verses and colophon that are found in many manuscripts of the Gitagovinda commentary. For further discussion of Lakṣmidhara and his works, see V. Raghavan "Literary Notes," Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 18 (1937), 198–201.

The analyses of words and verses in this commentary focus on the literary aspects of the Gitagovinda. Following several introductory verses, the commentary begins:

atha khalu tatra bhavān jayadevanāmā mahākaviṁ saṅgītasāhityasārasya pāradvīpa gitaprabanḍhanirmanāṇapadeṣaṇa sakalapurūṣārthasampādana-mandarāyamānāṁ gopikāmanoḥaravarṇanāṁ manasi nīdhāya cikṣistasyaṣa śrīgitagovindādhyasya prabandhasya pravayam āśāsānāh

kāvyam yaṣate rthakrte vyavahāravide śivetaraksataye |
sadyah paranirvartaye kāntāsanmitatayopadesayuye ||

sty ālamkārikavacanapramāṇyāt kāvyasyaīśeṣayaḥ sādhanatāṁ kāvyā-
lāpāṁ ca varjayed sty asyāsakāvyaviseyatāṁ ca paśyam āśīnāmāṣāryyā
vastumrdeśo vāpi tanmukham ity āryaparivādanam anusaraṁ kātuyā-
nisamārādhanāya kāhinditām pratigatasya nandagopasyaktīvyājena prāpt-
tam rādhāmādāhavayor vihararūpaṁ vastu kāvyābhijatvena nirditai—
meghair styādi|

Readings are taken from a microfilm copy of a Nandinagari palm-leaf manuscript in the Mysore Oriental Research Institute, no. S1767, listed in the Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Library, Mysore (Mysore: Government Branch Press, 1922), p. 245. The original was compared at the Mysore Institute with a paper manuscript in Kannada script, no. C335, with the help of H. V. Nagaraja Rao, and an incomplete paper manuscript in Devanagari, no. C2188. I was informed in 1974 that a critical edition of the Gitagovinda with the Stūtraṇjāni had been prepared by Dr. K. S. Ramamurthi of Śrī Veṅkateśwara University Oriental Research Institute in Tirupati, but I have not been able to obtain a copy of this publication.

/Śaṅkaramiśra The Rasamaṇjari of Śaṅkaramiśra, printed with Kumbha's Rasikapriyā in the edition of Telang and Panshikar (Bombay: Nirnayasāgara Press, 1899), from which readings are taken. Manuscripts of the commentary are found throughout northern India; see New Catalogus, vol. VI, p. 36.
KUMBHAKARNA (KUM) The Rasikapriya of Kumbhakarna, who is identified as a king of Mewar in the introductory verses of the commentary. Mahārāṇa Kumbhakarna, whose rule is dated ca. a.d. 1433–68, is also known as the author of the Saṅgitarāja, an encyclopedic work on the theory of music, dance, and esthetic production. The first volume of the Saṅgitarāja has been edited by Premalata Sharma (Varanasi: Banaras Hindu University Press, 1963). In her introduction (pp. 29–61) she critically analyzes the question of Kumbha’s authorship of both works.

In the introductory verses to the commentary, especially 15–20, the author says that his purposes are to indicate the appropriate music for each song, to analyze the erotic mood (trāgārāsa) of the work, and to illuminate the meaning of the text. There are many quotations from the Saṅgitarāja, mainly in reference to the musical characteristics of songs (prabandhalakṣana). The commentary also identifies figures of speech (alankāra), forms of the hero (nāyaka) or heroine (nāyikā) depicted, and the names of the meters. The rāgas and tālas indicated for the songs in the commentary generally differ from those found in other versions of the text. They are part of Kumbha’s effort to restructure and fix the musical performance of the Gitagovinda. The same effort may account for the mangalāśloka verses that are found at the end of each sarga in Kumbha’s version of the text. These verses make small claim to composition by Jayadeva, but they may have been part of the work’s performance in some version and were incorporated into the text by Kumbha.

Kumbha’s elaborate analysis of the opening verse of the Gitagovinda includes an attack on the interpretations of other unnamed critics, a fanciful etymology of mādhava (from mā, or lakṣmi, and dhava, “husband”; see Bhaṭṭa Kṣiraśvāmin’s commentary on Amarakosa 1.18; Poona: Oriental Book Agency, 1941), and an abstract discussion of ayam as the key to the verse. Kumbha considers the first half of the verse to be the lover’s speech of Krishna, not Nanda’s speech about the child Krishna, which would violate poetic taste. He interprets tad ātmam, Krishna’s reference to himself in the third person instead of the first person, as a sign of his lost consciousness of his own body. He glosses nandamātārakā with nandasmārit, “from the vicinity of Nanda,” in contrast with the more obvious interpretations of the compound to mean “on account of Nanda’s order.” Kumbha glosses padmāvatīcaranacāraṇacākraṇavartī in GG I.2 with
bhagavadāśa The Rasakadambakalollīni of Bhagavaddāsa, whose work is
dated the latter half of the sixteenth century by P. K. Gode in Studies in
Indian Literary History (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1953), vol. II,
pp. 146–53. References to Kumbhakarṇa in the commentary establish its
basic dependence on Kumbha’s text; e.g., Bhagavaddāsa, commenting on
GG I.t, says: tvayāivāyam grhinimāna syāt iti sakhyāgudhāin parisutam
iti kumbhakarnokte (leaf 5, line 2). The reading is identical with the
contents of two manuscripts in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
noted by Gode, p. 150. Besides quoting Kumbha, Bhagavaddāsa analyses
the poetic and devotional aspects of the poem with reference to works
like Kṛṣṇakarnāṁṛta, Bhagavataaptārāṇa, Bhagavadgītā, Nātyaśāstra, Daśarūpa,
Śrīgārātālaka, Sangitaratnākara, Rasāṁrtaśindhu, Kavyaprakāśa.

Readings are taken from a photocopy of a manuscript (no. 1579) in the
Harvard University Library. This has been compared in places with a
microfilm copy of the Devanagari manuscript in the Oriental Institute,
Baroda, serial no 205, dated samvat 1839, listed by R. Nambiṣar in An
Alphabetical List of Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute, Baroda (Ban-
roda: Central Library, 1950), vol. II, pp. 990–91. None of the four manu-
scripts of the Rasakadambakalollini in the Bhandarkar Institute was
available in the library on several occasions when I inquired about them.

caitanyadāśa (cait) The Bālabodhīni of Caitanyadāsa, also known as Pūjari
Gosvāmin, who was a Bengali Vaishnava scholar living in Vṛndāvana in
the latter half of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. He also
wrote the Subodhīni on the Kṛṣṇakarnāṁṛta. Caitanyadāsa’s Sanskrit com-
mentary follows the text of Kumbha, but the emphasis of the com-
mentary is on the interpretation of the erotic relationship of Rādhā and
Krishna as an allegory of the spiritual relationship between the human
soul and the loving god Krishna. It places the Gitagovinda within the
Vaishnava tradition of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, but it recognizes Rādhā as

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Krishna's consort, called Devi and Krsnamayi. The importance of Rādhā's friend in terms of the concept of sakhibhāva is evident throughout the commentary; e.g., the speech of the opening verse is attributed to the sakhi.

Readings are taken from the edition of Harekrishna Mukhopādhyāya, entitled Kaviyajaderva o trīgitagovinda (Calcutta: Gurudas Mukhopādhyāya, 1957, b.s. 1362); they closely follow those of Kumbha's text.

In addition to these seven outstanding commentaries on the Gitagovinda, note should be made of three others edited by A. Sharma, K. Deshpande, and V. Sundara Sharma (Hyderabad: Osmania University Sanskrit Academy, 1969). All follow the text of LR. The Padadyotanikā of Nārāyana Paṇḍita and the Jayanti of Ammannā's son, the physician, are both simple and undistinguished. The Sañjīvanī of Vanamālibhaṭṭa focuses on the erotic esthetics of the poem. The entire poem is interpreted in terms of the technical details of erotic literature. Even the heroic mood of each of the ten incarnations in the dasāvatārastuti is seen in the context of postures and gestures of lovemaking. For example, the forms of the Boar and the Man-lion (1.7, 8) are related to erotic conventions of biting and scratching; see pp. 22-25 in the Osmania edition.

4 Previous Editions of the Gitagovinda

Aside from the editions of the Gitagovinda made on the basis of the commentaries cited above, the only previous critical edition of the text is that of Cristianus Lassen, published with Latin notes and translation in Bonn in 1836. The edition is entitled Gitā Govinda Jayadevae poetae indici drama lyricum. It is based on five manuscript codices, described on pp. xii-xiii of the Prolegomena:

A. Bengali manuscript with Caitanyadāsa's Bālabodhilī.
B. Devanagari manuscript, without commentary.
C. Devanagari manuscript, with Mānūṅka's commentary; read śṛpyanikā for śṛtyanikā.
D. Devanagari manuscript, with Nārāyana Paṇḍita's Pādadyotanikā.
E. Bengali manuscript, without commentary.

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Lassen bases his text on the text of Caitanyadāsa; codices D and E generally agree with it, and B and C often vary in ways that agree with the readings of the present edition.

None of the many editions I have gathered from various regions of India are critical. They are mainly reprints of the Telang and Panshikar text, with notable variation only in rāga and tāla names. In his Oriya script edition of the Gitagovinda, accompanied by an Orya verse translation (Cutack: Das, 1970), Kalicharan Patnaik uncritically conflates the text of the manuscript containing Nārāyaṇadāsa’s commentary with readings from some version of LR.

5 Secondary Evidence

The occurrence of verses from the Gitagovinda in Śrīdharadāsa’s anthology, the Saduktikarnāmrta, compiled in Bengal in A.D. 1205, is used to set the limiting date of the poem’s composition. Among the thirty verses attributed to Jayadeva in the critical edition of S. C. Banerji (Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1965), two are in all versions of SR and are in the present edition of the Gitagovinda (Skms. 659 = GG VI.111; Skms. 1144 = GG XII.10). Three others are also found in texts of LR and are included in the present edition as variants (Skms. 294 = GG XI.33†; Skms. 1134 = GG XII.23† [A]; Skms. 1160 = GG XII.23† [C]). Their inclusion in Kumbhakarna’s “edited” text of the Gitagovinda must have been based on their attribution to the poet and some association with the Gitagovinda at an early date. Since none of the manuscripts Banerji used for his edition antedates the seventeenth century, the occurrence of verses in the anthology cannot be used to establish the “authenticity” of verses or readings. As noted above in footnote 5 to section 1 of the introduction, many of the remaining verses attributed to Jayadeva in the Sadukti-karnāmrta show thematic and stylistic similarities to Gitagovinda verses.

A stone-inscription of Maharāja Sārṅgadeva Vāghelā of Anahulla-pattan, dated A.D. 1291 (vikrama samvat 1348), opens with Jayadeva’s invocation to Krishna in his ten incarnate forms (GG I.16). The text is given by K. K. Majumdar in “A 15th Century Gitagovinda Ms.” It varies little from the standard version of this verse. Pada (c) reads: setun
bandhayate halim kalayate kārunyam ātanvate. This reading is not found in any of the manuscripts of the Gitagovinda I examined.

One verse (GG III.11) is cited in the tenth pariccheda of Viśvanātha’s Sāhityadarpana, which is dated the fourteenth century. See P. V. Kane’s edition (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965), X. 39. This verse is found in both recensions of the Gitagovinda, without variation.

6 The Significance of the Critical Edition

It has already been stated that the early dated manuscripts of SR, two of which are associated with the jippaniकā of Mānānka, are taken as the basis of the present edition. The independence of readings and the wide geographical distribution of manuscripts of SR by the fifteenth century suggest that this recension of the text was based on an established oral or written tradition. Minor variations in the texts of manuscripts of SR occur, both in the kāvya verses and in the songs. In determining problematic readings, I have generally chosen what is common to the conservative Newari manuscript Bir.1, and at least one of the other early manuscripts of SR. Where this has not been possible, I have tried to choose a meaningful reading that could best explain the variants. For details of this method and a bibliography of Indian textual criticism, see my Phantasies of a Love-Thief: The Caurapaṇḍaliṇī Attributes to Bihana (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), pp 96-175.

On the basis of available manuscript evidence of LR, it seems reasonable to assert that the fifteenth-century critic and music theorist Kumbhakarna “edited” the version of the Gitagovinda on which he based his commentary, the Rānkapriyā. This version was then followed by other commentaries, most notably that of Caitanyadāsa, through whose commentary the poem was “popularized” in Bengali Vaishnava circles. This accounts for the predominance of LR in Bengali manuscripts after the sixteenth century. Unfortunately, no earlier dated Bengali manuscripts have been found to test this theory, but the location of manuscripts in Oriya and Bengali script of the commentary Sarvāṅgasundarī, which is based on SR, suggests that a tradition of SR existed in the region.

The broad difference between the two recensions involves the inclusion
or exclusion of twelve *maṅgalaśloka* verses. The same twelve are included in all versions of LR. They are absent in versions of SR, with the exception of the *maṅgalaśloka* at the end of the first *sarga*, which is included in the manuscripts Bir.2 and Bom and in some manuscripts of the Mānāṅka *tippanikā*. Since the recension that excludes the *maṅgalaśloka* verses is the basis of the present edition, these verses are given as "variant verses" after the variant readings of each *sarga*.

I speculate that the *maṅgalaśloka* verse at the end of the first *sarga* came to be associated with the performance of the *Gitagovinda* at some time before or during the fifteenth century and that the remaining *maṅgalaśloka* verses were added by Kumbhakarna, or someone else, for the sake of structural symmetry. The presence or absence of the *maṅgalaśloka* verses affects the tone and movement of the entire *Gitagovinda*. The repeated invocations to Krishna, in terms that recall the standard literature of devotional Vaishnavism, seem inappropriate to Jayadeva's delineation of the relationship between Rādhā and Krishna. Although Rādhā is named in more than half of them (I.47; III.15†; V.19†; VI.11†; VII.41†; X.14†; XI.33†), the conventional style and orthodox Vaishnava content of the verses tend to dull the intensity of her relationship with Krishna, which is central to every other aspect of Jayadeva's lyrical structure. Thus, the case for their authenticity in Jayadeva's text of the *Gitagovinda* seems weak in terms of literary analysis, as well as in terms of textual history.

A complex and critically important portion of the text involves six verses that are found in the text of Kumbhakarna's commentary, and other versions of LR, following song 23 in the twelfth *sarga*. These occur in versions of SR in a pattern that sets the manuscript Bir.1 apart from the others and suggests that Kumbhakarna was aware of different versions of SR when he "edited" his text of the *Gitagovinda*. Among the verses, one verse in Āryā meter occurs in two forms, each of which clearly belongs to one recension or the other. The form of SR is included in the critical edition (*CG* XII.11). Of the remaining verses, three (variant verses XII.10† [A], [B], [C]) are in LR and in all versions of SR except the version represented by the manuscript Bir.1. This manuscript has two different verses in the same place (variant verses XII.10† [D], [E]), which are also in LR. The fact that the oldest dated manuscripts of Mānāṅka's *tippanikā* are defective in this portion of the text adds to the difficulty of determining the authenticity of one set of verses as compared with the other. However, the close relationship of the text of Mānāṅka with the texts of Bir.2, Bom, and the *Sarvaṅgasundarī* of Nāṭayanadīsa suggests

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that a defective manuscript may be at the basis of these variations, this set being an attempt to fill the gap in the text. The verses in Bir.1 may represent the "authentic" version, but the evidence does not seem clear enough to include them in the critical text. Neither set adds significantly to the literary quality of the text. A seventh verse in this portion of the text is found in all versions of both recensions, as well as in the Saduktikaṇṭāmṛta (Skm. 1144). It is included in the critical edition (GG XII.10).

7 Variant Readings

Variants are noted for the following versions:

SR: Bir.1, Bir.2, Bom, Ahm
LR: Kumbhakarna (abbrev. "Kum"), Caitanyadāsa (abbrev. "Cait")

Other versions of SR and LR do not offer the independent testimony of these sources; their variants are of minimal importance and are not cited. As elsewhere in this volume, text citations are to the critical edition printed here. Roman numerals I-XII refer to the sargas; arabic numerals refer consecutively to verses and stanzas within each sarga. General reference to a gita (abbrev. g) is designated by the number of the song, e.g., I.g1. Variant verses are designated by daggers (†) after the numbers of the verses they follow.

Sarga 1

I.2-4 Bir.1 has verses in the order 3, 4, 2; LR reverses the order of 3 and 4.
I.18 Bir.1, Bir.2 gaudamālavaraṇaga.
I.19 (c) Bir.2, Ahm raghupatirūpa.
I.16 (b) Kum dāityān.
I.21 (b) Bir.1 yadukutapadmanidēṣa
I.19 (b) Kum *nidāna.
I.23 Following this verse, LR adds a stanza:

tava caraṇe pranatā vayam iti bhāvaya e
kuru kusālaṁ pranatetu jaya jayadeva hare

We worship at your feet. Quicken us!
Favor your worshippers! Triumph, God of Triumph, Hari!
Sarga II

II.6 (b) Bir.2, Bom, LR (also Māṇāṅka, Kulkarni manuscripts A and B) pinapayodharaparisaramardana°.

II.10 (a) Bir.2, Bom bhṛūmam.

II.11 (b) Bir.1 ratirabhasavatena.

II.16 Bir.1 vasantarāgā; Bir.2, Bom gaudamālavarāgā.

II.19 (c) Bom, Kum uḷajptin.

II.20† LR:
bhṛuvallikamalikadarśabhuvāmūlordenahastasananam |
sākūtasmītam ākulākulaṅgaladdhammillam uḷānta-
gopināṁ nīdbhṛtāṁ nīrīkṣya gamitkānksaṁ cirāṁ cintayan
antarmuḍghānmanoharāṁ haratū vah kṛitāṁ navah
kṛṣṇaṁ ||

Secretly watching lascivious smiles of cowherds’ wives
And disheveled braids
As they lift their hands to creeper brows
To show him their breasts,
His desire for them leaves—
He turns at last to brood on the sensitive heart he took.
Krishna is changed! Let him calm your anguish!

Sarga  III

III.4  (b) Bir.2 kim mama sukheṇa gṛheṇa; Bom kim mama
        kim sukheṇa gṛheṇa; Kum (var.) mama kim gṛheṇa
        sukhena.

III.6-8  Bir.1 verse sequence 8, 6, 7; Bom verse sequence, 6, 8, 7.

III.10  (a) Bir.1, Bir.2 pranatena.
        (b) Bir.1 kindubillī; Bir.2 kindubilla; Ahn undubilva.

III.13-15  LR verse sequence 15, 13, 14.

III.15†  LR:
tiryakkanṭhavilomamaditaralottamsasya vamioccataad-
diptasthānaktāvadhānaldalānālaksav na samlaksitaḥ |
sammuṅgadhe madhūsūdanasya madhure rādhāmukhendau sudhā 
saṁre kandalitāṁ cirāṁ dadhatu vah kśemāṁ katāksormayaḥ ||

The crown of demon Madhu’s foe trembles, earrings dance
Against his tilting neck
As myriad adoring women fix their attention
On the brilliance of his bamboo flute’s high notes
And fail to note the waves of glances falling
Like blossoms in the rainy season
On Rādhā’s bewildered nectar-sweet moon face.
Let the demon foe’s glances secure long peace for you!

Sarga IV

IV.8  Kum reverses lines of the dhruvapada, mādhava . . . sā
      virāhe . . .

Textual Criticism 195
IV.5  (a) Bir.2 *vilolavilocana*°; Bom, Cait *valitavilocana*°; Kum *calitavilocana*°.

IV.10 (b) Bir.1, Bir.2 *karālāyate*.

IV.11 (b) Bom, LR *ivabhāram*.

IV.15-16 Kum reverses the order of verses 15 and 16.

IV.15 (b) Bir.1, Bir.2 (also Mānāṅka, Kulkarni manuscripts A and B) *hūtālanaḥkalpaṃ*.

IV.89 Bir.1, Bir.2 *vibhūsarāga*; Bom *deśivarārirāga*; Cait *deśāgarāga*.

IV.19 Ahm omits verse (Mānāṅka, Kulkarni manuscript B has verse without commentary).

(c) Bir.1, Bir.2 *etāddṛśya*.

(d) LR *hastakah*.

IV.20 (a) Bir.2, Ahm *vaidyakṛtya*.

(c) Kum *nivṛttabādhāṃ*.

IV.21 (c) Cait *śitālataraṇī*.

IV.22† LR (also Mānāṅka, Kulkarni manuscript A; manuscript B has no variants):

 airportsukalagukulāvanarasād uddhṛtya govardhanāin

 *bibhradvallavavallabhābhīr adhiḫānandām cīram cumbitah |

daṛpenceru tadārpitād haratatiśindūramudrāṅkito

 bāhur goputanos tanotu bhatārām śreyāṁśi kāṁsadvīyaḥ ||

When he lifted Mt. Govardhana to save the cowherds' woods
From a flood of torrential rain,
Cowherds' wives high on blissful emotion
Kissed him long into the night
And his arm was branded with pride
By vermilion marks from their open lips.
Let demon Kāṁsa's foe, incarnate in a cowherd's body,
Bring joy to you who hear!

Bom, LR title sarga IV snigdhamadhusūdanah.

**Sarga V**

V.4 (b) Kum *kalitaviraha*.

V.6 (a) Bir.2, Bom, Kum *viraha*°.

V.611 LR adds a second line to the *dhruwapada*:

*gopipinapayodharamardanacaṅcalakarayujasāli ||

With restless hands that squeeze full breasts of cowherdresses.
V.8 (b) Bir.2 ośilambiniṁ.
V.9 (b) Bir.2, Bom, Kum tanu te.
V.17 (a) Bom, Ahm tradvākyena.
V.18 (c) Ahm gacayoh kraman.
V.19 Bom omits verse.
(d) Bir.1, Bir.2 tvāṁ upaśī.
V.19† LR:
raḍhāmugdhamukhaśravindamadhyaspas traṭokyamaunulīsthali-
nepathyocitanilāratnam avanibhūravatārāntakah |
svachhandam vrajasundarirjanamanastasapośapradodayah
kaimsadhumānsanadhūmaketur avatu tvāṁ devakinandanaḥ ||

He drinks honey like a bee from Rādhā's tender lotus mouth.
He crowns the crest of the universe like a dark sapphire jewel.
He incarnates as death for demons who burden earth.
He spreads a veil of dusk to please the hearts of cowherd girls.
He destroys demon Kamsa like a fiery meteor.
May Devaki's son Krishna favor you.

Sarga VI

VI.12† Bir.2 dhanaśīrāga; Bom gaudikarnādarāga, Ahm gunakarirāga
(Mānānka, Kulkarni manuscript B has natarāga, as Bir.1);
LR gondakarirāga (var. gunakarī).
VI.3 (a) Bir.1 vasantī 
(b) Bir.2 hasantī
VI.11† LR:
kim utrāmyasi krśnabhogabhavane bhāndirabhūmiruhi
bhṛtaryās na dṛṣṭigocaram itah sannandanañandāspadam |
raḍhāyā vacanam tadadhvagamukhān nandāntike gopato
govindasya jayants sāyam atithiprāṣastyagarbha girah ||

"Why do you rest under the fig tree?
It is as full of black snakes as Krishna's love-nest.
Why don't you go to Nanda's joyful house, brother?
It is visible from here."
Rādhā's words are repeated by a cowherd pilgrim
Near Nanda's home
And Krishna's songs offering sanctuary to the guest
Triumphanty fill the twilight
Bir.2, Cait title sarga VI dhṛṣṭavaiṅkunṭhāḥ; Bom uṭkantaṅ; Ahm sotkanthaṅ; Kum dhanyavaiṅkunṭhāḥ.

Sarga VII

VII.1 (c) Ahm aṁśudīpar.

VII.43 Bir.1, Bom gauḍamāla-varāga; Bir.2 deśirāga.

VII.3 (b) Bir.1 amalam api rāpam; Bir.2 etad anu-ṛṣpam api.

VII.4 (b) Bir.1, Bir.2 ॐ sarapiditam

VII.5 (a) Kum varam iti (also Mānāṅka, Kulkarni manuscripts A, B).

(b) Ahm, Kum kim iti.

VII.6–7 Bir.1, Bir.2 reverse the order of verses 6 and 7.

VII.9 (a) The high degree of variation among manuscript readings here may be explained by a metrical flaw in the text of some early version and various attempts to adjust it; or, the confusions may be mainly orthographic. Bir.1 nīvigalitavananvetasā; Bir.2 na vigalitavinanvetasā; Bom nagalitavananvetasā; Ahm na vigalitabalacasetā (Mānāṅka cites the variant that is close to the reading: anuganitavananvetasetī pāthe).

VII.11 (b) LR vanābhyarṇe kim udbhṛmyati.

VII.44 Bir.1, Bir.2 add the vocative sakhi at the end of the dhṛuvapada.

VII.15 Ahm vikacayalayalītāṅ.

VII.21 (a) Bom, LR vedaṇām.

VII.45 Bir.1 rāmakarīrāga.

VII.23 (b) Kum kurabakakusumāriṃ.

VII.24 (b) Bir.1 manimayaṅ; Bir.2, Bom manirasaṅ.

VII.26 (b) Bir.1, Bir.2 manirasaṅ.

VII.28 (a) Bir.1, Bir.2, Ahm khalu.

VII.29 (a) Kum ॐ racitām.

VII.46 Bir.1 omits the entire song; Bir 2 varalirāga; LR deśavarādirāga.

VII.31 (b) Bir.2, Bom patai.

VII.36 (a) Bir.2, Bom, Ahm kanakāncaya (though this reading deserves precedence in terms of its occurrence in SR, the meaning of the phrase kanakāncaṣāṅ seems preferable in the context of the compound).

VII.38 Bir.2, Ahm reverse order of lines in the stanza.

Textual Criticism 198
(A) Bir.2 (also Mānāṅka, Kulkarni manuscript B), cited as a variant in Kum, included in text of LR at IX.10†:

sāndrāṇandapurandarādīdvisuṣṭhavindair aṃmadādarād
ānāmrāir mukūṭendranilamanihī śaṁdarṣitendindirām |
svacchandam māka randasundaramilamandākinimedurāṃ
śrīgovindapadāravindam aśubhaskandāya vandāmahe ||

Like a blue lotus, reflecting beelike sapphires on divine crowns
As swarms of intensely blissful gods led by Indra eagerly bow,
Free as flower nectar flowing spontaneously in Ganges water
Is Govinda’s lotus foot; we praise it for destroying misfortune.

(B) LR:

prātār nilanicolam acyntam urah saṁvītapitāmbaraṁ
rādhāyāt cakitaṁ vilokya hasati svairāṁ sakhīmandale |
vṛidācaṅcalam aṅcalaṁ nayanayor ādhāya rādhānena
śrīgovindapadāravindam aśubhaskandāya vandāmahe ||

In the morning, seeing her dark scarf on himself,
His yellow cloth on her quivering chest, and Rādhā’s alarm,
He laughs freely within the circle of her friends;
As he pulls from her eyes the cloth quivering with shame
On Rādhā’s face, his mouth sweetly smiles.
Let Nanda’s son be bliss for the world!

Sarga VIII

(b) Bir.1, Bir.2 anunayavānayam

(a) Bir.1, Bir.2 anuvahānt.

VIII.5† Bir.1 adds a stanza not found elsewhere:
candanaṁruciṁruciadvyasangamasangatahbabhrucandabimbām |
hṛdayam idam tava tulyati mādhava navaghanagataśasī- |
bimbām ||

VIII.9 (a) Bir.1 hariṇaḥcita.
(b) Bir.1, Bir.2 vibuddhālayo ’pi sukham durāpam.

(b) Kum odhyatihṛdayam.

(b) Kum odhyatihṛdayam.

VIII.10† LR:
antarmohanamahighūrnanacalanmandārasvibhramasa-
stumbhākarsanadṛṣṭharsanamulamāntah kuraṅgīdṛśām |

Textual Criticism 199
It is like a great spell seducing doe-eyed women,
Swaying their garlanded heads, loosening mandāra flowers,
Subduing their feelings, delighting their minds' eyes.
It deflects the distress gods feel from the unbearable pain
Of arrogant demons' oppression.
Let the sound of Kaṁsa's foe Krishna's flute bring good to you!

Sarga IX

IX.1  (b) Bom, Cait raḥah sakhi; Kum raḥasi sakhi (both are metrically faulty in terms of the scheme of the basic Āryā pattern, in which the second half should consist of 27 beats).

IX.2  (b) LR bhavane.

IX.3  The rhyming of sarasam and kalatam is notable; it is found in both recensions.

IX.6  (a) Kum nalina°.

IX.10  (c) Bir.2, Bom, LR tadyuktaṁ.

IX.10† See VII.41†

Ahm, LR title sarga IX mugahamukundah.

Sarga X

X.1  (a) Ahm ṭeṣavaśādasīma-, Kum ṭrosavaśāmapāra-.

X.1r9  (b) Bir.1 samupetya rādham.

X.7  Bir.1 desirāga; Bir.2 desuvarirāga; Ahm desiyavārādi.

X.8  (b) Ahm, LR caranadvayaṁ; Bir.1 sarasagalad°.

X.9  (a) Kum dhehi.

X.9  (b) Bir.1 madhuvarino.

X.10  (b) Ahm āyatu āyadevakavibhāratibhūṣtam māṃniṣanajananta-śatam; Kum āyatu, etc., as Ahm.

X.10  (b) Kum kāśiṇi.

X.11  (d) LR pranayāṁ parāṁbhārāṁbhē.

X.11  Bir.1 uncertain; Bom omits verse.

X.11† LR (meter is Ardhasamasanāṭuspadi: a = c [12]; b = d [13]):

Textual Criticism 200
Moon-faced Rādhā, your curving brow
Is a dreadful black serpent
Beguiling youthful lovers,
But the elixir of your lips
Is a magical spell
For dispelling the fears
That young men suffer from it.

Let Hari spread joy—
When he made contact with Kamsa’s mount in lusty battle
The elephant’s swollen temples
Made him recall Rādhā’s full breasts,
So he broke into sweat and shut his eyes for just a second—
Immediately, in the confusion of seeing him thus,
Kamsa’s roar sounded, “It is won!” “It is won!” “It is won!”

Sarga XI

XI.12  Bir.1 omits verse.
        (c) Kum vañca na.

XI.14  (a) Bir.1 indumatiyāshitaṁ; Ahm indusamkālakāṁ.
        (b) Bir.1, Bir.2 viśhita; LR viṣita.

XI.14†  LR:
        sa pritiṁ tanutāṁ hariḥ kuvalayāpiṇaṁ sārdham rane
        rādhāpināpayaḍharamaranaḥkṛṣṇabhena sambhedavān
        yatra svidyati milati kṣanam api kṣtrapān tadālokana-
        vyāmohena pītaṁ pītaṁ pītaṁ abhūt kamsasya kollāhalaṁ

Bir.2, Bom have the dhruwapada placed between the two halves
of the stanza:
XI.15 Bir.1 omits stanza.

XI.17 (a) Ahm, Kum mrducalamalayapavana°.
(b) Bom, Cait rativalita°; Ahm, Kum madanaśaraniyarabhite.

XI.18–20 LR verse sequence 20, 18, 19.

XI.18 (b) Bir.2 madanaśararabhara°; Kum kusumaśarasarasa°.

XI.19 (a) Bir.2, Ahm madhutarala°.

XI.20 (a) Ahm ॐ sughane.

XI.21 (c) LR ॐ kaviśājāje (the additional syllables seem to be an attempt to conform with the metrical pattern of the dhruvapada).

XI.22 (b) Bom, Ahm, LR ca.
(c) Ahm, LR asāṅkum.

XI.23 (d) Kum praviveśābhivesanam.

XI.24–33 Bom missing leaf no. 26, XI.24–33; Bir.1, Bir.2 (dhruvapada) anangavikāsām.

XI.25 (a) Bir.2 pānlambya.

XI.28 (b) Bir.1 smitarucikusuma.

XI.29 (a) Bir.1 caṅcalagahanodarasundaravimalakusumavarakēsām.

XI.31 LR harim sucīram.

XI.30–31 These stanzas appear differently in Bir.1:

vīpulalakabharadarititadanaśarabhaṇanikaravikāram
bhūsanamaniganaśiranavibhāvītavishadāhanaparī-
vāram || 30 ||
śrījayadevabhanantam atiśobhanavibhavibhūṣānabhaṃram
prāṇamata manasi nidhāya harim bhavajalahitaśrūbha-
sāram || 31 ||

XI.32 Bir.1 omits.

(b) Kum amalatarāram gamstayoh.
(c) Kum ॐ saṃyātasamaye.

XI.33 (c) Kum ॐ vaśākūta°.

XI.33† LR (Sadukaśānāmeta 294):

jayasrivīnastaur mahita iva mandārakusumaih
svayam sindureṇa dviparanamudā mudrita iva |
bhujāpīdakriśāhatakauvalayāpīdakarnah
prakirnāsgrbindur jayati bhujandaṇḍo muṣajitah ||

It seems worshipped with mandāra flowers scattered by Triumph,
Self-marked with sindhur as a sign of joy in battling the
elephant—
Playfully slaying demon Kāṁsa’s mount with an embrace of
arms,
Dripping with splattered blood, the stern arm of Mura’s toe
triumphs.

Kum has two additional verses that are not found in other ver-
sions of LR.
Born, Cait title: sarga XI sānandagovindah; Kum sāmodadā-
madarah.

Sarga XII

XII.1 (c) Br.2, Bom, Ahm sarasam alasam.
XII.23 Br.1, Br.2 rāmakaritāga.
(dhruvapada) Kum anubhaga māṁ; Cait anubhaga rādhike.
XII.6 (a) LR bhāmīni.
XII.8 (b) Kum lajyantam iva nayanam tava viramati srjasi vrthā
rātikheḍam.
XII.10 (a) Kum vāmadhe.
XII.10 (A) Br.2, Bom, LR:
pratyāhah pulakāṅkureṇa mhibdāśleṣe mmesena ca
kṛdākāramlokite dharasudkāpāne kathānamabhāḥ |
āṇandādhigamena manmathakekāyudde ’pi yasmin abhūd
udbhūtah sa tayor babhūva suratārambhah priyam-
hānukah ||

Bristling body hairs interrupted their close embrace,
Dripping stopped their watching for signs of love-play,
Baner hindered their drinking nectar from each other’s lips,
Boundless bliss interrupted the battle of love’s subtle art—
What became explicit as passion took over was love’s stimulant.

(B) Br.2, Bom, LR:
dorbbhām samyamītah payodharadharenāpiśītah pāṃsura
āvīddha datanath kṛatudharavatth atontaranāthah |
hastenānīmitah kace dharmadhusayātāna sammohitah
kāntah kāṁ api trptim āpa tad aho kāmasya vāmā gośh ||

Textual Criticism 203
Her arms bound him,
Her heavy breasts oppressed him,
Her nails scratched him,
Her teeth broke his lips' soft hollows,
Her sloping hips struck him,
Her hand on his hair made him bend,
A stream of her lips' honey confounded him,
Yet her lover attained ineffable pleasure—
This paradox is the way of love.

(C) Bir.2, Bom, LR:

tasyāḥ pātalapānīyāṅkitam uro nidrākṣāye dṛśau
    nirdhauto 'dharaṇonīma vilulitaśrastaśrajo murdhājāh |
kāncidāma daraśalakhāṇcalam uṣ śrūtar nikhātair dṛśor
    cbbhīḥ kāmaśarasa tadādbhutam abhūt paśyur maṇah kīśitam ||

Her chest was branded with red nailmarks,
Her eyes were bloodshot from lack of sleep,
The crimson hue was drained from her lips,
Wilted garlands lay disheveled in her hair,
Her girdle cords lay a little slack—
At dawn the arrows of love buried in his eyes
Impaled the wondrous heart of her consort.

(D) Bir.1, LR:

vyālolah keśapāsas taralitam alakāh svedalolau kapolau
    klīśa daśādhaṇaśrih kucakālaśarüca hārīta hārayastih |
kānci kāncid gataśāṃ stanājghanapanadam pāṇinācchādyā
    sadyāḥ
    paśyantī satrapam sa tadapi vilulitaśragdhareyam dhinoti ||

Her braid is a dangling mass of curling locks,
Her two cheeks are full of sweat,
The glow of her bitten lip is dulled,
Her pearl necklace is paled by the gleam of full breasts,
The hope that glowed from her girdle is gone
As she covers her bare breasts and loins at once with each hand,
Looking at him with bashfulness—
Even this girl in her disheveled garlands satisfies him.

Kum (a) vyākosah, svedamokṣau; (b) bimbādhara°; (c) kāncikāntir hatāśa; (d) satrapā, mugdhakāntir 'dhinoti.

Textual Criticism 204
As her body lies powerless after expressions of high joy
From his forcefully embracing her breast
As it heaved with sighing,
The graceful Lord drinks the doc-eyed girl's face—
Her eyes are slightly opened
Her lips are polished by the gleam of her teeth,
Opened by indistinct, confused love sounds
From the force of her sucking air in bewildered laughter,

Kum (a) mugdhaveṣāt\(^9\); (c) sāntastadhapayodharam bhṛṣapari\(^0\).

**XII.11**
Bom omits; LR has a variant verse in Āryā meter:
\[ \text{atha sahasā suprītā suratānte sā nitāntakhinnāngī} | \]
\[ \text{rādhā jagāda sądaram idam ānandena govindam} | \]

Cait (a) iti manasā nigadantam.

**XII.24**
Bir.1 adds a line to the dhruvapada:
\[ \text{smaraśarvasaṃprasaraṇakivalayadyutikocane} | \]

**XII.14**
(a) Bir.1 \(^*\) nivāsakāre.

**XII.17**
(a) Kum manasiya\(^0\).

**XII.19**
(a) Bir.2, Bom payade (for rucire).

**XII.20**
(b) Kum mugdharajā.
(c) Kum manimūpura.

**XII.20†**
Cait (also Bhagavaddāsa).
\[ \text{paryankiktyanāgānāyahāiapāhāyārenimānimānām gane} | \]
\[ \text{samkrāntapratibumbasañvalanāyā bibhradeviḥbhrapruṣīyām} | \]
\[ \text{pādaṁbhurorhadāhāvaridhisūrām akṣānām didṛksuh tataḥ} | \]
\[ \text{kāvyavyūham wācarann upacṛtibhāto harth pātu vah} | \]

He undertook the work of divine power
By projecting reflected images
Into gems massed on the hood of the serpent-king
Who served as his couch.
He seemed to expand himself.
Undertaking a multitude of manifest forms,
Eager to see, with hundreds of eyes,  
The ocean’s daughter offer water for bathing his feet.  
May Hari protect you!

XII.21  (b) Kum tattvaracanākāvyesu.
XII.22  Bom, Ahm omit verse.
XII.22† LR (Bhagavadgīśa agrees with Cait; cf. Kum variants):
śūdhvī mādhvīka cintā na bhavatī bhavatah śarkare karkarāṣī  
drākṣa drakṣyante ke svām amśta mśtam asi kīra nīrān  
rasaste |
mākanda kranda kāntādhara dharanītalaiḥ gaccha yacchanta  
yāvad  
ḥāvaṁ śṛṅgārasārasvataṁ iha jayadevasya viṣvāgacāṁsi ||

Liquor, the thought of you becomes improper.  
Sugar, you become unsweet.  
Grape, who will look at you?
Nectar, you become mortal.  
Milk, you taste like water.  
Mango, lament! Lover's lips, fall to the ground!—  
So long as Jayadeva’s pervasive words  
Sustain emotion that holds the essence of erotic mood.

Kum (c) dhara na tulāṁ gaccha yacchanta bhāvaṁ; (d) yāvac  
chrāṅgārasāram śubham iva jayadevasya vaidagdhaṅcāh. Kum  
has an additional verse that is not found in other versions of LR.
A Glossary of Sanskrit Words
The Sanskrit text and English translation of the Gitagovinda have been established with the aid of a complete word index to the work. However, for the sake of vyakarasana, only those words that are used with frequency and characteristic meaning within the context of the poem are cited here. Words that are used frequently but without special significance in the poem are not cited. The following, for example, are omitted: standard words for the body and its parts (akṣa, anga, adhara, anana, uraḥ, etc.), words for aspects of nature (anila, indu, kamala, kisalaya, kusuma, candra, candana, etc.), and conventional adjectives descriptive of physical or mental states (alasa, kamala, klānta, kheda, ghanā, calana, cumbana, etc.). The many words for various kinds of ornaments and for ornaments in general (ābharana, kundala, nīpura, maṇīra, maṇdana, etc.) are also omitted, despite their evocative importance in the text. The words themselves are too standard to need definition, but the stress that Jayadeva lays on the appropriately ornamented body, culminating in the final song, is important. The epithets of Krishna are to be found above in section 4 to the introduction.

The vocabulary of the poem is highly concentrated. The glossary seems a reasonable alternative to repetitive textual notes, especially since many words are rich in implied meanings and overtones. Since the contexts of separate occurrences affect my English renderings in the translation, glossary meanings do not always cover all the English variants. However, the meanings cited should clarify the rendering in any given context. Meanings of words in the Gitagovinda have been established mainly on the basis of interpretations given in the commentaries of Mānānka, Kumbhakarṇa, Saṃkṣaraṃśita, and Caitanyakāda; others have been consulted where these interpretations are conflicting or inconclusive.

Frequent reference has also been made to relevant portions of the Nāṭyaśāstra, the Subhāṣitaratnakosa, and the literature of Bengali Vaishnavism. The Nāṭyaśāstra is the basic practical text of Indian esthetics. The Subhāṣitaratnakosa is a representative anthology of Sanskrit poetry, including a large selection of love poetry; its contents were collected in eastern India in the century preceding Jayadeva's period of literary activity there. The excellent edition by Gokhale and Kosambi and the superbly annotated translation by Ingalls make it a good source of comparison for assessing Jayadeva's word usage. Ingalls's discussions of words have been cited repeatedly with the purpose of referring both Sanskrit and English readers to wider contexts of interpretation. The literature of Bengali Vaishnavism has been referred to in order to give some sense of how particular words and concepts were treated by the later tradition for which the Gitagovinda was a basic text of inspiration. This literature is cited mainly through references in the studies of De and Dimock.

What is clear from these comparative notes is that the Gitagovinda is an

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esthetic vision based on the background of kāvya literature and classical rasa theory. The vocabulary of religious speculation so characteristic of the Bhagavadgītā and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa is notably absent. Words such as dharma, karma, and bhakta are not found. There is a clearly tantric attitude in the poet’s concentration on detailed vocabulary of the sexual act, but the sexual act is not isolated from the emotional context of love in the Gītago-vinda, as it is in technical tantric literature. Jayadeva’s message is that the emotions of love, expressed in the rich vocabulary and intense esthetic means of lyrical poetry, are to be experienced by a rāsika in order for Krishna’s saving grace to be felt.

Rich verbal environments are created by the almost onomatopoeic piling together of words that subtly reveal states of mind and stages of love. Word compounds, which are an important feature of Sanskrit language, are exploited in the songs. The alliterative patterns that abound here are most often contained in long bahuvrahi compounds. These are generally translatable into strings of adjectives and adjective phrases in English, with the final member serving as a base for the modifiers preceding it. Each compound taken as a whole functions epithetically to delineate some characteristic of its subject. Few attempts have been made in the glossary to explain words in their various compound occurrences. Only where the translated combination acquires a secondary technical meaning is commentary offered; e.g., ekarasa is discussed under rasa and rahahkeli under rahas.

Text citations are to the critical edition printed in this volume. Roman numerals I–XII designate the twelve sargas into which the Gītago-vinda is divided in all manuscripts. Arabic numerals refer consecutively to verses within each sarga; no distinction is made between śloka verses and gīta verses. The dhruvapada citations are distinguished by an asterisk placed after the number of the first pada in each song, so that I.27* is the dhruvapada of the third gīta in the first sarga.

Declinable words are listed in stem form. Finite verbs are given in root form after the stem. Adverbs are not usually distinguished as such because of their frequent ambiguity in the text. Words are generally grouped around basic stems for the purpose of controlling and emphasizing repetitive units of meaning.
ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE GLOSSARY

Abbreviated references to Sanskrit texts and selected studies in the glossary are listed here in English alphabetical order.

Sanskrit Texts

Agni P  Agni Purāṇa, Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, no. 41 (Poona, 1900).
Amar  Amarakosa or Nāmalinganādīsana, edited with the commentary Rāmalraṇi by H. Sastri (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1970).
Dhv  Dhvanyāloka of Ānandavaradhana, critical edition, edited by K. Krishnamoorthy (Dharwar: Karnataka University, 1974).
GG  Gitagovinda; all references are to this edition.
Kāmasū Kāmasūtra of Vatsyāyana, edited with the commentary Jayamangala of Yashodharāj, Kashi Sanskrit Series, no. 29 (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1929).

SKB Sarasvatīkāṇṭhābharaṇa of Bhoja, edited, with the commentary of Rāmasimha on I–III and of Jagaddhara on IV, by W. L. S. Pansiār, Kāvyamālā, no. 94 (Bombay: Nirṇayāsāgara Press, 1934).


Selected Studies


**adbhuta.** Marvelous, wondrous (I 8, 9, 45); see *MBh* VI.33.20 (BG 11.20); VI.40.74, 76, 77 (BG 18.74, 76, 77). In the *daśavidhāraśpastuti* (I.8, 9) reference to *adbhutarasa*, the esthetic mood of wonder, is implied; it identifies the mood of the song, which is in contrast with the dominant mood of *śṛṅgāra* in the poem; see *NS*. VI.39-41; prose 75-76. Also, the *alaṁkāra* called *adbhutopama*, a simile involving some marvel, is used in stanza I.8 to intensify the marvel of the Man-lion form: normally lotuses are opened by bees, but the marvel here is that a lotus hand opens a bee, which is the demon’s black body; see *KD*, II.24; *Gesow, Glossary*, p. 148; see *rasa*, *śṛṅgāra*, also the epithet *daśavidhārāpa*.

**anaṅga.** Love, the bodiless god, referring to his body’s destruction by Śiva when he tried to arouse desire for Pārvati in the great ascetic; like *kandarpā*, *kāma*, *madana*, *manasiḍa*, *manopa*, *manimatha*, *smara*, etc., this epithet of the god of love is also used to denote the concept “love,” the line between the personification and the concept being blurred (I.25, 46; II.8; III.2, 15; V.19; VII.18; XI.6; 24*); also *ātana* (IV 19; VII 8). Other common epithets of Love refer to his role as the bowman of flower arrows: *asamābāya* (I.35); *asamaśara* (IV 6; VII 4; VIII 7); *kusumanīkha* (IV 4); *kusumāśara* (X.5, XI.4); *cūtasāyaka* (III.12); *paṇcābāna* (VII.41; X.11); *puppāyudha* (X.13). See Ingalls, *SCP*, inter. 44, pp. 149-150, Konow, “Anaṅga”.

**anugata.** Lit., “followed by,” or “following”; of lovers’ relations it means “faithful” (I34; II.71; VIII.7; XI.2*, XII.2*), also *anu* *vīgam* (I.44); *anugamana* (VII.4). See *anukūla* in the classification of the *nāyaka* (DR, II.11): *anukūlas ev ekāṇḍyikah* in *GG*, *anukūla* is not used in this technical meaning (I.41; II.12; XII.4), but the commentator Kumbhakarṇa refers to Krishna as *anukūla nāyakah* at X.8; XII.8, etc.

**anuvamarṇa.** Lit., “following”; used of lovers seeking to meet (I.26); also *anu* *✈ṛt* (I.47; III.6; V.8, VIII.2*, XI.2*; XII.2*); *anuvṛtya* (III.2).
abhisa. Lovers' meetng (V.8, 17; VI.6; XI.11); also abhisarana (VI.3); abhī v sr (IX.2; XI.7); abhīṣṭa (VII.11). The abhīṣṭikā state of the nāyiṅkā is described in GG sarga XI, culminating in Rādhā's abandoned modesty (see lajā); see NŚ XXIV.219:

hitvā lajām tu yā ilīṣṭā madena madanena vā
abhīṣṭayate kāṁśam sā bhaved abhīṣṭikāḥ|  

amṛta. Elixir, nectar of immortality (IV.20; V.7; VII.33; XII.4, 19); ṭūḍhāra, the moon (IV.5); see sudhā.

asūyā. Envy (III.7). A vyabhicāribhāva associated with pride and anger; see NŚ VII.36.

ānanda. Bliss (I.46); sānanda, blissful (X.1; XI.23; XII.21); also a vīṇand (XI.10); ānandana (VII.39; XII.12*); see mud, sukhā, harṣa.

irṣyā. Envy (II.1); see asūyā, with which irṣyā is synonymous.

utkāntha. Longing (VII.30); utkāntītagopadāhī (II.18), referring to virahokāntīthī, one of the states of the nāyiṅkā; see NŚ XXIV.213:

anekākāryavyāsaṅgād yasyā nāgacchati priyaḥ|
anāgamanadukkhārītā virahokāntīthī tu sā||

udāra Sublime, exquisite; of Jayadeva's speech (I.15; see Rām, I.2.41: udāraśvarādrīpaduḥ puruṣarāmas tādāya raṁasya caṅkāra kirtimāną); of Krishna and Rādhā (II.7, 11*; IV.5, 11; VIII.5; X.8).

kandarpa. Love (I.26; IV.10, 21; VI.10; XI.22); see ananga.

kalahāntarīta Lit. “separated by a quarrel,” a female so separated from her lover (IX.1). One of the states of a nāyiṅkā, NŚ XXIV.215 (cf. Kāmasūt 2.10.40–49):

irṣyākalahāvantānto yasyā nāgacchati priyah|
amārasvāvasamastānā kalahāntariṁ bhavati||

kalā. Art, esp. the art or arts of love; kēla (I.42); kēlā (VII 11); gāndharva (XII.21); rati (VI.4); ratīkaḷi (XI.30); vilāsakaḷi (I.14; IV.4); also kaḷavati, an artful girl, the name of an aprāras (VII.10; X.14)

kali. The dark age, last and worst of the four cyclical ages of cosmic time; kaḷusa, the foolness of the dark age (II.8; VII.20; XII.19); kṛṣṇa (VII.29).

kānta Loved, lovely, padāvalī (I.4); kānta (m.), lover, Krishna (VII.11; XII.10, 11); cf. Ingalls, “Beauty,” p. 93. Technically used of a lover who shows no signs of infidelity (NŚ, XXIV.301):

ananyārasamudbhūtāṁ etehnam yasya na drṣīṣate|
adhare vā sarire vā sa kānta tī bhanyate||

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kā́n. mistress, Rādhā (V.16); see dayita, priya.

kā́m. Love, the god of love (V.14; VII.40); see anāṅga. Also kā́mam vṛkṛ, desire (II.10); nikā́ma (IV.17; VII.40); sakā́mam (IV.17); kā́māniya, desirable (I.11; IV.4; V.15); kā́mini, a loving woman (VII.6, 11; XII.2). Kā́m is not contrasted with preman in GG as it is in later Vaishnava works; see preman.

kuṇ. Thicket, esp. a secret place for love in the forest (I.1, 27, 42; II.1; III.2; V.11, 16; VII.11; XI.1, 14); also nikūṇja (I.11; V.7; XI.10, 11, 13).

kuśāl. Curiosity, desire (I.4); cf. KS, VIII.3; also kunaka (I.42).

krūtī. An angry woman (III.3*); also kopīni (X.3); kopa (III.5). Cf. bhā́ma, anger, Krishna’s (II.10).

keli. Play, esp. sensual play, sexual pleasure (I.1, 20, 38, 38*, 42, 45; V.11; VII.11; XI.2, 14); tā́l (I.2; XI.10; XII.10).

krīdā. Play, esp. sensual play (III.12; IX.10); also vkrīdā (I.46; III.13); krīdāt (I.36; XII.12*); tā́lākāvīkṛīdāta, a pun on the name of the meter (IV.10).

khaṇā́. Lit., “broken”; jealous, referring to lovers; 6yvatī (VIII.9) refers to the state of the nāyikā technically called khaṇā́ (NŚ, XXIV.216):

vyāśāngād ucite yasyā́ḥ vāsake nāgataḥ priyāḥ
tadanāgamanārtā tu khaṇā́tety abhidhiyate]

Cf. khaṇāna, destroying (I.18, X.3. 8; XII.19).

khetana. Play (I.49), also khet (I.25); khehta (XI.27).

guta. Song, singing (I.24; IV.18; XI 17), 6govinda (XII.21, 22).

carana. Foot; an object of worship and erotic delight, with the distinction between these often ambiguous (I.2, 34; II.5, 9, 16; IV.7; VII.10, 27, 34; VIII.5; XI.2, 3; XII.2, 3, 19). Worship of Krishna’s feet is efficacious in calming the chaos of the Kali Yuga; see pada.

carita. Conduct, rhythm of movement, story (I.2; VI.1; IX.1, 9).

cārana. Minstrel; Jayadeva calls himself cāranaeakravartī (I.2); cf. Rām, V.1.1, 176.

cā́ru. Cherished, intimately lovely (I.4 [adv.], 44; II 3; X.2*, 9; XI.11); see Ingalls, “Beauty,” p. 44.

cintā. Anxious thought, brooding (I.26; IV.21; VI.10; XI.10). A vyabhicā́rībhāva associated with frustrated desire, NŚ VII.50, 51.

cetas. Mind, heart, the seat of rational thought, imagination, and emotion (I.35; IV.21; VII.9, 30, VIII.6); also cetaṇā (VII.5, 21); see manas, hyd.

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jaya. Triumph, may be personified; whatever insures triumph (III.15; VIII.4). Jayadeva, god of triumph, an epithet of Krishna (I.17*); that parallels Jagadita in the refrain of the first song; it is the poet’s signature throughout GG; see references in section 4 of the introduction. Also vuj (I.5*, 16, 17*); jita (I.22; XII.15); nirjita (III.12, 15); vi vuj (X.13); vijayin (VII.22*); see Ingalls, “Beauty,” p. 100.

tamāla. A large dark-barked shade tree (I.1, 29; XI.12); usually glossed with śāpincha in commentaries. See Amar, II.4.68; kālasandhas tamālaḥ syāt śāpinchaḥ; Ragh, VI.64; SRK, 216; Agni P. 202.2; among flowers used for pājī, tamāla flowers grant enjoyment and salvation. In Kannada, it is named honge and its shade is proverbially said to give so much comfort as a mother’s womb.

dayīa. Lover (I.4; VII.17, 30); also adaya (VII.40); nirdaya (II.6; VII.30; VIII.8; X.11); sadaya (I.13; V.15). See kānta, priya.

dāsa. Slave, used by Krishna (XI.22; XII.6); see KS, V.86.

dukāla. Fine silk cloth, worn by Krishna and Rādhā (I.42, II.12; XI.26; XII.4).

dūti. Female messenger (VII.30); see sakhi, sahacarī; see Ingalls, SCP, intr. 18.3; 25.

dhyāna. Meditation (I.36; IV.8; VI.10); also vydhya (I.19; IV.19; VI.11); dhyāyat (IV.21; V.7); anudhyāna (XII.21).

nideśa. Command, order; nanda° (I.1), manmatha° (X.6).

pañcama. The fifth degree of the scale of a rāga; a particular rāga characterized by erotic mood (I.39; X.12); see Ingalls, SCP, Intr. 8.2. The commentator Kumbhakarna relates its sound to the sound of cuckoos in spring.

puda. Foot; like carana (q.v.), an object of worship and erotic delight (VII.29; X.7, 8, 13; XI.22; XII.2, 20); also pāda (VIII.10). Pada also means “foot” or “measured unit” of poetry (I.4; X.1).


prabandha. A literary composition (I.2); see Mālāv, I.1, (prose); prathātāpasānaṁ bhāṣaśavasmamkṣaṇapuṣṭādīnām prabandhān aukṣrya. In the technical vocabulary of Indian classical music, prabandha refers to a composition containing songs. The strict metrical patterns of GG songs belong to a style called ehadakaprabandha; see SR, IV (Prabandhādhyāya); NŚ XXXII (Dhruvāṇidhana).

pranaya. Expressed love (II.1; VIII.10).

priya Lit., “loved,” or “loving” (IV.10); priya (m.), lover, the distinction between adjective and noun remaining blurred (IV.21, V.16,
preman. Ardent love (IV.1; XI.12); used in GG as in kārya literature (e.g., Bhārat, 107, 115, 124; SKE, V.97, 98, notes twelve types of preman); the contrast of preman with kāma characteristic of later Vaishnava literature is absent; see Dimock PHM, 161-164, 211 f.

bhanita. Lit., “spoken,” (n.) speech, translated “sung” or “song” as it occurs in the so-called bhanita stanzas of most songs (I.34; II.9, 18; IV.9, 18; VII.20, 38; VIII.9; IX.9; X.9; XI.9, 31; XII.9); cf. bhanat (V.6, 15; XI.21); bhanana (VII.29); see bhāraṭi, vacana. These signature stanzas are related to the signature lines known as bhanita, which are the conventional endings of later Bengali Vaishnava songs; cf. Dimock, Krishna, pp. xix-xx.

bhaya. Fear (II.8; III.3; IV.2*; V.19); also bhīti (I.12); bhīta (I.1); see śāṅkū, sūdhvasa.

bhāraṭi. Speech, personified as the goddess of speech (VII.10; X.9); see NŚ, XXIII.25, where bhāraṭi is defined as elegant style of speech in drama; see bhānita, vacas, sarasvati.

bhāva. Emotion, technically referring to the various aspects of esthetic emotion which lead to the production of rasā, q.v. (X.5, 12); sarasa° (XI.18); rasa° (XII.9); see NŚ, VII, summarized in DR, IV. Bhāva also means “feelings,” an alānmāra of the nāvikā (XI.4); see NŚ, XXXIV.4-8. Rādhā is addressed as bhāvinī (XII.6).

bhāvanā. Imaginative thought, fantasy (IV.2*; VI.5); also bhāvita, obsessed by such thought (II.11*).

bhrama. Wandering about, physical or mental confusion, quick movements characteristic of seductive behavior (II.10; V.18); also vybhram (VII.11; VIII.8); bhramat (I.26; III.5); bhṛānti (III.11); bhṛāmyat (II.20); ud vybhrama (IV.19); udbhṛānta (IV.1); vibhrama (III.14); sambhrama (I 37; III.8; V 18; XI.22; XII.10); bhramara, bee (III.5; XII.15; cf. Ingalls, SCP, intr. 33.14).

maṅgala. Anything auspicious (I.24); °kata (XI.21) °kalalasahodhara (XII.12). This last reference suggests that kalala (VII.14; IX.3; XII.5, 12) and kumbha (V.7, X.6; XI.6), compounded with kuca in each case, may refer to the ritual function of Rādhā’s “breast pots” in the context of the poem, despite the conventionality of the image; see Ingalls, SCP, p. 489, note on v. 269.

mandala. Lit., “circle”; applied to anything circular (I.17, 18; II.3; III.3;
X 6; XI.24, 26; XII.14); also mandalin (II.1); although the word is conventionally used to indicate the round quality of breasts, buttocks, ears, the moon, or the sun, reference to their tantric function as “magic circles” may be suggested in the context of the poem.

**mada.** Intoxication, any intoxicating liquid (II.14, X.14); cf. unmada (I.28). Mada also means “musk,” kuraṅga (IV.6); mṛga (I.29; VII.22, 24; XII.12, 16).

**madana.** Love (I.28, 30, 34; II.11, 14; IV.13; V.2, 3, 8, 16; VII.21, 22; VIII.5; X.2, 8, XI.18); see anaṅga.

**madhu.** Honey, anything sweet (I.36; VI.2; VII.6; X.2; XI.18); see sudhā. Madhu also means “springtime” (I.46); see vasanta. It is the name of a demon whom Krishna defeats (I.20); see Krishna’s epithets Mādhava, Madhusūdana, Madhumathana, Madhuripu. Also note the conventional sexual image of the bee acting like a lover in his activities as the drinker and producer of madhu: madhukara (I.27; VII.25); madhupa (I.36; V.4; XI.4, 18); and madhuvrata (II.1); cf. bhramara (see brahma). Also madhūka, a honey-colored spring flower that blooms at night (X.13).

**madhura.** Honeyed, sweet (II.2, 4, 12; VI.2; VII.6, 33; VIII.9; IX.8; X.12; XI.19); also mādhūrī, sweetness (III.14). Madhura technically refers to an esthetic quality of sweetness, associated with śringārā-rasa (I.4); cf. KD I.51; Dhv. II.7. (The abstract term madhurya is more commonly used outside GG, e.g. NŚ XVII.100; Dhv. II.7-8. In later Vaishnava literature of Bengal mādhurya is the focal sthāyībhāva; see Dimock, PHM, pp. 23-24.) Madhura also refers to a type of anuprāsa; see Gerow, Glossary, p. 105.

**manas.** Mind, heart, the seat of rational thought and emotion (I.4, 32; II.2, 8, 10, III.12; IV.9, 4, 6; VII.11, 49; VIII.7; IX.7; XII.1, 6; also mānasā (III.14; X.2); see cetas, hr. Some derivative compounds are manorathā, desire (I.28; II.11; V.17); manorāma, delightful (X.14; XII.9); manohara, enticing (II.7; V.8; XI.6, 27); manoharin (I.37).

**manasiṇa.** Love, the “mind-born” god (I.29; II.15; III.12; IV.2; VI.1; VII.32; XII.5, 14); also manoja (I.40; II.17); manabhava (VII.39; XII.12); manabhū (VII.21); manmatha (III.9; IX.1; X.6); mānasajā (XII.17); see anaṅga.

**marāṇa.** Death (IV.17; V.3; VII.5). A vyabhicāribhāva, see NŚ, VII.86; also māra, both death (III.13) and the passion of love personified (XII.10); mṛta (XII 6); cf. antaka (IV.19).

**marman.** Mortal spot, point of vulnerability (III.13; IV.3).
māna. Pride, esp. the wounded pride of a neglected nāyiṅā (IX.2*; X.2*); see DR, IV.65-67. Rādhā is addressed as mānini, a woman who harbors wounded pride (IX.2*); see Ingalls, SCP, intr. 21; Krishna is called abhimānī, proud (V.14).

mudhā. Originally “confused,” coming to mean “foolish,” “young,” “charmingly innocent”; no single word encompasses all the senses; see Ingalls “Beauty,” p. 95 (I.38*, 46 [mudhā hariṅ of Krishna]; II.19 [ōānana, Krishna’s young face]; V.17; X.11, 12; XI.2*). Technically the mudhā is an inexperienced nāyiṅā (DR. II.25, 26): mudhā navāyahkāmā ratau vāmā mrudh krudhī; see Ingalls, SCP, intr. 24.3.

mud. Joy (IX.10, X.11); also mudita (II.17; VII.22; XI.18); aiimudita (VI.9); pramudita (V.15); moda (XII.9); see ānanda, sukhā, haraṇa.

moha. Delusion, delirium (III.13); also mohana, deluding, enticing (I.32; II.2, 9; XI.4).

raṇa. Lit., “delight”; battle, as object of delight (I.11); rati (V.17; VII.19; XI.7); raṇekhāraṇkula (XII.10); (raṇita is unrelated, from Vraṇ, to “sound,” II.16, 20).

rati. Pleasure, sensual passion (I.2; II.11, 17; V.8, 12; VI.4; VII.17, 19, 26; VIII.4, 9, X.7, 14, XI.7, 14, 27, 28, 30, XII.8, 10, 11, 17). Personified as the wife of Love, some of Love’s epithets express the relationship: ṛati (V.7, VII.23); ṝnāya (XII.13); as with Love, the line between the personification and the concept is often blurred; see anāṅga. Technically, rati is the sthāyibhāva underlying frūga-raṣa in esthetic experience, rasabhaṅga (XII.9); see NŚ, VI.45, prose, even where it is not primary, the technical meaning remains important in GG. Also rasa, sensual passion, (V.18); surana (II.16); see Kāmasūtra 2.1.65. Also Vraṇ (I.44; II.11*; I.6; VII.22*, 28, 30, XI.10); rama, mano (X.14; XII.9); ramaṇa (X.9); ramaṇi (VII.22); ramaṇiya (I.11; II.20; V.15; XI.4); ramaṇya (II.8); ramaṇa (VII.20, 31*); vi Vraṇ (XII.8); virāma (V.14); avirāma (XI.9).

raṣanā. Girdle (X.6; XI.7, XII.7, 18); often raṣanā in manuscripts and printed editions, confused with the neuter variant form rasaṇa found in compounds (V.13; VII.16, 26); see Amar, II.6, 108; strikāyām mekhalā kāśi saptaṇi raṣanā tathā; kībe sūrasanaṁ ca.

raṣa. Basically, “sap,” “juice” (XII.6, 16); essence, flavor, taste, any object of taste. Technically, raṣa is esthetic mood based on bhāva; it is the term for the essence of esthetic experience, generally translated “mood” or “emotional mood,” but the distinction between

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basic and technical meanings is intentionally blurred by Jayadeva (I.36, 43; II.11, 17; IV.19; V.18; VI.10; VII.17, 29; VIII.2; XI.17, 18, 24*; XII.9, 10); also sarasa, rich in flavor or esthetic mood (I.4, 26, 27*; IV.12; IX.3; X.7; XI.7, 18; XII.1, 18); virasa, tasteless (VII.28). The commentators on GG gloss rasa most consistently with ṛgāraraśa, but also with amṛta, rāga, anurāga, sukha; however, there is little agreement with reference to its meaning in particular verses. As an adverb sarasam is often glossed with sarāgam. Rasa is frequently used in its various senses in kāvya literature (e.g. Bhartr, 30, 98, 102, 105, 107, 122, 137, 172, 183, 184), but in GG its technical esthetic sense is especially prominent; cf. Ingalls, “Beauty,” p. 98; NS, VI (Rasavikalpādhyāya); Masson/Patawardhan, Rapture. Ekārasa (XI.24*), used to describe Hari, suggests that in his abhilaṣita state, he both experiences and embodies the essence of the esthetic mood of love; see ṛgāra, esp. ṛgārah mārtimaṇ (I.46); see KS, V.82; Ragh, VIII 65, IX.43, X.17; Dimock, PHM, p. 138. In Buddhist Sanskrit texts ekārasa is used of nirvāṇa; see Fiske, “Notes on Rasa.”

rasika. A sympathetic person with taste for the presentation of esthetic emotion; one who can experience rasa (VI.9; IX.9, XII.9); see Raghavan, Bhoga, pp. 466 ff. NS XXIV.49–70. Catt glosses rasika with bhakta, “devotee.”

rahas. Secrecy, loneliness, a secret, secretly; the distinction between noun and adverb is ambiguous because of the form and syntax of rahas (I.1; II.1; V.19). The compound form rahākkeli, with its conventional (rūdhā) sense of “sexual play,” seems most appropriate to the context of I.1, but the adverbial interpretation of rahas is also cited by commentators Rahasi is more clearly adverbial (IV.6; VI.2). Also, rahatriya, a secret, a secret doctrine or mystery (I.45); cf. rahita, lonely, neglected (III.11); see viraha.

rāga Lit., color, esp. red color; passion, esp. sensual passion; the two meanings form the basis of pūs (III.13, VIII.2; X.7, XI.27); also sarāga (I.39); rāgin (IX.10). In the classical system of Indian music, rāga means a melodic pattern (I.39); see paṇcama. Also vrāji (X.5, 6); raṇjana (I.19, X.7); anurukta (VI.1); anuraṇjana (I.46); anuranjita (II.3); anurāga (I.25; VIII.2, 10), see Ingalls SCR, intr. 17; Dimock PHM, pp. 186-95.

ruci. Shining beauty, color; appetite, desire; the two aspects of meaning intentionally blurred (I.29, 30; VII.24; X.2; XI.12, 19, 28); also vruc (X.2); rucira, shining, pleasing (VII.23, 35; IX.4; X.14; XI.1, 19, 28; XII.15, 17).

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roṣa. Anger (XI.1); also roi (XII.8); rāṣita (VII.24); see kupita.

lajjā. Modesty, shame (VI.8; VIII.10; XI.33); also lajjita (I.31; II.12; VII.17; XII.8); atajja (XI.7); salajja (XI.33).

lalita. Sensuous, sensual movement (I.17, 27, 32, 45; II.14; V.5; VII.15, 32; IX.9; XI.17; XII.16, 17). A satvabhāva in both nāyaka and nāyikā; see NS, XXIV.22, 37; Ingalls, “Beauty,” p. 102; see lilā, vilāsa.

lilā. Graceful play (VI.5, 11; VII.8); lilāyita (XII.21); salilā (II.18; XI.8); see Ingalls, “Beauty,” p. 105; commentators often gloss lilā with svābhāva, spontaneity. Like lalita, vibhrama, vilāsa, lilā is a svabhāva quality of the nāyikā; cf. NS, XXIV.12 ff. The etymology and meaning of lilā in various contexts remains controversial. In Vaishnava literature lilā refers to the graceful pattern of divine activity, symbolized in Krishna’s sensual play among the gopis and, on another level, his relation to Rādhā; cf. De, VFM, pp. 228 ff.; Dimock, PHM, pp 138–39.

lobha. Greed, lust (II.4; XI.28); also lubhya (I.36).

vacana Speech, esp. the advice of Rādhā’s friend and Krishna’s speech to Rādhā (IV.9; V.1, 14; VII.3, 33, 38, XI.2; XII.4); also āvac (XII.1). Vacana (VII 38) and vacas (XII.19) also refer to Jayadeva’s speech personified as vāgdevatā (I.2), cf. bhāratī (see bhanīta), sarasvati (q.v); vac (I.3) also refers to poetic speech.

vaścita. Deceived, cheated, referring to Rādhā in one of the states of a nāyikā, deceived by her friends and by her lover (VII 3*; VIII.9); also āvac (VIII 7) Vaścita is glossed in several commentaries with upralabdhā, upralabhdhā-nāyikā (NS, XXIV.217) is the more usual name for this state:

| tasmād bhūtām priyah prāpya datvā sanāketam eva vā | nāgatah kūraṇe nehā upralabdhā tu sā matā ||

vāna. Forest, specifically Vrndāvana, where adolescent Krishna loves many cowherd girls; in its springtime transformation it is the addipanavabhāva for sensual passion in GG (I.1, 34, 45; II.1, 20; III 6; V 8*; VII 3, 9, 11, 22*; VIII.8, XI.17). Krishna’s epithet vanamāli (I.38; V.2*; 8*; VII.31*) refers to his forest adventures; also vanamāla (I 17). Cf. kānana, forest (I.35; II 19, VII.23); kānīrā, wilderness (I.26); see kuṇja

vasanta. Springtime (I.26, 27*, 34); see madhuv; cf. VV; Ingalls, SCP, intr. 8.

vāma. Perverse, paradoxical (II.10; VII.40; XI.9); also vāmar, a coy

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woman (I.44); vāmatā, paradox (VII.39); vāmya, spitefulness (V.17), cf. Ingalls, “Beauty,” p 93

vāsakasajñā A woman who waits, dressed and ready for her lover (VI.8). One of the states of a nāyikā (NS, XXIV.212):

ucite vāsake yā tu ratisambhogalalasā | mandanam kurute hiṣṭā sa vai vāsakasajñākā ||

vīkāra A change of sentiment or behavior (I.34; II.11*; VII.14; X.8; XI.24); glossed by the commentator Kumbhakarna with sūttukābhāva; see NS, VII 91 ff.; Bharti, 128 (manmathajā vīkārāh), 187 (manmathaḥ vīkārāḥ).

vīdhura. Lonely and miserable (VII.2, 6; IX 8).

vīparita. Lit., “inverted”; okaṁ, acting perversely (IX.10); rati, taking the inverted position in intercourse (V.12); see Kāmasūta 2.8.

vīraha Desertion or desolation in love (III.4, 14; IV.2*, 9, 10, 11*, 17, 22; V.2; VII.5, 7, 21, 35; XII 4, 6); also vīrahin (I.27*, 31; V.2, 6). Vīraha is the state of love which is dominant GG; it corresponds to the aspect of śṛṅgāraraśa technically known as vipralambha, which involves separation and deception in love, in contrast to sambhoga, which is fulfillment and enjoyment in love; see NS, VI.44 ff.; neither of these terms is used in GG; see Schmidt, Beiträge, pp. 124–32, 287–310. Vāraha is technically used in Bengali Vaishnava theology to designate the intense state of desolation in frustrated love that is the necessary prelude to experiencing preman (q.v.), thus vīraha is a way of salvation; see Dimock, PHM, pp. 17, 211. In GG vīraha is used to describe the suffering of both lovers, Rādhā and Krishna; see Ingalls, SCP, intr. 22, 23. The usual translation of vīraha as “separation” seems inappropriate in the context of GG. Although the vocabulary that characterizes vīraha in GG is the conventional Sanskrit vocabulary of wounds from Love’s weapons and of heat, pain, exhaustion, and futility, the constant repetition of this imagery is striking here: e.g., ātanka (X.10); ātura (IV.20, 21); ārī (VII.30); klānta (V.16; VII.11; XII 1); klāntī (IV.21); khīna (III.7; IV.22, IX.1), kheda (I.25; IV.2; VIII.6; IX.7; XII.8); sadhīman (VI.10); jvara (I.26, 36; IV.19, 21; VIII.7); āpa (IV.8, 10; VII.2, X.12; XII.5); tāpiṇa (XI.22); dahana (IV.10, 13; VII.7; also vādah, I.35; V.3; X.2*; dagdha, XII.6); dāha (IV.7, 13; VII.41); dīna (II.1) bādha (I.26; IV.20; VII.41; also mūrābādha, XII.11; sambādha, XI.22); viṇḍhala (V.17; VII.3; XII.8); viṇḍalin (IX.3); vyādhi (III.14); vyāstā

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(III.13; VII.21; also \vyghan, II.20; X.12); \saka (VIII.10); see cintā, bhaya, maraṇa, vidhura, viśada, saṅkā.)

vilāsa. Seductive behavior, passion, seduction (I.4, 30, 37, 40; II.2*, 19; IV.4; XII.14); also vilāsan, seductive (I.38*); avilāsa (XII.6); vi vbhar (I.38*; VII.13*; XI.14, repeated 15-20) vilāsa (V. 6); lasah (X.7); illasa (II.4; XI.28); illasa (I.36). Vilāsa is a sattvabhāva in both nāyaka and nāyikā; see NS XXIV.15, 33; Ingalls, “Beauty,” p. 103-4; see halita, lilā. Vilāsa is frequently used for the lilā of Rādhā and Krishna in Sahajiyā literature; Dimock PHM, pp. 242-43774.

visāda. Despair, lassitude (VII.12; VIII.2*; IX.1). A vyabhicāribhāva; see NS, VII 68. Also vi \v/sad (III.2; IV.8; IX.5); pra \v/sad (IV.19); \v/sad (V.2*; VI.2*).

vihāra. Delight, wandering for pleasure (XI.3); also vihārin (II.10); vi \v/hṛ (I.27*; II.1).

vīla. Dress, ornament, disguise (I.3; V.8; VII.13; XI.1). Often vṛṣa in manuscripts and printed editions, a form that does not strictly provide the required rhyme where it occurs. As with other variants of rhymed sibilants (e.g. rasanā/tasanā, kṣalaya/kṣalaya) there is the suggestion of eastern regional pronunciation in which the distinction is absent. See Amār, II.699: ākāpvesau nepathyam pratikarma praiḍhānam.

śanka. Fear, suspicion (X.10) A vyabhicāribhāva; see NS, VII.33; also saśanka (IV.12); šankita (V.10), pari \v/sank (VI.11); višaṅka-mūna (VII.12); see dhaya.

śūla. Bright, suspicious (n.), suspiciousness (I 15, 45; XII.14, 18); also šobha, brilliance, beauty (II 4, XI 28) A sattvabhāva in a nāyaka, see NS, XXIV.32.

śiṅgāra. Sexual love; technically, the esthetic mood of sexual love (I.3, 46, XII.21); see NS, VI.45 prose; Dimock, PHM, p 138; see abhūta, ran, rasa, viṭahā.

śī. Radiance, beauty (VII.1; X.13); personified as Lakṣmī, the goddess of beauty and good fortune (I.2, 23); see Ingalls, “Beauty,” p. 102.

sakhi. Female companion; Rādhā’s friend and messenger to Krishna (I.37; II.1, 11*; IV.7, 9; V.1; VI.1, 6; VII.3*, 12, 37*; XI.8, 10, 13); Rādhā’s circle of friends (IV.10; VII.40; XI.7; XII.1); Rādhā, addressed by the sakhi (I.27*, 46; V.2*, 11). The stock figure of the female companion in Sanskrit poetry and drama assumes special

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significance in the *rasa*-śāstra and theology of Bengali Vaishnavism; see De, *VFM*, pp. 208-10; *Ujjv* pp. 91 ff.; see dūti, sahacari.

**samāgama.** Lover’s union (I.36; II.12); also *samāgama* (VII.30); *samagata* (III 6; V.9); *samagatya* (XI 10).

**sarasvatī.** Speech, personified as the goddess of speech (I.4); see bhārati.

**sahacari.** Rādhā’s companion (I.26); see dūti, sakhi.

**sādhvā.** Fear, apprehension (XI.23); see bhaya, śankā; see Bh P, I.11.18; X.29 20

**sukṛta.** Favor, in reward for meritorious behavior; esp. the favor of Krishna’s love (V.6, 12, 15; VII 6; XI.31).

**sukha.** Joy, pleasure (I.15, II.17, 18, III 14; IV.4; V.8; IX 2; X.3; XI.21); also √*sukh* (IV.18; IX.9); see ānanda, mud, harṣa.

**sudhā.** Nectar (II.2, 49; III 14; IV.7; VII.40; VIII 9; XI.22; XII.4, 6); see madhu.

**subhaga.** Graceful, esp in love (VII.19; XI 8, 30, 33); of Krishna (V.19); see Ingalls, “Beauty,” p. 95.

**sevā.** Worship, devotion (V 15; X.13); also *sevakā* (VII.29); *upasevita* (XI 22).

**smara.** Love, the god of love (I.39; III.15; IV 20; VII.13, VIII.1, 4; X.8; XI 8, 10, 33; XII.1); see anāgā.

**smarana.** Remembering; esp. the act of mentally evoking Krishna (I.4; II 9; XII.19). In *kāvyā*, remembering is the conventional motif that allows the juxtaposition of the modes of separation and union in love; see Ingalls, *SCP*, p 216 Smarana is a technical term in both orthodox and Sahajiyā Vaishnavism; it implies mental identification. Castanya “remembers” his *ālā* as Krishna through identification; the same identification is implied in Sahajiyā sādhana. See De, *VFM*, pp. 370 ff.; Dsmock *PHM*, pp 235-45 Also √*smr* (II 2*; VII.9); *smriti* (I 34)

**svādhinabharīkā.** A woman whose lover is in her power (XII 11). The state of a nāyikā which culminates the reunion of Rādhā and Krishna; see NS XXIV. 214, 224:

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suratātrasair baddho yasyāḥ pāśvagataḥ priyah |
sāmodagunāsamayuktā bhavet svādhinabharīkā || 214 ||
vicitropalavesā ca pramododdyottānanā |
udinaibhānātāh kāryā svādhinabharīkā || 224 ||
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harṣa. Joy (I.47, V.13; XI 24*, 32) also √*hṛs* (II.19); see ānanda, mud, sukha
hrd. Heart, the seat of emotion; hrd and hrdaya, like cetas and manas, also refer to the mind, the seat of rational thought and imagination (III.6, 11; VII.8, 10, 27, 35; XI.17, 31); hrdaya (I.13, 29; II.6; III.7; IV.3; V.2, 8, 15; VII.4, 21, 38, 40; VIII.5, 10; IX.8; X.4, 6, 7; XII.19); also hrdya (IV.20). Krishna is hrdayela (V.8).