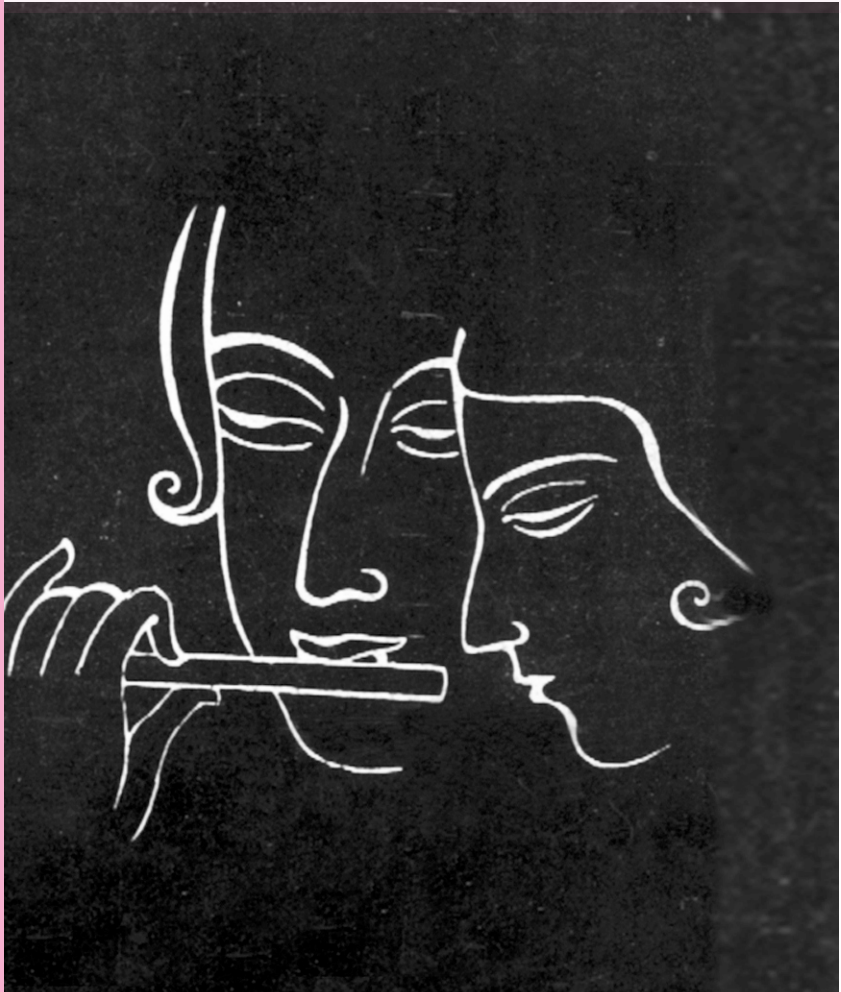




Makers of Indian Literature

Jayadeva

Suniti Kumar Chatterji



Jayadeva, the last of the Ancients and the first of the Moderns in Indo-Aryan poetry, is acknowledged universally to be the writer of the sweetest lyrics in the Sanskrit language. Flourished during the second half of the 12th century, he sang not only the swan-song of the age of Classical Sanskrit Poetry, but he also sang in the advent of a new dawn in Indian literature—the ‘Vernacular’ Age. His *Gita-govinda* obtained the status of a religious work in the eyes of the devout Vaishnavas. According to a Western scholar, ‘Jayadeva belongs to the greatest poetical geni of India.’ On the other hand, the view expressed by some of the great literary critics of Bengal is that there are songs in the *Gita-govinda*, but no Govinda. They are not happy with the frank eroticism of these poems which do not form great love poetry, except in rare passages.

Suniti Kumar Chatterji (1890-1977) a linguist of international repute and a litterateur of very high order, studied and researched in Indo-European Linguistics, Origin and Development of Bengali Language, Slav and Austro-Asian linguistics from London University, UK and Sorbonne University in France. Besides his eminence as a linguist, he was a specialist of Bengali Literature, tribal culture of India, and art and culture of Asia. A prolific writer in English, Bengali and Hindi, some of his well known works are: *Origin and Development of Bengali Language* (English), *Bangla Bhashatattver Bhumika* (Bengali), *Bharat Sanskriti Kirata Janakriti* and *Aryabhasa aur Hindi* (Hindi). He accompanied Rabindranath Tagore to the Far Eastern countries and recorded his experiences of the great cultural heritage of the area in his delightful work in Bengali *Dvipamay Bharat*.

Suniti Kumar Chatterji also held many important positions. He became the National professor in 1964 and was appointed as Chairman of the Sanskrit Commission constituted by the Government of India in 1956. He was also the President of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta during 1961 and the President of the Sahitya Akademi from 1968-1972.

Cover Inset: from a drawing by Dhirendrakerishna Deva Varma



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JAYADEVA

As cover-design of this book on Jayadeva's is reproduced a picture giving the faces of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, carved on a black marble slab from a drawing by Sri Dhirendra Krishna Deva Varma of Tripura. This is a work executed in 1935 by a modern Indian Artist, who is a pupil of Abanindranath Tagore and Nandalal Bose, and who was Director of the *Kalā*-Bhavana at Rabindranath Tagore's Santiniketan School and Visva-Bharati University.

The sculpture reproduced on the endpaper depicts a scene where three soothsayers are interpreting to King Śuddhodhana the dream of Queen Māyā, mother of Lord Buddha. Below them is seated a scribe recording the interpretation. This is perhaps the earliest available pictorial record of the art of writing in India.

From: Nagarjunakonda, 2nd century A.D.

Courtesy: National Museum, New Delhi

MAKERS OF INDIAN LITERATURE

JAYADEVA

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI



Sahitya Akademi

Jayadeva: A monograph in English on Jayadeva, an eminent Indian philosopher and poet by Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi: 2017, ₹ 50.

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Chennai Office

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Anna Salai, Teynampet, Chennai 600 018

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First Published: 1973

Reprint: 1990, 1996, 2017

ISBN: 978-81-260-0182-8

Rs. 50

Dedicated to

HAREKRISHNA MUKHOPADHYAY

Authority on Bengali Vaishnava Literature and History

Editor of the *Corpus* of Bengal Vaishnava *Padas*

Close Friend for over Fifty Years

Fellow-traveller in Search of Manuscripts in West Bengal

Joint-Worker in editing Chandidasas's *Padas*

With Esteem and Affection

by

Suniti Kumar Chatterji Rāsa-pūrṇimā (Kārttikī-purṇimā) Day

on the Completion of the Latter's 83rd year

(November 10, 1973—*Tithi/November* 26, 1973)



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1 JAYADEVA, THE LAST OF THE ANCIENTS AND THE FIRST OF THE MODERNS INDO-ARYAN LITERATURE

JAYADEVA, the author of the *Gīta-govinda*, is pre-eminent among Sanskrit poets and is acknowledged universally to be the writer of the sweetest lyrics in the Sanskrit language. His name comes spontaneously at the end as the last great poet in an enumeration of the classic poets of Sanskrit—Aśvaghōṣa, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Bhartṛhari, Harśadeva, Bhāravi, Bhavabhūti, Māgha, Kṣemendra, Somadeva, Bilhaṇa, Śrīharṣa, Jayadeva. He is in fact the last of the classical poets of Sanskrit of pan-Indian celebrity, whose influence on the later poets and scholars all over India through his single work, the *Gīta-govinda*, is almost comparable to that of the great Kālidāsa himself. The tradition of verse-composition in Sanskrit remained unabated in India after the 12th century when Jayadeva flourished. But the coming of the Turks and the rise of the “Vernaculars” (New Indo-Aryan as well as Middle Dravidian languages) restricted the patronage and popularity (though not the production) of poetical and other works in Sanskrit in the subsequent centuries. Great poets indeed arose in Muslim times, showing that the Hindu mind as it expressed itself in the classical language of India was still capable of rising very near to the highest level attained by it under more propitious conditions five hundred or a thousand years before. They were writers—prosateurs and poets—whose works shed lustre on both the Sanskrit scholarship and the poetic genius of India. They deserve to be resuscitated and critically studied, with almost as much care as the ancients. Unquestionably they too form some of the most brilliant manifestations of the Indian spirit during

the last few centuries—e.g., Rūpa Gosvāmī and Jīva Gosvāmī, Kavi Karṇapūra, Jagannātha Kavi and Nilakanṭha Dikṣita. But the era of Classical Sanskrit Poetry closes with the 12th century. Jayadeva sang not only the swan-song of the age which was passing away, but he also sang in the advent of a new age in Indian literature—the “Vernacular” Age. He thus stands at the *yuga-sandhi*, a confluence of two epochs, with a guiding hand for the new epoch that was coming. Jayadeva can truly be called “the Last of the Ancients, and the First of the Moderns” in Indian Poetry.

Thanks to his having been a most charming singer of the frankly earthly and erotic love of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā sublimated to a mystic and spiritual plane, Jayadeva most easily came to be foregarded (at least among certain sections of the Indian people) as an inspired poet who revealed to us this divine love in a mundane garb. This was at a time when the Bhakti schools of a neo-Hindu revival, with Rāma and Kṛṣṇa as the *beau-ideals* of Godlike heroes, came into prominence to resist the Islamic onslaught. The *Gīta-govinda* obtained the status of a religious work, as its author was honoured as a Vaiṣṇava devotee and saint who had received the special grace of Kṛṣṇa himself. As such, Jayadeva became absorbed in the Vaiṣṇava tradition which is current at the present day, with an honoured place in Vaiṣṇava hagiology. His name and fame as much as his work have come down to all sections of the people, from the scholars to the masses. Stories about him are a part of the devotional romance and poetry which exalt the life of the average man. This fortune has never been that of any other poet in India—the figures of Vālmīki and Vyāsa and to some extent of Kālidāsa apart, which, too, legend and medieval piety have lifted up to the clouds high above the sober *terra firma* of literary history.

2 JAYADEVA—LIFE AND LEGENDS: THE BENGALI *JAYADEVA-CARITA* OF VANAMALI DASA

THE AGE of Jayadeva is well established—he flourished during the second half of the 12th century, and was one of the court-poets of Lakṣmaṇa-Sena, the last Hindu king of Bengal. The main facts connected with his life have been noted by the late Manmohan Chakravarti (in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1906*: “Sanskrit Literature in Bengal during the Sena Rule”: pp. 163-169). As in the case of almost all other great seers and sages, saints and devotees, and poets and writers of Ancient India, the dates of his birth and death and of other facts of his life are not known. We only know from the *Gīta-govinda* itself the names of his parents (which were Bhojadeva, and Ramadevi or Vamadevi, or Rādhādevī), of his wife Padmāvati (also known as Rohini), of his friend Parāśara and others who used to sing the songs of the *Gīta-govinda*, and also of some of his contemporary poets who like him wrote in Sanskrit and who are known from other sources also—e.g. Umāpati-dhara Śaraṇa, Ācārya Govardhana and Dhoyi Kaviraja as well as the name of his native village Kendu-bilva. In the colophon of an old Ms. of the *Gīta-govinda* as noted by Georg Buehler (cf. Haraprasad Sastri’s Introduction to Vanamālī Dāsa’s *Jayadeva-carita* as mentioned below), it is said that it was king Lakṣmaṇa-Sena of Bengal who gave the title *Kavirāja* to Jayadeva.

In the “Golden Legends” of the medieval Vaiṣṇava saints and poets of North India—in Vaiṣṇava hagiology, there are some legendary accounts of Jayadeva which are popular, but without any historical foundation. Some romantic lives of Jayadeva also have

come into being in Middle Bengali literature; and in at least one semi-historical work dating from the end of the 15th century, in a kind of barbarous Sanskrit reflecting throughout a Middle Bengali basis, namely the *Seka-śubhodayā*, we have some stories narrated in connexion with Jayadeva which may have some historical background. One Jayadeva is recognised as a great saint, a precursor of Guru Nanak, by the Sikhs, and there are verses ascribed to this Jayadeva in Old Hindi or Apabhraṃśa in the *Guru-Grantha* of the Sikhs who have accepted Jayadeva as a great Vaiṣṇava saint and poet. This forms about all the old material which is available about Jayadeva.

Among the Middle Bengali “biographies”, or rather, romantic poems on the life of Jayadeva, mention is to be made of Kavi Vanamāli Dāsa’s *Jayadeva-carita* (first half of the 17th century A.D., as edited by Atul Kṛṣṇa Goswami, Vangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta, Bengali Year 1312=1905 A.D., with an Introduction by Haraprasad Sastri, pp. 34). The sacred legend of Jayadeva, his wife Padmāvati and of the story of his devotion to Kṛṣṇa, is fully narrated here. The work is of no historical value. Even the date of Jayadeva has been brought down by the poet from the 12th to his own century, when the feudal raja of Burdwan would appear to have been the only big Hindu ruler known to Vanamāli Dāsa.

There were several authors of the name of Jayadeva in Sanskrit literature, but we do not have much information about any of them, excepting for the poet of the *Gīta-govinda*. Thus we find mention of a Jayadeva, who was the author of a series of *śūtras* or aphorisms on *chandas* or Metrics, by Abhinavagupta, the great writer on *Alaṅkara* or Rhetoric (c. 1000 A.D.) and Harshata (c. 900 A.D.) had written a commentary on the aphorisms. This Jayadeva was, therefore, at least three hundred years anterior to the author of the *Gīta-govinda*. There was another Jayadeva who wrote a drama in Sanskrit, the *Prasanna-Rāghava*, based on the Rāmāyaṇa story. He was a Brahman of the Kauṇḍinya *gotra* or clan, the name of his father was Mahādeva, and that of his mother was Sumitrā, and his *guru* or teacher was Hari-miśra. It is likely that he belonged

to time near enough to Jayadeva of the *Gīta-govinda*, since he has been quoted from his *Prasanna-Rāghava* by the Kashmirian poet Kalhaṇa in his anthology of Sanskrit verses known as the *Sūktimuktāvalī* which was compiled about 1257 A.D. It is not known here he was born or lived, but some have regarded him as having inhabited Vidarbha or Northern Maharashtra, and he also wrote a book on rhetoric named *Candrāloka*. This book, however, did not ve much vogue in Bengal.

3 JAYADEVA : CLAIMED BY BENGAL, ORISSA AND MITHILA

JAYADEVA, author of the *Gīta-govinda*, is almost universally connected with the village of Kenduli, the ancient Kendu-bilva, in the district of Birbhum in West Bengal. But there have also been claims on him from other parts of Bengal and Eastern India. One tradition, not so very strong, takes him to Bagura or Bogra district in North-eastern Bengal (now in Bangladesh). The evidence in this connexion is not convincing, and this evidence has not been pressed. Our source of information seems to be ŚrīDhirendranath Bal, living in the village of Bharajib, seven *krośas* distant from a small village named Kenduli. The village had a sizable Hindu population. Formerly, it is said there used to be an annual fair in honour of Jayadeva, and there is a big tank named after “Jayadeva Thakur.” The ruins of the homestead of Jayadeva used to be pointed out by the side of this tank by the people of the village. There are some old vestiges of ruined temples and fragments of sculptures in this village of Kenduli. It is some 4 *krośas* from the nearest railway station of Jaypur Hat. This is about all that we know of this Kenduli.¹

In his well-documented book *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of Orissa, in the Collection of the Orissa State Museum. Bhubaneswar, Vol. II*, by ŚrīKedarnath Mahapatra, Curator of the Museum (published by the Orissa Sahitya Akademi, Bhubaneswar, 1960), there is a long article on Jayadeva and his *Gīta-govinda* considered from various aspects (pp. XXXVI-LVI).

1. See *Kavi Jayadeva O Śrī-Gīta-govinda* by Dr. Harekrishna Mukherji Sahityaratna, Calcutta, 4th edition, Agrahayana 1372. pp. 36. 37, foot-note.

In this learned article, some of the contemporaries of Jayadeva, as much as Jayadeva himself, have been claimed for Orissa on literary and other grounds. The Kendu-bilva of Jayadeva has been identified with a big village, now known also as Kenduli, under the Balipatna Police station of Puri district. Iconographical evidence from sculpture is also presented to prove Jayadeva's mythological conception regarding Viṣṇu as being essentially of Orissan origin. There has been a tremendous influence of the *Gīta-govinda* on Orissan literature, of course, and this has been looked upon as being due to Jayadeva having been a poet from Orissa.

But the *Gīta-govinda* is a work which influenced the whole of India, almost immediately after its appearance, and Bengali literature as much as Gujarati literature and Hindi or Braj-Bhāṣā literature were equally under the influence of the book. There is no point in insisting upon Jayadeva's provenance, merely on the basis of the strong tradition which is current in Bengal, that Jayadeva belonged to the village Kenduli in Birbhum. But some of the evidence presented by the verses ascribed to Jayadeva himself which are found in the Sanskrit anthology compiled by Śrīdhara-dāsa, as mentioned below—verses which are quoted in this monograph later on—would seem to be conclusive that Jayadeva belonged to Bengal and was a member of the court of king Lakṣmaṇa-Sena who ruled at Navadvip on the Bhagirathi river in West Bengal upto the year 1203 A.D. This year a band of Turks under Bakhtyar Khilji raided Navadvip from Bihar, and forced Lakṣmaṇa-Sena to flee to East Bengal; and thus the Turks made an effective conquest of Bengal, putting an end to Hindu rule there. Orissa, of course, has been a most important centre of Sanskrit learning in Eastern India (along with Mithila), and Orissa gave to Sanskrit literature some of its most eminent writers.

But the memory of Jayadeva by name as the author of the *Gīta-govinda* has been kept green for nearly eight hundred years by means of the annual popular *mela* or fair in the village of Kenduli on the Ajay river in Birbhum district in West Bengal, which is associated with the name of Jayadeva.

Thus, among other things, my attention has recently been drawn by Dr. Harekrishna Mukherji to a reference to Kenduli in the Birbhum area or district as being the home of Jayadeva in the colophon to a Bengali Ms. dated 1746 A.D. (= *San* or Bengali year 1153) in which Gopīcaraṇa-Dāsa Vidyābhuṣaṇa (whose Sanskrit Commentary on the *Hari-nāmāmṛta-Vyākaraṇa* completing an earlier unfinished commentary on the same work, is the subject-matter of this well-attested Ms.) definitely mentions that he lived in Kendu-bilva, which was also the home of Jayadeva, the poet of the *Gīta-govinda*. known at his time as Kenduli in Birbhum district.

Kenduli still is an important place of Vaiṣṇava pilgrimage in West Bengal, and the annual *mela* or religious gathering, in honour of Jayadeva, of Vaiṣṇava monks and mendicants and of members of other related sects like the *Bāuls*, is very largely attended, with a big concourse of pilgrims.

Śrī Mahāpātra has mentioned that there is another village named “Kendoli” in Mithila, and some Maithils also claim Jayadeva to be an inhabitant of Tirahuta or Tira-bhukti i.e, Mithila. Vaiṣṇava tradition (as preserved in the *Bhakta-māla-ṭīkā*) says that Jayadeva’s wife was intended by her father to become a temple-dancer at the temple of Jagannātha at Purī, but Jagannātha or Viṣṇu himself in a dream directed the father to marry her to Jayadeva.

Another tradition is preserved in the *Seka-śubhodayā*, (The *Seka-śubhodayā* or “the Holy Advent of the Shaikh”, is a work of Muslim inspiration, giving the life and miracles of a Muslim saint who visited the court of king Lakṣmaṇa-Sena of Bengal before the coming of the Turks under Bakhtyar Khilji in 1203. It is written in a barbarous kind of Sanskrit based on Bengali, and was prepared out of old traditions going back to the 12th-13th centuries, some time during the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century. It has been edited by Dr. Sukumar Sen in the Bengali character, with notes, in the Hrishikesa Series, Calcutta, 1920; 2nd edition in the Devanagari character, with Notes and Introduction and Bengali Translation, in the *Bibliotheca Indica* No. 286, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1963). This tradition makes Padmāvatī an accomplished

singer also. With her husband she entered into a contest with a famous musician from outside Bengal (Mithila) named Būḍhana Misra. Jayadeva himself seems to hint at his wife having been an accomplished danseuse, when he describes himself as “Padmāvati-Caraṇa-cāraṇa-cakravartī”, i.e, the *veritable suzerain to cause the feet Padmaval to move (in dance)*. It is quite conceivable that Padmāvati was intended by her parents to be dedicated to the temple of Jagannatha as a *deva-dāsī*; or temple-dancer. and was consequently trained in dancing and music, but she was finally married to Jayadeva. Tradition current in Bengal makes this marriage a very happy one. both husband and wife being devoted to Kṛṣṇa, and Jayadeva’s love and pride for his wife is clearly indicated by several references to her in his work.

4 JAYADEVA'S WRITINGS APART FROM THE *GĪTA- GOVINDA*—THE VERSES IN SRIDHARA DASA'S *SADUKTI-KARṆĀMṚTA*

ŚRĪDHARA-DĀSA, the son of Vaṭu-dāsa, who was a contemporary of Jayadeva and was both a scholar and a poet as well as small feudatory landlord, compiled an anthology of Sanskrit verses, known as the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, in the Śaka year 1127 (= 1206 A.D.). This anthology is of unique value for the study of Sanskrit literature as composed in Bengal, and for appreciating the poetic mind of Gauḍa and Vaṅga i.e. both West and East Bengal, just before the coming of the Turks from Bihar and North India who started the Muslim period in Bengal. The *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* was first published in its entirety from Lahore in 1933 under the editorship of the late Pandit Ramavatar Śarma and Pandit Haradatta Sarma. Recently, in the year 1965, a new edition has been published by Prof. Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji from Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay in Calcutta. Long before, Rajendralal Mitra wrote an article on this work in 1876, and then in 1880 the German scholar Theodor Aufrecht discussed this anthology on the basis of two Mss., and wrote articles in German and introduced it to the Western world. Aufrecht had analysed the contents of the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, and from his notes on it the late Dr. F.W. Thomas used a good deal of material in editing another important Sanskrit anthology of the same type—the *Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya*. In the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, we have some 2400 Sanskrit verses composed in different metres, and these have been arranged in five sections (*pravāhas*). The authorship of some five hundred verses in it is not known, or has been lost, but we get names

of about five hundred poets as authors of the remaining verses. It would appear that on the five hundred poets, over three hundred belonged to Bengal (Gauḍa-Vaṅga), The five sections (*pravāhas*) into which this not so short anthology has been divided are as follows:

(i) Amara-pravāha or Deva-pravāha, i.e. *the section on the Gods*; (ii) Śṛṅgara-pravāha i.e. *section on Love-making*; (iii) Cāṭu-pravāha i.e. *the section on Flattery or Praise*; (iv) Apadeśa-pravāha i.e. *the section on 'Pretexts' or 'Assignations'*; and (v) Uccāvaca-pravāha i.e. *the section on the 'Ups and Downs'*. Under each of these *pravāhas* or 'flows', there are a number of *vīcis* or 'waves' or smaller classification, and each *vīci* is complete with five *ślokas*. We have thus in the first *pravāha*, the Amara-pravāha, 95 *vīcis*: in Śṛṅgāra-pravāha, 179; in Cāṭu-pravāha, 54; in Apadeśa-pravāha, 72; and in the Uccāvaca-pravāha, 76.

In a good many of the Sanskrit verses included in these *pravāhas*, we have an expression of the the poetic spirit and sensibility of the Bengali people prior to A.D. 1200—the period immediately before the Turki conquest of Bengal. The tradition as well as the poetic background and the poetic life of Bengal of the subsequent medieval period of the Bengali language we find reflected to a great extent in these *ślokas*. We find quite an anticipation of Middle Bengali poetic literature, and even of Modern Bengali poetry, in a number of these *ślokas*. For the study of the poetic literature of Bengali, the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* can certainly be considered as one of its basic sources, although it is couched in the Sanskrit language.

Now, in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*. as many as thirty-one different *ślokas* or verses have found a place in the different *pravāhas*, all of which have been brought under the rubric "Jayadevasya" i.e. *of or by Jayadeva*. Of the two Jayadevas other than the poet of the *Gīta-govinda* mentioned above, Jayadeva No. 1, who was the writer on Sanskrit metrics, is not at all known as a poet; and Jayadeva No.2, the author of the *Prasanna-Rāghava*, might have been a contemporary of our Jayadeva, but his name and fame appear not to have reached Bengal, when this anthology was compiled. If Śrīdhara-dāsa, the compiler of it, knew of some other Jayadeva distinct from this well-known poet of the *Gīta-govinda*, he could only be expected to mention

this fact. Śrīdhara-dāsa could not have mixed up our Jayadeva (who was a well-known person in the court of king Lakṣmaṇa-Sena and from whose *Gīta-govinda* he had also quoted some five verses, among the thirty-one given by him as Jayadeva's) with some other poet bearing the same name. Consequently, on the strength of these five verses from the *Gīta-govinda* which have been rightly ascribed to Jayadeva by Śrīdhara-dāsa, and considering also that Śrīdhara-dāsa who was a high functionary in the court of king Lakṣmaṇa-Sena (in the Introduction to the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, Śrīdhara-dāsa has informed us that his father Vaṭu-dasa was a great favourite of Lakṣmaṇa-Sena), it will be quite permissible to assume that the author of all these thirty-one verses quoted by him was none other than Jayadeva, poet of the *Gīta-govinda*. In the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* there are ninety-one verses ascribed to Umapati-dhara, one of the contemporaries of Jayadeva, mentioned in the *Gīta-govinda*; six verses by Ācārya Govardhana, who is well-known as the author of the *Aryā-saptaśatī* or "An Anthology of 700 poems (on love) in the Aryā metre"; twenty-one by Sarana; and another twenty from Dhoyi of which two are from Dhoyi's well-known work the *Pavana-dūta* (this interesting imitation of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* has already been printed). All the four of these poets have been mentioned by Jayadeva in his *Gīta-govinda*. And besides, there are eleven verses from king Lakṣmaṇa-Sena's son prince Keśava-Sena, and five verses from Halāyudha—all of them equally contemporaries of Jayadeva. Moreover, there are compositions by a number of other poets who flourished round about the time of Jayadeva.

During the middle of the sixteenth century the great Vaiṣṇava teacher from Bengal living at Vṛndāvana, viz. Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmī, compiled his well-known anthology of Sanskrit Vaiṣṇava poems, and in this anthology (known as the *Padyāvalī*) we find also a number of verses from all these poets.

In these *ślokas* from Jayadeva quoted by Śrīdhara-dāsa, we find verses illustrative of *Vīra-rasa*, or the Heroic Sentiment, and not merely verses on the Śṛṅgāra-rasa or the Sentiment of Love and Love-play (which is the only sentiment treated in the *Gīta-govinda*). Further, Jayadeva has now been well established in Bengal and Eastern India as a devotee of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa and primarily as a Vaiṣṇava

poet. But in these thirty-one *ślokas*, we have *ślokas* also in praise of Śiva. From all these *ślokas*, we find that Jayadeva's Muse was not confined to the dulcet notes of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa's flute only—the clang of arms and the blare of trumpets also had drawn him in composing poetry. He had composed forceful verses on such themes as a field of battle and as the blowing of war-trumpets. From all this, it would seem that Jayadeva, to start with, was not a purely Vaiṣṇava devotee or saint—he was just a *Smārta* or Śaiva Brāhmaṇa householder who honoured or worshipped the five (or six) great divinities of Puranic Hinduism with equal faith e.g., Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Umā, and also, among certain groups particularly in South India. Kumāra or Kārtikeya (*Pañcopāsaka* or “Worshippers of the Five”, or *Ṣaḍupāsaka* or “Worshippers of the Six”). In later times, his fame was established as a great Vaiṣṇava poet and saint by the organisation of the Gauḍīya or Bengal or Navadvīpa school of Vaiṣṇavas, as they were becoming established as a dominant sect. and it is quite likely that originally he was not at all so. We cannot accept the view that during A.D. 1100-1200 there could have developed a Vaiṣṇava society and a Vaiṣṇava cult or sect such as we find in the post-Caitanya age in Bengal. The late Mm. Haraprasad Sastri in the Introduction to his edition of Vidyāpati's *Kīrti-latā* has established that the poet Vidyāpati of Mithila was not at all a kind of sectarian devotee and poet of the class known in Bengal as *Vaiṣṇava-Mahājanas*—writers who composed religio-erotic poems on the loves of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, which were looked upon as profoundly devotional and mystic compositions and were sung both in religious ritual, and for spiritual unction. Vidyāpati was just an ordinary Smārta Brāhmaṇa who would worship equally Viṣṇu and Śiva, Lakṣmī and Umā, Rādhā and Gaṅgā, and other deities of the late medieval Puranic pantheon. The same can also be said about Jayadeva, although he was the poet of the *Gīta-govinda*. which is now held in such high esteem as Vaiṣṇava religious poetry by the sectarian Vaiṣṇavas of Eastern India particularly.

5 THE HISTORICAL JAYADEVA AS SECULAR POET OF LOVE; AND JAYADEVA THE SAINT AND MYSTIC POET OF LOVE AND THE DEVOTEE OF KṚṢṆA AND RĀDHĀ: THE OPENING VERSE OF THE GĪTA-GOVINDA

IN THE interpretations or explanations of some of Jayadeva's verses, a good deal of complexity has arisen through the ascription of a sectarian point of view to these verses.

The opening verse of the *Gīta-govinda*—

meghair meduram ambaram, vana-bhuvaś śyāmās
tamāla-drumair:
naktam; bhīrur ayam, tvam eva tad imam, Rādhē!
gṛham prāpaya;”
ittham Nanda-nideśatas calitayōḥ pratyadhva-
kūñja-drumam.
Rādhā-Mādhavyor jayanti Yamunā-kūle
rahaḥkelayaḥ.

—has its plain meaning that it was at the instance of Nanda, Kṛṣṇa's fond foster-father, that Rādhā took the latter home, as Kṛṣṇa was afraid to return alone because of the dark and cloudy night; and this opportunity was taken advantage of by the divine lovers, like human lovers under similar circumstances. This *līlā* or sport conjures up a little situation which the poet hails with the indulgence of devotion: the unsuspecting, doting old Nanda makes it easy for the lovers to have their wish to be all by themselves, and thus unwittingly helps in bringing about their union. But this simple and on the face of it quite a human situation was lost sight of

by later Vaiṣṇava pietistic scholasticism is Bengal, and an approved interpretation, which would not tolerate the presence of Nanda in the scene, took the compound word “Nanda-nideśataḥ” to mean, not what undoubtedly was the meaning intended, viz., ‘according to the direction of Nanda’, but ‘joy-bringing message (of the Lovers’ friends)’ or ‘for the objective of bringing joy to them’, and made the first two lines an utterance not of Nanda but of a supposed friend of Rādhā or Kṛṣṇa.

The contemporary anthology the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* gives two companion poems modelled on the above verse, one ascribed to Keśava-Sena, the son of King Lakṣmaṇa-Sena, and the other to the king himself. Prince Keśava-Sena evidently wished to furnish a companion verse to Jayadeva’s opening verse in the *Gīta-govinda*. by suggesting a similar opportunity unwittingly brought about for the lovers by Yaśoda, the fostermother of Kṛṣṇa: and Keśava-Sena’s verse, which is in the same *Sardūla-vikrīḍita* metre, runs as follows:

ahūtādya mahōtsava (or mayōtsave), niśi grhaṃ
śūnyaṃ vimucyāgatā :
kṣībaḥ preṣya-janaḥ: kathaṃ kula-vadhūr,
ekākinī yāsyati?
vatsa, tvaṃ tad imāṃ nayālayam”—iti, śrutvā
Yaśodā-girō
Rādhā-Mādhavayōr jayanti madhura-
smerālasā dṛṣṭyaḥ.

In this verse, it is Kṛṣṇa who is asked by Yaśodā to take Rādhā home, from the feast to which Rādhā has been called from her home to that of Yaśodā, as the attendants who could be sent to accompany her have got drunk in the feast. This verse of prince Keśava-Sena quoted in the anthology, read along with the opening verse of the *Gīta-govinda*. makes it clear that “Nanda-nideśataḥ” can only mean “at the bidding of Nanda’ and not what pietistic scholasticism of later Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal would make the phrase mean. This commonsense interpretation of the first verse of the *Gīta-govinda* is also supported by a number of Kangra and other paintings

depicting the whole scene—old king Nanda sending Kṛṣṇa along with Rādhā, in the background of a pastoral scene in the forest.

The verse ascribed to king Lakṣmaṇa-Sena in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* may also be quoted, and its inspiration is also clear:

“Kṛṣṇa, tvad-vana-mālayā saha-kṛtaṃ,
kenāpi kuñjōdare,
 gōpī-kuntala-barha-dāma, tad idaṃ prāptaṃ
mayā; grhyatāṃ:”
 itthaṃ dugdha-mukhena gōpa-śisunākhyāte,
trapā-namrayōḥ
 Rādhā-Mādhavayor jayanti valita-smerālāsa dr̥ṣṭyah.”

Here the old king seems to wind up the situation by suggesting that the tryst of the lovers was made known—also unwittingly, by an unsuspecting cowherd boy (dugdha-mukhena *still living on milk. i.e. an unweaned baby*, or dagdha-mukhena *a burnt-faced, i.e. silly and idiotic boy*), who blurted out in company—“Kṛṣṇa, I found these locks of hair of some Gōpī, tangled with the garland of wild flowers from your neck, in the midst of some wooded bower: take it.” When addressed thus, both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa hung down their heads in shame, and their glances became beautiful and languid in their smiles—may such glances of these two be glorified.

The refrain-like agreement in the first part of the fourth line in all the three verses (“Rādhā-Mādhavayōr jayanti...”) is to be noted. These three verses probably record quite a pleasant episode in verse-composition by emulation in the court-circle, in which the ruler, his son and the most esteemed poet of the day took part, with the other members of the circle participating with their approbation, one of whom, the anthologist Śrīdhara-dāsa, recording all the three poems of the royal poets for posterity.

Apart from its importance in the context of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa’s rendezvous in the course of their love-trysts, in which Vaiṣṇava orthodoxy with its ideas of propriety which would not tolerate Kṛṣṇa’s father coming to the scene as a Galahaut (as in the Guenevere and Lancelot affair in the Arthurian legend) by helping the lovers to come together, the opening lines of this first verse of

the poem has a great poetic value, as a wonderful evoking of a dark cloudy monsoon night.

This matter has been noticed with high poetic appreciation by many great writers and critics in India. Nature in Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda* has the background of the joyous season of Spring, brilliant with the Sun's light and gorgeous with the various colours of the green plants and of the flowers, and resonant with the music of the songs of birds and the humming of bees and redolent with the fragrance of flowers. But the opening words of the very first verse bring to us the sombre and soothing atmosphere of the Rains, and critics have sought to interpret its significance. One thing is clear. The first phrases have a marvellous poetic beauty, in their truthful word-painting which is made all the more convincing because of the terseness of it all, recalling the aesthetic eloquence and artistic elegance of a Japanese *tanka*:

meghair meduram ambaram:
vana-bhuvaś, śyāmās tamāla-drumair:
naktam.

The sky is shady and cool with clouds;
 The wood-lands, they are dark with the tarna trees;
 It is night.

Rabindranath Tagore, Balendranath Tagore, and other great literary artists in India have all been quite enthusiastic about the word-magic and the picture-magic which are so spontaneously evoked by the Muse of Jayadeva in this verse fragment. It easily lends itself to being detached from the whole *śloka* and the entire *Kāvya*, with all its innate poetic sweetness as well as grandeur.

6 THE 26 VERSFS BY JAYADEVA AS IN THE SADUKTI-KARṆĀMṚTA COMPLETING WITH THE GĪTA-GOVINDA, THE JAYADEVA CORPUS: JAYADEVA A POET OF MANY STYLES

BEFORE taking up a study of Jayadeva's great masterpiece, the *Gīta-govinda*, it will be useful first to consider the 26 verses by Jayadeva quoted in the *Sadukti-Karṇāmṛta* which are indicative of the wide range of Jayadeva's poetic interests and achievement which were not confined to love and eroticism alone. There is an undercurrent of Vaiṣṇava faith and devotion, of course; but the *rasa* or literary flavour which is predominant in the *Gīta-govinda* is the Śṛṅgāra or love and love-play, and not the Śānta, the contemplative or devotional. The *Sadukti-Karṇāmṛta* verses as given below will be pertinent to the statement that Jaydeva, acknowledged as the great master in the *Śṛṅgāra-rasa*. could be equally at home in all the other *rasas*. And this is an evidence of his versatility as a poet, who could handle in the tradition of classical Sanskrit poetry all the various *rasas*. flavours or sentiments. H is music played the lyre of seven strings and more, not just a one-stringed bow.

These verses quoted in the *Sadukti-Karṇāmṛta* (verses which are not generally known), in the absence of other material, may be taken to form with the entire *Gīta-govinda* a complete *corpus* of Jayadeva's literary output, and as such they have a relevance in a study of Jayadeva. His *Gīta-govinda* is of course available in numerous printed editions and in Mss. English translations of the *Sadukti-Karṇāmṛta* verses as quoted below have not been given, as these who can read Sanskrit will be able to get the gist of these verses. But comments on special points have been made.

(A verse or an incident with erotic implications on Kṛṣṇa's bearing the Govardhana Hill on his uplifted palm. This verse is echoed by another in the same style quoted in the *Sadukti-Karṇāmṛta* which is attributed to Umapati-dhara, a poet who was one of the contemporaries of Jayadeva. This verse of Umāpati-dhara is numbered as 1/55/3 in the *Sadukti-Karṇāmṛta*, and it is found also in the *Padyāvalī* anthology of Rūpa Gosvāmī, 16th century, as no. 259. The subject is given as *Hari-kriḍā* on love-sport of Hari or Kṛṣṇa. The agreement of these two verses in having almost the same words at the end of the fourth line, like a refrain in a *Samasyā-pūrti*, is to be noted—like the first part of the fourth line in some other verses in the same *Śārdūla-vikrīḍita* metre as quoted above, the verses by Jayadeva, by Lakṣmaṇa-Sena and by Keśava-Sena:

*bhru-valli-calanaih, nayanonmesaih kayapi, smita—
jyotsna-vicchuritaih kayapi, nibhrtam sambha-
vityadbvani //
garvodbheda-krtavahela-vinaya-sri-bhaji Rādhānane
satankanuyam jayanti patitah Kamsa-dviso drstayah //*

(5) 1/85/5/: Bahurupakas Candrah:

*krīḍā-karpūra-dīpas tridaśa-mṛgadṛśām kāna-
sāmrajya-lakṣmī
prōtkṣiptāikātapatram śrama-śamana-calac-cāmaram
kāminīnām /
kastūrī-pañka-mudrānkita-madana-vadhū-mugdha-
gaṇḍōpadhānam
dvipam vyōmāmbu-rāsēḥ sphurati sura-purī-kēli-
haṁsaḥ sudhāmśuḥ //*

(An elaborate description of the Moon)

(6) 2/37/4: Vāsaka-sajjā:

*aṅgeṣv ābharaṇam karōti [tanōti] bahuśaḥ
[= Gīta-govinda. 5/11] //*

(7) 2/72/4/: *Adhdraḥ*:

*vibhāti vimbādharā-vallir asyāḥ smarasya bandhūka-
dhanur-latēva /
vināpi bāṇēna guṇēna yēyaṁ yūnām manāmsi
prasabhaṁ bhinatti //*

(The lips of the Beautiful One)

(8) 2177/5/: *Rōmāvalī* :

*harati Rati-patēr nitarnba-vimba-stana-ṭaṭa-
caṁkrama-saṁkramasya Lakṣmīm /
trivalī-bhava-taraṅga-nimnanābhī-hrada-padavīm
adhirōma-rājir asyāḥ //*

(Hair below the abdomen)

(9) 2/132/4: *Ratārambhaḥ* :

*unmilat-pulakāṅkurēṇa niviḍaēślēśe nimiseṇa ca
[= *Gīta-govinda* 12/10] //*

(Starting of Love-play)

(10) 2/13414: *Viparīta-ratam*:

Mārāṅke rati-keli..... [Gīta-govinda 12/12] //

(Playing the Man's part in the love-game)

(11) 2/137/5: *Uṣasi priyā-darśanam* :

*asyāḥ (tasyāḥ pātala-pāñijaṅkitam urō
[Gīta-govinda 12/4] //*

(How the Beloved looked at Dawn after the Night of Love)

(12) 21170/5: *Śarat-khañjanaḥ*:

*madhura-madhuram kūjann agrē patan muhur utpatann /
avirata-calat-pucchaḥ svēccharṁ vicumbya ciram priyām /*

*iha hi śaradi kṣībaḥ pakṣāu vidhūya milan mudā
madayati rahaḥ kuñjē mañju-sthalīm adhi khañjanaḥ //*

(The amorous Khañjana-bird in the garden bower)

(13) 3/5/4/: Dharmaḥ:

*yūpāir utkaṭa-kaṇṭ akāir iva makha-prōdbhūta-dhūmōdgamāir
apy andham-karaṇāuśadhāir iva padē nētrē ca jāta-vyathāih/
yasmin dharmā-parē praśāsati tapaḥ-sambhēdinīm mēdinīm
āstām ākramitum vilōkitum api vyaktam na śaktaḥ Kalih //*

(The Ruler who performs his religious devoirs)

(14) 3/9/4/: Karaḥ:

*tēṣām alpa-arah sa kalpa-viṭapī tēṣām nō cintā-maṇis
cintām apy upayāti kāma-surabhis tēṣām na kāmāspadam /
dinōddhāra-dhurīṇa-puṇya-caritō yēṣam prasannō manāk
pāṇis tē dharṇīndra sundara-yaśaḥ-samrakṣiṇō dakṣiṇaḥ //*

(The Arm of the righteous Ruler)

(15) 3/9/15: Karaḥ:

*Dēva, tvat-kara-pallavō vi jayatām asrānta-viśrāṇana-
krīḍā-skandita-kalpa-vṛkṣa-vibhavaḥ kīrtti-prasūnōjjvalaḥ/
yasyōtsarga-jalac-chalēna galitāḥ syandāna-dānōdaka-
srōtōbhir viduṣām lalāṭa-likhitā dāinyākṣara-śrēṇayaḥ //*

(The Arm of the generous or charitable Ruler)

(16) 3/10/4: Caraṇaḥ:

*Lakṣmī-vibhrama-padma-subhagam kē nāma nōrvī-bhujō
Dēva, tvac-caraṇam vrajanti śaraṇam śrī-rakṣaṇākāṅkṣiṇaḥ//
chāyāyām anugamya samyag-abhayās tvad-vīrya-sūryātapa-
vyāptām apy avanīm aṭanti ripavas tyaktātapatrāḥ sukham //*

(The Foot of a puissant Ruler)

(17) 3/11/5: *Priya-vyākhyānam:*

*Lakṣmī-keli-bhujarṅga! Jarṅgama-Hare! Saṅkalpa-kalpa-druma!
Śrēyaḥ-sādhaka-saṅga! Saṅgara-kalā-Gāṅgeya! Vaṅga-priya!/
Gāuḍēndra! Prati-rāja-nāyaka! Sabhālankāra! Kaṅārpita-
pratyarthi-kṣitipāla! Pālaka satām! dṛṣṭō'si, tuṣṭā vayam//*

(Panegyric to Great Ruler, of Vaṅga and Gauḍa)

(18) 3/15/5: *Dēśāśrayaḥ:*

*“tvam Cōlōllōla-līlam kalayasi, kuruṣe karṣaṇam
kuntalānām,
tvam Kāñcinyañcanāya prabhavasi! rabhasād
Aṅga-saṅgam karōṣi/
ittham Rājēndra! vandi-stutibhir suphitōtkampam
evādyā dīrgham
nārīṇām apy arīṇām hṛdayam udayatē tvat-
padārādhanāya//*

(Panegyric to a Great Conqueror, victor over Cola, Kuntala, Kāñci,
and Aṅga)

(19) 3/19/5: *Vikramaḥ:*

*śikṣantē cātuvādān vidadhati yavāsan ānanē kānanēṣu
bhrāmyanti jyā-kiṅāṅkam vidadhati śiviram kurvatē parvatēṣu/
abhyasanti prayāṇām tvayi calati camu-cakra-vikranti-bhāji
prāṇa-trāṇāya Dēva! tvad ari-nṛpatayas cakrirē Kārmaṇāni//*

(A Warrior King, great in his heroic qualities)

(20) 3/20/5: *Pauruṣam:*

*Bhīṣmaḥ klīvakatām dadhāra, samiti Drōnena muktaṁ dhanur,
mithyā Dharma-sutēna jalpitam abhūd, Duryōdhanō durmadaḥ//*

*chidrēṣv ēva Dhanamjayasya vijayaḥ, Karṇaḥ pramādī tataḥ;
śrīmann, asti na Bhāratē'pi bhavatō yaḥ pāuruṣāir vardhatē//*

(Heroic qualities—a Hero King who is superior to the Heroes of *Mahābhārata*)

(21) 3/23/5: *Tejaḥ*:

*ēkaṁ dhāma śamīṣu līnam aparaṁ sūryōtpala-jyōtiṣāṁ
vyājād adriṣu gūḍham anyad udadhāv samguptam āurvāyatē/
tvat-tējas tapanāmśu-māmsala-samuttāpēna durgam bhayād
vārṣaṁ pārvatam āudakaṁ yadi yayus tējāmsi kiṁ pārthivāḥ//*

(The King's fiercely splendour superior to anything Nature and Earth can show)

(22) 3/29/5: *Āścarya-khaḍga*:

*śrīkhaṇḍa-mūrthiḥ saralāṅga-yaṣṭir mākandam āmulam
ahō vahantī/
śrīman! bhabat-khaḍga-tamāla-vallī citraṁ raṇē
śrī-phalam ātanōti//*

(The wonderous Sword of the King)

(23) 3/34/3: *Tūrya-dhvaniḥ*:

*guñjat-krāuñca-nikuñja-kuñjara-ghatā-vistīrṇa-karṇa-jvarāḥ
prāk-pratyag-dharaṇīndra-kandara-jarat-pārīndra-nidrā-druhaḥ/
laṅkāṅka-tri-kakut-pratidhvani-ghanaḥ paryanta-yātrā-jayē
yasya bhrēmur amanda-mandara-ravāir āsa-rudhō ghōṣaṇāḥ//*

(The blare of the conquering King's Trumpets)

(24) 3/34/4/: *Tūrya-dhvaniḥ*:

*yasyāvīrbhūta-bhiti-pratibhaṭa-pṛtanā-garbhīṇi-
bhrūṇa-bhāra-
bhraṁśa-bhrēśābhibhūtyāi plavanam iva bhajann
ambhasāmhōnidhīnām//*

*sambhāraṁ sambhramasya tribhuvanam abhitō
 bhū-bhṛtām bibhrad uccāiḥ
 samramghōjjrmbhaṇāya pratiraṇam abhavād
 bhūri-bhēri-ninādaḥ//*

(The war-horns of the King—the alliteration with/bh-/to be noted)

(25) 3/34/5/: Tūrya-dhvaniḥ:

*Vighaṭṭayann ēṣa hatād akuṇṭha-vāikuṇṭha-
 kuṇṭhīrava-kuṇṭha-garjām/
 bhayamkarō dik-kaṇṭhām raṇāgrē bhēri-ravō
 bhāirava-duḥśravas tē//*

(Trumpets of the King's army sounding in battle)

(26) 3/38/3: Yuddham:

*śatrūṇām kāla-rātrāu samiti samuditē bāṇa-varṣāndhakārē
 prāg-bhārē khaḍga-dhārām saritam iva samuttīrya
 magnārivamśām/
 anyōnyāghāta-matta-dvirada-ghanaghaṭā-danta-
 vidyuc-chaṭābhiḥ
 paśyantiyām samantād abhisarati mudā sāmyugīnam
 jaya-śrīḥ//*

(A description of a Battle)

(27) 3/39/4: Yuddha-sthalī:

*niryan-nārāca-dhārā-caya-khacita-patan-matta-
 mataṅga-jātam
 jātam yasyāri-sēnā-rudhira-jala-nidhāv antarīpa-
 bhramāya/
 suptā yasmin ratāntē saha ca saḥacarāir nālavan-
 nāga-nāsā-
 randhra-dvandvāika-pātrē rudhira-madhu-rasam
 prēta-kāntāḥ pibanti//*

(The aftermath of the Battle—the gruesome picture of the demons of battle)

(28) 3/40/5: *Digvijayah:*

ekah saṁgrāma-riṅgat-turaga-khura-rajō-rājibhir
naṣṭa-dṛṣtir
dig-yātrā-jāitra-matta-dvirada-bhara-namad-bhūmi-
bhagnas tathānyāḥ/
virā kē nāma tasmāt tri-jagati na yayuh kṣinatām
kāṇa-kubja-
nyāyād ētēna muktāvabhayam abhajatām Vāsavō
Vāsukiś ca//

(The triumphal March of Hero King)

(29) 3/52/5: *Praśasta-Kīrttih:*

malinayati vāiri-vadanam, svajanam rañjayati,
dhavalayati dhātrīm/
api kusuma-vīsada-mūrttir yat-kīrttiś citram ācarati//

(The Glory of the Ruler's Conquests)

(30) 5/16/4: *Diśaḥ:*

astu svastyayanāya dig-dhana-patēḥ kāilasa-śāilāśraya-
śrī-kaṅṭhābharaṇēndu-vibhramadivā-naktarīm
bhramat-kāumudī/
yatrālam Nalakūvarābhisaraṇārambhāya Rambhā-sphurat-
pāṇḍimnēva tanōs tanōti viraha-vyagrāpi vēśa-graham//

(The Ten Quarters of the Sky glorify the Hero King)

(31) 5/18/2: *Vīarḥ:*

dhātrīm ēkātapatrām samiti kṛtavatā caṇḍa-dōraṇḍa-darpād
āsthānē pāda-namra-pratibhaṭa-mukutaḍarśa-vimbōdarēṣu/

utkṣiptac-chatra-cihnam pratiphalitam api svam
vapur vikṣya kiñcit
sāsūyam yēna dṛṣṭāḥ kṣiti-tala-vilasaṅ māulayō
bhūmi-pālāḥ//

(Vanquished Rulers paying Homage to the Victor).

From the above verses as given in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, it is quite clear that Jayadeva was not a poet who wrote only on the sentiment of love. Other *rasas* or sentiments as discussed in Sanskrit Poetics like *Vīra*, *Rāudra*, *Adbhuta* and *Śānta* have also been treated by Jayadeva with equal beauty and force. Of the thirty-one *ślokas* ascribed to Jayadeva in this anthology, five have been taken from his *Gīta-govinda*: From the nature of the other twenty-six verse; quoted, one would feel inclined to think that Jayadeva might have written at least two (or may be three) other works--one appears to have been on the story of Kṛṣṇa, like the *Gīta-govinda* (verses No. 2, 7, 8, 12 as quoted above deal with the Kṛṣṇa theme, judging from their subject matter); and the other work (or works) would appear to be on the glory of king Lakṣmaṇa-Sena—Lakṣmaṇa-Sena was well known as a warrior, and these verses, numbering 13-31 as quoted above, deal with the praise of Lakṣmaṇa-Sena and with the themes of heroism, and these would belong to second (or a second and a third) work. Lakṣmaṇa-Sena evidently was a distinguished soldier, and he is said to have gone to South India on a fighting expedition. We get this information from the *Pavana-dūta* by poet Dhoyi, which is connected with Lakṣmaṇa-Sena's campaign in South India. How far this is historically true is not known. It might be quite well a poetic fiction intended by the court Panegyrist, who might have exaggerated a raid into Orissa (unconfirmed though it is) into a triumphal march of conquest right down into the Tamil country. It is quite likely that Jayadeva also, as one of the poets of Lakṣmaṇa-Sena's court, wrote a long work like Dhoyi himself, but in a slightly different style, celebrating the military glories of his patron king Lakṣmaṇa-Sena, besides, the other poems in this anthology (Nos. 1, 4, 5 and possibly also Nos. 12, 13, as quoted above) may be from

Jayadeva's scattered verses, which may not belong to any regular book. If Jayadeva's position had not been well-established as a poet among courtly circles as well as possibly also among the general mass of Sanskrit readers. Śrīdhara-dasa would not have quoted so many verses from Jayadeva. This close connexion with the court and personality of Lakṣmaṇa-Sena, equally the patron of a number of other great poets associated with Bengal from whom Śrīdhara-dasa has also quoted, would be in support of Jayadeva's connexion with Bengal and the courtly circle at Navadvīpa, Bengal's capital city.

7 JAYADEVA'S POETIC *DIGVIJAYA*—THROUGHOUT INDIA AND THE WORLD

JAYADEVA's fame appears to have spread over the whole of India very rapidly. His *Gīta-govinda* met a want which literary men in both Sanskrit and the newly rising vernaculars were feeling—the book presented a wedding of the spirit of Classical Sanskrit with that of *Apabhramśa* and the New Indo-Aryan *Bhāshās*. Legend and Romance as an aid to the Hindu revival through the Bhakti movement was presented in a charming form in the *Gīta-govinda*. Within one hundred years of its appearance, we find that a verse from it is quoted as a benedictory invocation in an inscription in distant Gujarat, in Patan (Anahilavada), dated Samvat 1348=1292 A.D. (See article by Manmohan Chakravarti, referred to above). Its popularity in Gujarat and Rajasthan became as great as in Bengal and Orissa, in the Panjab Hills and in the North Indian Plains. Lines and tags are quoted and ideas are borrowed in Bengali, Oriya, 'Hindi', and Gujarati poetry from very early times. The *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa Kīrttana* of Baḍu Chandidasa, the oldest Middle Bengali poet (c. 1400?) whose work we have, has paraphrased two songs from *Gīta-govinda*. and many of its lines elsewhere in the poem are reminiscent of Jayadeva. The early Gujarati poem the *Vasanta-Vilāsa* (composed c. 1450 A. D., according to Professor Kantilal B. Vyas, and about 1350 A. D. in the opinion of Muni Śrī-Vijayaji) similarly shows verses which have echoes of the *Gīta-govinda* (e.g. verses 7, 19, 32, 36, 69 ff.). Some 40 commentaries of the *Gīta-govinda* have been listed by Dr. Harekrishna Mukherji Sahityaratna in his comprehensive study of the *Gīta-govinda* (in Bengali—4th edition, Bengali Year 1372, Agrahayana), One of the earliest of

these is the *Rasika-priyā* by Rana Kumbha of Mewar (1433-1468 A.D.), which is quite a learned and an extensive work. The *Gīta-govinda* is thus one of the most commented works of Sanskrit. These commentators belong to all parts of India, including South India. At least 25 Sanskrit poems by different writers paying a high compliment to the *Gīta-govinda* by imitating it, have been composed, excluding a few in the vernaculars. There were a number of Middle Bengali and Middle Oriya translations or adaptations of the *Gīta-govinda*, and Dr. Harekrishna Mukherji names the following three Bengali translations specially—those by Rasamay Dasa, Jagat Simha and Ragunath Dasa. We learn from an Oriya inscription in the Jagannath temple at Puri dated 1499 A.D., which was inscribed under the orders of King Prataparudra, that from that date only the songs and poems of the *Gīta-govinda* and from no other work were to be sung and recited by the *Dēvadāsīs*, temple dancers and singers, serving in the temple (cf. Manmohan Chakravarti in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol, LXII, 1893, pp. 96-97). Its place in what may be called the 'Apabhramśa' and 'Early Hindi Pictorial Art' (the so-called Old Gujarati and Early Rajput Art) of medieval India and in the 'Later Hindi' part of Rajasthan, Bundelkhand, Basohli, Chamba and Kangra, as well as in the local art of other parts of India—Bengal, Assam, Orissa, the Telugu Country—has been quite considerable.

With the discovery and study of Sanskrit by European scholars, Jayadeva's poetic genius was immediately appreciated. His great poem was translated into English by Sir William Jones (1746-1794), and then by Friedrich Rueckert (1788-1866) into German, and they were followed by other translators in French, English, German, and other European languages. The *Gīta-govinda* has now been accepted as one of masterpieces even of world literature.

8

THE *GĪTA-GOVINDA*—A REFLEX OF LATE MIDDLE-INDO-ARYAN OR EARLY NEW INDO-ARYAN LITERATURE IN ITS SONGS (*GĪTAS*) ?

THE *Gīta-govinda* combines the spirit of Classical Sanskrit poetry and that of *Apabhraṃśa* and Early *Bhāshā* poetry. Its 12 *sargas* or cantos contain 24 *gītas* or songs, or to give an alternative name, 24 *padas* or lyrics, scattered through the work. The framework of the poem, as in the verses forming the descriptive portion, is in the orthodox style of Classical Sanskrit, in manner and metre, in ideas and vocabulary; but the *padas* or songs breathe the atmosphere of *Apabhraṃśa* and Early *Bhāshā* or New Indo-Aryan. The metres are the moric ones of *Apabhraṃśa* and Early *Bhāshā*. More than one scholar has suspected that the songs were originally written in *Apabhraṃśa* or Old *Bhāshā* (Old Bengali in this case) (cf. Pischel referring to Lassen in this *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 32; Bijay Chandra Majumdar in the Introduction to his Bengali translation of the *Gīta-govinda*). It is not unlikely that this *Apabhraṃśa* or Old Bengali verses obtained a great popularity, and this induced Jayadeva to render them into, Sanskrit, to give them a permanent and a pan-Indian form. This is of course a surmise, but it is based on four facts, as given below:

- (i) The *Apabhraṃśa* and Old *Bhāshā* (as opposed to the Classical Sanskrit) character of the 24 *Padas* or *Gītas* in their rhythm and rime, and lilt, is quite clear. This need not be discussed in detail, as it is apparent on the face of it.
- (ii) The presence of a mass of *Apabhraṃśa* (and *Avahaṭṭha* i.e. *Apabhraṣṭha*) and Old *Bhāshā* poems recalling many of the *gītas*

of Jayadeva's work, which are to be found in works like the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgala* (end of the 15th century) and the *Mānasōllāsa* or the *Abhilāśitārtha-Cintāmaṇi* (first half of the 12th century). (See in this connexion my *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*. Vol, I, First Edition, Calcutta 1926: Reprint 1970, George Allen & Unwin Ltd. pp. 123-27, and Vol. III, First Edition, 1972, George Allen & Unwin Ltd. pp. 29-31. 'See also the first volume of Dr. Sukumar Sen's 5-volume *History of Bengali Literature*, in Bengali).

- (iii) A few of the lines in the songs read better as *Apabhraṁśa* or Old *Bhāṣā* than as Sanskrit, and fit in better with the scheme of pauses in the line which agrees with Old Bengali very closely (e.g. the line 'Smarati mano mama kṛta-parithāsam' in the refrain of Song 5, Sarga II, gives a better subdivision into feet when rendered in the *Apabhraṁśa*—"sumarāi maṇa mama-kia-parihāsam" = 'My mind remembers Him who laughed and played with us'; the line "Śrī- Jayadeva-Kaver idam kurute mudam maṅgalaṁ ujjala-gīta", *The Maṅgala or narrative poem with its songs of love or passion (ujjalagīta) by the Poet Śrī Jayadeva-may it bring joy*) has one *mātrā* or mora in excess in the first and second feet; which can be rectified by reading these feet in the *Apabhraṁśa* style as "Śrī-Jayadeva-Kaver idam-kurute mudam", as it has been pointed out by Dr. Sukumar Sen—who however is not in favour of regarding the songs of Jayadeva as being originally in anything but Sanskrit). The metres of the songs have their counterparts in the vernacular metres of Bengali and other Eastern *Bhāṣās*.
- (iv) Finally, the *Gīta-govinda*; in spite of its being a narrative poem, has a dramatic element in it: the songs sung by the Gopī friends of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, or by the divine lovers themselves, are like so many speeches. It unquestionably had something to do in evolution of the popular *Yātrā* or song-drama of the old type in Bengal on the one hand, in all possibility being in part

modelled on some kind of primitive vernacular narrative-cum-conversation-cum-lyric with the background of instrumental music; and on the other, it would appear to be connected with a tradition which continued to flourish in Mithila or North Bihar in which we have dramas with the dialogues in Sanskrit and Prakrit prose, exactly as in the Sanskrit drama, but the verses or songs are in the Vernacular in Maithili. As number of such dramas are noted by Sir George Abraham Grierson in his *Maithili Grammar and Chrestomathy* (Calcutta. Asiatic Society of Bengal. Second Edition. 1909, pp. xiv, xv). Grierson himself has published one such drama in the *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna, for 1917 (the *Pārijāta-haraṇa* of Umapati of the first quarter of the 14th century). This tradition passed on to Nepal: in the Newari courts of the states of Patan, of Bhaktagrama or Bhatgaon, of Kirttipura or Kāṣṭha-maṇḍapa (Kathamado) in Eastern Nepal, the tradition was modified to some extent—the dialogues were in a broken Bengali or Maithili, and the songs in the Maithili or Kośalī (Eastern Hindi), with stage directions in the Tibeto-Burman Newari. In that very important Early Middle Bengali poem on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa theme by Ananta Badu Candidasa, viz. the *Kṛṣṇa-Kirttana* (a work of uncertain date, and opinions among some scholars take it back to about 1400 A.D., and among others to the sixteenth century), we have both narrative portions as well as dialogues. In these dialogues we find two or even three characters speaking and replying or having- a “flytte” or dispute in verse.

There is a theory noted above that in the *Gīta-govinda* we have a transformation, by a slight alteration of some of the forms of the language, from *Apabhramśa* or *Avahaṭṭha* or early Vernacular into Sanskrit, in order to give a greater prestige to these vernacular compositions. The vogue and influence of such Sanskritisation of *Apabhramśa* or early Vernaculars was wide enough at the turn of

the first millennium A.D. So that it is quite conceivable that the *Gīta-govinda* in its first draft or primitive form, with its *Apabhramśa* or vernacular *gītas* or songs and its Classical Sanskrit frame-work, was but in the line of a literary tradition which had developed in Eastern India, and then it was easy to render the *gītas* or songs into good Sanskrit, with *Apabhramśa* traits lingering as a palimpsest in one or two lines and the more regular and more mellifluous *Apabhramśa* lilt being modified to the severe rhythm of Sanskrit.

9 THE TWO HYMNS ASCRIBED TO JAYADEVA IN THE SIKH GURU GRANTH SAHIB (ĀDI GRANTHA)

WE DO NOT know if apart from the *Gīta-govinda*—its Sanskrit verses and its songs both—Jayadeva wrote any other long work; but the single verses attributed to him in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, which, as noted before, show him to be a writer in the heroic sentiment as well. Probably he had one or more long Sanskrit poems to his credit, from which these verses were taken; probably he wrote these verses *vers d'occasion*. But the tradition of the Bhakti Schools in Northern India knew of one or more Jayadevas with *Old Bhāṣā* lyrics to his credit: and according to the current opinion. These *Bhāṣā* poems were written by the author of the *Gīta-govinda*, who became translated to the domain of saints and devotees of the Vaiṣṇava faith within a couple of centuries after his demise.

In the Panjab also, Jayadeva obtained a place in the list of the great saints of India, and Guru Arjuna, the fifth Guru of the Sikhs who compiled about 1605 A.D. the *Ādi-Grantha* (*Guru Granth*, or *Granth Sāhib*), has included in the *Granth* two poems, one in *Apabhraṁśa* and Sanskrit mixed and the other in *Old Bhāṣā* which have the 'signature' of Jayadeva in the last verse. There is no absolute certainty whether the author (or authors?) of these two poems and Jayadeva of the *Gīta-govinda* are the same person. The Sikh tradition makes them the same. (For the Sikh tradition which is that of the Middle Hindi work the *Bhakta-māla*, see M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Oxford 1909, Volume VI.)

The *Ādi-Grantha* is a sort of *medieval Ṛigveda* in which the mass of devotional hymns as they were current in the Panjab and North Indian plains, and were composed by different medieval

saints and devotees from the 12th century to the end of the 16th are collected—so far as the compiler knew them or found them or approved of them. The oldest of these saints were Jayadeva from Bengal (12th century), Namadeva from Maharashtra (13th century), and Ramananda from Eastern Hindustan (14th century); and Kabir (15th century) is best represented of all the saints and *bhagats* (*bhaktas*) outside of the Sikh circle, who are 16 in number in the *Grantha*.

The two poems of Jayadeva in the *Guru Granth Sāhib* come under Rāga Gujarī and Rāga Mārū, (I greatly recall that these references were given to me by my most esteemed friend and colleague the late Professor Indu Bhushan Banerji of the University of Calcutta, eminent authority on Sikh history). They have been both translated by Macauliffe (*op. cit.*, pp. 15-17). The texts run as follows:

(i) *Śrī-Jaidēwa-jiu-Padā* (Rāga Gujarī)

*Paramādi purukha monōpimam sati ādi bhāwa-rataṃ/
Paramadbhutaṃ parakṛiti-paraṃ jadi cinti saraba-gataṃ//1//
Rahāu—
Kēwala Rāma-nāma manōramāṃ badi amrita-tata-māiam/
na danōti jasat marañēna janama-jarādhi-maraṇa-bhaiam/
ichasi Jamādi-parābhawaṃ jasu swasati sukṛiti-kṛitaṃ/
bhawa-bhūta-bhāwa samabyiam pararnam parasannamidam//2//
lobhādi-drisaṭi paragriham jadi bidhi ācaraṇam/
taji sakala duhakṛita durarnatī bhaju Cakradhara-saraṇam//3//
Hari-bhagata nija nihakēwalā rida karamaṇā bacasā/
jōgēna kiṃ jagēna kiṃ dānena kiṃ tapasā//4//
Gōbinda Gōbindēti japi nara sakala-sidhi-padam/
Jaidēwa āiu tasa saphuṭam bhawa-bhūta-saraba-gataṃ//5//*

The above was also translated into German and commented upon by E. Trumpp in the *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philolo-gischen und historischen Classe der Königlische baeyrische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Munich 1879, in his “Die ältesten Hindui-Gedichte”, pp. 8-16. The poem is in Sanskrit corrupted by

scribes who read it in a vernacular Eastern Indian pronunciation, with a number of Apabhraṁśa and vernacular forms. To start with, it may have been originally written wholly in Apabhraṁśa, and then badly Sanskritised, with a vernacular Bengali or Eastern Indian pronunciation showing through the spelling, which was further modified in the Gurumukhi script in the *Grantha*. A Sanskrit *chāyā* is given below:

*Paramādi-puruṣam anupamam sad-ādi-bhāva-ratam/
paramādbhutaṁ prakṛti-paraṁ yad-acintyaṁ
sarva-gataṁ//1//*

Rahāū (=Refrain)

*Kēvalam Rāma-nāma manōramam vada amṛta-
tattva-mayam/
na dunōti yat-smaraṇēṇa janma-jarādhi-
maraṇa- bhayam//*

*icchasi Yamādi-parābhavaṁ, yaśaḥ, svasti, sukṛta-
kṛtam [= sukṛtam] kuruta (?)*

*bhava-bhūta-bhāva samavyayam paramam prasannam
idam (or midam = mida+or mudu = mṛdu?*

—Trumpp)//2//

*lōbhādi-dṛṣṭi-parigraham yad avidhi-ācaranam/
tyaja sakala-duṣkṛtaṁ durmatim, bhaja*

Cakradhara-śaraṇam//3//

*Hari-bhaktah nija niṣkēvala (?)-hṛdā karmaṇā vacasā/
yōgēna kim. yajñēna kim dānēna kim, (kim) tapasā//4//*

*Gōvinda, Gōvindeti japa, nara, sakala-siddhi-padam/
Jayadēva āyātaḥ tasya, sphuṭam, bhava-bhūta-*

sarva-gatam//5//

There is no difficulty in following the sense of the above; and the entire poem though not lacking in coherence of thought certainly lacks coherence in language—which may be due to the Apabhraṁśa or Old Bengali original struggling with the thoughts. An English translation is not necessary: quite a good translation will be found in Macauliffe’s work. Vol. VI pp. 15-16.

Yōga); (I) filled (pūriyā) with breath the nāda (the Suṣumnā, the space between the two nostrils at the top of the nose: i.e. I performed the kumbhaka); (I) gave up (dattu kiyā) the breath by the sun (sūra = Piṅgalā, the right nostril: i.e. I performed the rēcaka movement)—sixteen times (khōḍasa = ṣōḍasa: i.e. in repeating the praṇava or Oṃkāra sixteen times. in each of the process of taking in, holding and ejecting the breath in performing prāṇāyāma).

Without strength (abala), (its) strength broken (tōḍiyā: i.e. the strength of the earthly frame has been broken. and it has been made weak physically); in the unmoving or fixed (acala), (my) unfixed or moving or unstable (cala: i.e. mind or breath) has been established (thappiyā); the Unfashioned (mind) (aghaḍa) has been fashioned (ghaḍiyā); then or there (tahā) nectar (āpiu = amṛta, according to traditional explanation: amṛta = *ambrita = *ambia, *ambiu, *abbiu, *appiu, āpiu?) has been drunk (by me) (piyā).

(I have) described (Him who is) the beginning of the mind (or soul) and of the (three) qualities (guṇas—sattva, rajas, tamas). Thy two-fold sight (i.e. the idea tha Thou and I are distinct) has been lost (sammāniyā: Panjabi explanation—samā jāndī dihia = ‘enters’). With reference to the adorable ones (ardha = ārādhya), adoration has been made (aradhiyā = ārādhita); with reference to that (those) which is (are) to be trusted or believed in (sardhi = śraddhin), trust has been given (saradhiya = śraddhita-) as for the water (salala = salila), it has become blended (summniāyā) in the water.

Jayadeva saya (badati = vadati): (I) have taken joy (rammiyā) in the God who triumphs (Jaya-dēva); receiving (liwa) absorption (nirbāṇa = nirvāṇa) in Brahman, (I) have reteived (pāyā) final absorption (līna = līna).

The above *Vāṇī* religious poem of Jayadeva in the vernacular is in the usual line of religious and devotional poetry of *Yoga* inspiration which characterised all Indian schools of thought from the middle of the first millennium A.D. onwards, and it was particularly strong in the centuries immediately preceding and following

c.1000 A.D. Their ring is that of the Old Bengali *Caryāpadas* of later Mahāyāna Sahajiyā (Sahaja-yāna) Buddhist inspiration on the one hand, which were partly contemporaneous with Jayadeva of the *Gīta-govinda*, and on the other of the mystic poems attributed to the Saiva Yogic order of Gorakhanātha and his school (12th-13th centuries) and also of Kabīr and other early *Sants* who were *bhagats* (*bhakts*) or devotees of Bhakti school in their main affiliation, but were at the same time practisers of *Yoga*.

The second poem of 'Jayadeva' in the *Guru-Grantha* may also very well be by Jayadeva of the *Gīta-govinda* himself, and this would make him one of the first poets in *Bhāṣā*, as much as in Sanskrit (and probably also Apabhramśa).

10 'MAṄGALA' AND 'PADĀVALĪ'—IN JAYADEVA'S GĪTA-GOVINDA AND IN MIDDLE BENGALI LITERATURE: BENGAL'S ĀDI-KAVI—JAYADEVA

APART FROM the great and wide-spread influence exerted on the later Bhāṣā literature in general all over Aryan India. Jayadeva is certainly to be regarded as one of the founders and inspirers of Bengali literature in particular. He was a young contemporary of the Buddhist *Caryā* poets. with his songs in the *Gīta-govinda*, called *gītas* in the poem itself but known also as *padas* (c.f. the first poem in the *Ādi-Granth*, ascribed to him, which is described as a *pada*, and c.f. his own use of the term in the expression *padāvalī* in “madhura-kōmala-kānta-padāvīm sṛṇutadā Jayadēva-sarasvatīm”. *Gīta-govinda*, 1.3), stand at the head of Bengali literature as much as do the *Caryāpadas* (c. 950-1200 A.D.). Medieval Bengali literature presents *two* distinct *genres* or types: (A) Narrative Poems, describing the story or legend of some God or great character, which were known as *Maṅgalas* (these *Maṅgalas* dealt with Puranic deities and deified heroes like Caṇḍī or Śrī-Kṛṣṇa or Rāmchandra, or with local divinities and heroes of Bengal like Dharma Thākur, Dharma-Pāla and King Lāu-Sena, the Snake Goddess Manasā and the deathless love of Bihulā (Vipulā) for her husband Lakhindhar (Lakshmīndhara), like the merchant Dhanapti and his wives Lahanā (? Lobhanā) and Khullanā (? Kshudraṇā) and his son Śrīmanta and their adventures, the huntsman Kālaketu and his wife Phullarā); and (B) Lyrics, purely devotional and partly erotic. which were called *padas* (the *pada* literature of Vaiṣṇava origin forming the most important and the most distinctive part of Middle Bengali literature). Jayadeva's *Padāvalī* as in the *Gīta-govinda* stands at the

head of the *pada* literature of Middle Bengali, to a greater extent than do the *Caryāpadas* of the Buddhists. The two-fold division of poetical writings in Middle Bengali into Maṅgala and *pada* is to some extent like the classification of Persian and Urdu Poetry into *Razm* or “War and Narrative Poetry” and *Bazm* or “Intimate Gathering to Sing or Study Lyric and Love Poetry”, and of Old Tamil Poetry in *Puram* or “Narration”, and *Akam* or “Love”.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that the Middle Bengali—nay, even to a large extent Modern Bengali—lyrics of Vaiṣṇava inspiration are based on the Songs of the *Gīta-govinda*. Then, Jayadeva’s narrative account of the love of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, although in Classical Sanskrit, is to be looked upon as the oldest *maṅgala-kāvya* of Bengal which is still popular, almost as a book of the people. Jayadeva’s single work combines the characteristics of the two genres, for it not only includes his *padas*—gives his *padāvalī* of 24 songs—but also is a *maṅgala-kāvya* as Jayadeva himself describes it as such in 1.25 (Song 2: “Śrī-Jayadeva-Kavēṛ idaṁ kurutē mūdam maṅgalam ujjvala-gīta” “*this maṅgala, i.e., maṅgala-kāvya dealing with the auspicious story of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, with its songs of the ujjvala-rasa or the sentiment of love, composed by Śrī-Jayadeva the poet—may it bring joy*). So the supreme pre-eminence of Jayadeva in his own part of India as the finished poet in both narration and lyrical composition can be well understood. Although no actual authentic specimens of his Apabhraṁśa and Old Bengali composition are available—barring the two poems in the *Sikh Guru-Granth* which are to some extent problematical, and barring also the possibility of the songs in the *Gīta-govinda* being originally in Apabhraṁśa or Old Bengali, he can with justice be hailed the *Ādi-Kavi*, the First Finished Poet of Bengali, as he is the Last of the Classic Poets of pre-Muslim India.

11 JAYADEVA'S PRE-EMINENCE AS A SAINT-POET: THE *BHAKTA-MĀLA*'S TRIBUTE

CONSIDERING his pan-Indian influence in the fields of both Sanskrit and Bhāṣā literature and his exalted place in the literature of medieval Vaishnavism, the encomium paid by Nābhājī-dāsa the author of *Bhakta-māla*, in the 16th century, in these early Brajabhāṣā lines, is quite justified:

*“Jayadēva kavi nṛpa-cakkavai, khaṇḍa-maṇḍalēśvara
āni kavi//
pracura bhayō tihu lōka Gīta-gōvinda ujāgara
kōka-kābya-nawa-rasa-sarasa-śṛṅgāra-kau āgara//
aṣṭapadī abhyāsa karai, trihi buddhi baṛhāvai/
Rādhā-ramaṇa prasanna sunata hān niścai āwai/
santa-sarōruha-khaṇḍa-kau Padumāvati-sukha-
janakk Ravi/
Jayadēva kavi nṛpa-cakkavai, khaṇḍa-maṇḍalēśvara
āni kavi//”*

(The poet Jayadeva is the emperor among poets, while other poets are like rulers of small states: (his) *Gīta-govinda* has become shining exceedingly in the three worlds. It is the repository of Erotics, of Poetry, of the Nine Sentiments, and of the Pleasant Art of Love. For him who studies (signs) his eight-versed songs, his wisdom is increased. The Lover of Rādhā is pleased while hearing them, and certainly comes there where these songs are sung). Jayadeva is the Sun bringing happiness to the Lotus Lady, his wife Padmāvati! he is also the Sun for the mass of lotuses who are the Saints. The poet Jayadeva is the emperor among poets. while other poets are rulers of small states.)

12 THE *GĪTA-GOVINDA*—ITS 8 CANTOS AND 24 SONGS AND 386 VERSES: THE NAME OF THE POEM

THE *Gīta-govinda* is a short Sanskrit poem which is of a unique character, and stands apart from any other composition of the same type. But it may conveniently be described as a *khaṇḍa-kāvya* or a smaller poem of a descriptive-narrative character, and from its subject-matter, though not in its construction, it can be said to fall in the same category of Sanskrit poems as the *Ṛtu-samhāra* and *Mēghadūta* of Kālidāsa, and anthologies of love-poems or verse like those of *Ghaṭa-karpara*, *Amaru-śataka*, *Śṛṅgāra-śataka* of Bhartṛhari, the *Caura-pañcāśikā* of Bilhaṇa, and a number of other works of a similar nature. Its special character consists in its being a combination of an account of love with an undercurrent of conversational or dramatic elements. The poem also is a combination of two styles—the descriptive portions are in ordinary classical Sanskrit verse and the songs are reminiscent of Apabhraṁśa versification, with rime as a noteworthy characteristic.

The poem consists in all of 386 verses both in the descriptive portions and in the 24 songs which are scattered through out the twelve *sargas* or cantos in which the poem is divided. These cantos have all of them just one theme. After a preliminary introduction in the first canto, which is benedictory, with two invocations to Viṣṇu in his ten incarnations, the poem begins.

In the first *sarga*, the dramatic element is very slight—it is mostly lyrical. It is just an episode in the love-story of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana. Kṛṣṇa, who is the beloved of Gopīs, or

the cowherd women in Vṛndāvana, has been occupied in love-sport with a number of these Gopīs. Kṛṣṇa was like a veritable incarnation of the erotic sentiment in the vernal season. There are some gorgeous descriptions of Nature in Spring in this canto, which are fully representative of the charm of Jayadeva's mellifluous verse. The first *sarga* which has the title *Sāmōdā-Dāmodara* i.e. "*Dāmodara or Kṛṣṇa who is full of delight*", finishes with this, and then comes the second *sarga* or canto named as *Aklēśa-Kēśava* i.e. "*Kēśava or Kṛṣṇa without any sorrow or pain*". In this canto, there are two songs, and the narrative states that Rādhā felt jealous as well as sad at Kṛṣṇa's sport with the other Gopī girls, and made her complaints to an intimate friend of hers. In that complaint, in some beautiful songs Rādhā has been recapitulating Kṛṣṇa's love-sport not only with her rivals, these other Gopī girls, but she also remembers with longing her own happy moments with Kṛṣṇa. The third *sarga* named *Mugdha-Madhusūdana*, i.e. "*the enamoured Kṛṣṇa*", depicts how Kṛṣṇa felt repentant at his neglect of Rādhā, and he now begins to lament within himself that Rādhā has become angry with him quite justifiably. Kṛṣṇa was asking, though within his own mind, her forgiveness. and through some beautiful lyrics his feelings have been expressed, combined with descriptions of both himself and Rādhā in their intimate love-play.

In the 4th canto, known as the *Snigdha-Madhusūdhana* or "*Kṛṣṇa who was feeling happy and at peace*", we have an account of a girl-friend of Rādhā coming to Kṛṣṇa and telling him that Rādhā herself was suffering from her *viraha*, her unhappiness at separation, and in that fit of unhappiness she was pining for his company and feeling abjectly miserable. Her condition has been described in two of the most beautiful songs which embellish this canto.

The 5th canto, known as *Sākāṅkṣa-Puṇḍarīkākṣa* i.e. "*Lotus-eyed Kṛṣṇa who was full of desire*", expresses Kṛṣṇa's reaction to this message of love from Rādhā. He asked Rādhā's handmaid to return to her and to bring her to the bower where he was waiting for her. In

this *sarga* there are two exquisite lyrics which are among the most musical compositions in Sanskrit, describing Kṛṣṇa's condition through not having Rādhā by him in the love-tryst. Rādhā's friend went back and used her persuasive powers, also in beautiful verse, to make Rādhā come back to Kṛṣṇa.

The sixth *sarga* entitled *Dhṛṣṭa-Vaikunṭha* which means “*Kṛṣṇa who both aggressive or unrepentant as well as shameless*” is a short one of 12 verses only, with just one beautiful lyric. Here we find that Rādhā has become so very much weakened through her separation from Kṛṣṇa that she cannot come to meet Kṛṣṇa, and her messenger comes to Kṛṣṇa and describes in a song about her condition that Rādhā is full of Kṛṣṇa and is complaining that she cannot come, and she is eagerly waiting for Kṛṣṇa's arrival.

The seventh canto is a fairly long one—the second longest in the poem, and it has got four songs in it. It is entitled *Nāgara-Nārāyaṇa* i.e. “*Nārāyaṇa or Kṛṣṇa as the gallant or lover of Rādhā*”. It describes how Kṛṣṇa was not able to come to meet Rādhā, although he was expected to arrive with the rising of the moon, while she was waiting and pining for him in the deep woods. The first song in this canto is her lament, and Rādhā was apprehensive that Kṛṣṇa was with some other Gopī. Her apprehension grew stronger when she saw her messenger from Kṛṣṇa returning alone. In two other songs which follow, and they are most beautiful in their verval music, Rādhā gives a vivid description of Kṛṣṇa's sport and love-play with one or the other of the Gopīs who are her rivals. Rādhā was also addressing the pleasant breeze of the south, the God of Love and the river Yamunā, for their very presence was adding to her pangs of separation.

In canto eight which is also a short one with only one lyric, and which is entitled *Vilakṣa-Laksmīpati* or “*Kṛṣṇa or Nārāyaṇa as the Lord of Lakṣmī, who is surprised or bewildered*”, narrates a further incident. It was now dawn, and Rādhā had spent a sleepless night of sorrow at Kṛṣṇa's absence, and was now very eager to meet him.

But when Kṛṣṇa came and placed himself at her feet, Rādhā's anger flared up, and she began to rebuke him and asked him to go back to the other women with whom he was spending his time.

Mugdha-Mukunda or “*Mukunda or Kṛṣṇa who was enchanted*” is the title of the ninth canto. It is also of eleven verses with one single poem. Rādhā was thinking of Kṛṣṇa when he had left her, and her mood was now softening, and her friend was asking her to be kind to Kṛṣṇa for he was once again coming to the tryst with her.

The tenth canto entitled *Mugdha-Mādhava*, is also a short one, and is only one song, and this song is quite a famous one. The narrative portion states that it was becoming evening, and Rādhā's anger was to some extent appeased, and when Kṛṣṇa came again Rādhā was a little bashful and looking at her friends, and then Kṛṣṇa tried to remove her sulks and asked her repeatedly to be kind to him, praising her and reminding her of the joys they had together before. In one passage in the song in this canto, he was appealing to her to be kind to him and let him paint her lovely feet with lac-dye—her feet, the touch of which will remove the poison of passion that was tormenting him and which also would be an adornment for his own head (“smara-garala-khaṇḍanam, mama śirasi maṇḍanam dēhi pada-pallavam udāram//”).

There is a story which belongs to the Golden Legend of Vaiṣṇava devotion. which says ‘that when he was writing this song Jayadeva was hesitating for quite a long time, pondering whether it would be proper for him to make Kṛṣṇa, who was the Supreme Divinity Viṣṇu incarnate and was the Lord of the Universe, speak to Rādhā in this strain and request her to place her feet on his head. He was thinking that this would be the height of blasphemy—it would be degrading the personality of Viṣṇu, and he took a long time cogitating over this. But he could not decide whether it would be right to put that idea in his poem. It was getting late and his wife Padmāvatī came and asked him to go out and take his bath and have his midday meal, and take a little rest, and then think over it

again. As it was delaying also Padmāvati having her meal with him. Jayadeva, as a dutiful and loving and considerate husband, went out to take his bath in the Ganges flowing near by and then come back for lunch. In the meanwhile, Padmāvati found after some time that Jayadeva was back from his bath, rather too soon, but she served him his meal, and then Jayadeva as usual after finishing his lunch went into his room for his siesta, and closed the door, Padmāvati, like a dutiful Hindu wife, then sat down to take her own meal. She was using the plates with the leavings from her husband's lunch, and when she was eating, it seemed that Jayadeva was again coming back from his bath. She was surprised at what she thought the second advent of her husband. But this was the real Jayadeva, he was also wondering how his wife could have started her lunch before he had taken his. Then the husband and wife were both bewildered. They went inside the room into which as Padmāvati protested that Jayadeva had retired after taking his food, returning rather quickly from his bath, and there they found no one. Then Jayadeva looked at his manuscript where he had left his song unfinished, and there he found that somebody had written the line as it occurs in this song no. 17 in this canto of the *Gīta-govinda*. Both husband and wife were dumb-founded. They were great devotees of Kṛṣṇa, and they thought it a miracle—it was Kṛṣṇa himself who had visited them in the guise of Jayadeva, and Kṛṣṇa, himself in his great love for Rādhā would not think it at all derogatory if he asked Rādhā in that great love to place her lotus-like foot on his head. In this way, there was the deep expression of an aspect of the divine love which Kṛṣṇa wanted to teach his beloved disciples. Jayadeva and Padmāvati were in ecstasy that Kṛṣṇa himself had come in this way, and they were beside themselves with joy. Jayadeva began to eat from his wife's plate, as the food there was in part the leavings of Kṛṣṇa himself, and so it had become consecrated food partaken of by God. Devotees of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa who look upon the *Gīta-govinda* as a God-inspired religious poem, take joy in this story, which of course has its own romantic beauty of faith.

The next canto named *Sānanda-Gōvinda* i.e. “*Govinda or Kṛṣṇa who is full of joy*”, has 34 verses and three lyrics. Now Kṛṣṇa was able to placate Rādhā with her beautiful eyes like those of the fawn. The first song in this canto is by one of the friends of Rādhā who asks her to yield to Kṛṣṇa and bring happiness to him. Another of her companions sang the second song to Rādhā in the same tone as the first one. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa then came to the intimacy of their own bower, and there are beautiful poetic descriptions of the two young lovers at their meeting. Rādhā's friends left them alone in the privacy of their bower which became their bridal chamber—they were smiling in a knowing way at this happy end. All that is described in beautiful verse in Sanskrit.

The last canto with 29 verses has two songs, and the finale is there described in verses which are beautiful but full of sensuousness and frank abandon to the sport of love. Kṛṣṇa sings the first of the two songs, and then some intimate scenes of love-sport are described. Here we have a real climax of erotic description, but the Vaiṣṇava devotees,—those whose minds are attuned to this kind of poetry, consider it to be of a deep spiritual import, and there is nothing which offends their taste, although this constant repetition of sensuous, even sensual and carnal love-making would jar against good taste. to say the least. In this way the *Gīta-govinda* as a poem is terminated.

The title of this canto is *Suprīta-Pītāmbara* i.e. “*Pītāmbara or Kṛṣṇa in his yellow garments who is wholly pleased*”.

Prof. Sukumar Sen has suggested—and I think this suggestion is quite acceptable—that the Sanskrit titles of these 12 *sargas*. each title consisting of a descriptive epithet of Kṛṣṇa the hero, give the clue to the origin and meaning of the name *Gīta-govinda* for this work. The title also embodies a descriptive epithet of Kṛṣṇa: *Gīta-govinda* means “*Govinda or Kṛṣṇa who has been sung (gīta) in this poem*” or “*Songs on the Art of Love of Govinda or Kṛṣṇa*”.

13 “PROFANE LOVE” AND “SACRED LOVE” IN THE GĪTA-GOVINDA

THE *Gīta-govinda* in the supreme beauty of its verbal melody is simply untranslatable in any other language not attuned to the spirit of the mellifluousness of Sanskrit. The lines, particularly of the songs, must be heard as chanted or sung. to be appreciated. This exclusive reliance on the beauty of form or outward expression in a piece of literary creation is certainly a drawback or handicap: since, perhaps much more than the form, the subject-matter or the content is important. And herein, in the appreciation of the *Gīta-govinda*, the approach of the reader, his subjective attitude, is the determining factor.

Love, that is *Śṛṅgāra* or Physical Love and Sexual Union and Love-Play, or frank “Profane Love”, is the main theme of the *Gīta-govinda*. There is a background of Nature—Nature in Spring-time mainly, with trees and creepers and flowers, with verdant hills and flowing streams, and with the singing of birds and buzzing of bees. But this Nature as depicted in the *Gīta-govinda* is described in a conventional or stereotyped manner only—it lacks the more beautiful and profounder note of appreciation of Nature from all her aspects, such as we find, for example, in Kālidāsa’s *Meghadūta*. ‘Love in the *Gīta-govinda* describes only *Kāma* or Physical Love and *Śṛṅgāra* or Sexual Union—it is on the face of it mundane and material. The finer, deeper and more spiritual expression of Love as *Prēman* or Love which transcends physical union, as *Prīti* or Attraction of Hearts—in fact, Love in its higher aspect, is seldom described in the *Gīta-govinda*. Except in some rare passages, as

e.g. in Song 8, Canto IV, (sā virahē tava dīnā... bhāvanayā tvayi līnā), in Song 9, Canto IV, in Songs 12, Canto VI (muhur avalōkita-maṇḍana-līla, Madhu-ripur aham iti bhāvana-śīlā), in Song 19, Canto X (tvam asi mama bhūṣaṇam, tvam asi mama jīvanam... dehi pada-pallavam udāram). But the love and love-situations as described in the *Gīta-govinda* being always of the same physical sort, becomes monotonous and cloying, and even jars on our sense of the poetic and the beautiful. One great literary critic of Bengal, Balendranath Tagore (a nephew of Rabindranath Tagore, in his article on Jayadeva, first published in the *Sādhanā Magazine for Phālguna, 1300 Bengali era = 1894*), made a brilliantly critical study of Jayadeva, penetrating and sympathetic. He said that while the frank, elemental eroticism of the Vedic Urvaśī and Purūravās saga has a light and a glory of its own in the purity of its naked beauty, which lifts our mind from all sense of grossness and impurity, the spirit of the *Gīta-govinda* is quite different. Balendranath Tagore has clinched the matter with this terse observation: “it may be that there are songs in the *Gīta-govinda*, but we have doubts about Gōvinda (i.e. Viṣṇu, or God) being there”.

The most esteemed writers and critics of Bengal in the 19th-20th centuries have expressed their appreciation of the *Gīta-govinda*, but they have been all reasonable, and their praise has been within limits unless they were believing or devout Vaiṣṇavas of the medieval school. Pramatha Chaudhuri’s (for which see below) with Balendranath Tagore’s criticism is generally accepted by the large mass of modern cultured readers who are not orthodox Vaiṣṇavas, and this is more or less in line with the views of Bengali students of the poem. In his *Samskr̥ta-bhāṣā O Samskr̥ta-Sāhitya-śāstra-Viṣaya-ka Prastāva* (‘an Essay on the subject of the Sanskrit Language and Sanskrit Literature’), by Iśwar Chandra Vidyāsāgar (3rd edition, Calcutta 1863—a pioneer work on the subject in Bengali), Vidyāsāgar, quite a discriminating student of Sanskrit literature, has made the following observations: “The composition of this great poem is sweet, soft, and charming, and such compositions are not found in large quantities in Sanskrit. His descriptions equally

captivate the heart. But if Jayadeva's poetic powers were as great as the uncommon skill he has shown in the composition of his verses, then *Gīta-govinda* could have been regarded its a unique and a remarkably great poem. Jayadeva is much inferior to the great poets likes Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti and other masters..... It seems, however, that Jayadeva is outstanding and greater than all the Sanskrit poets who flourished in Bengal.”

Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the greatest Bengali writer of the 19th century prior to Rabindranath Tagore, has consecrated an essay of his on a comparative study of Jayadeva and Vidyāpati, as poets of love. Here Jayadeva comes off as second best, add some observations of a fundamental character have been made by Bankim Chandra, Thus: “In poets like Jayadeva, we find prominence of the outer world; in Vidyāpati and those like him, we are in the realm of the inner spirit. Both Jayadeva and Vidyāpati sing about the loves of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. But the song of the love that Jayadeva sings follows our outward life. But the poems of Vidyāpati, and specially of Chaṇḍīdāsa, transcend the inner spirit... our crude outward brought in excess, makes poetry rather sensual. Vidyāpati and the rest only look into the heart of man, detaching itself from the sensual: as a result, the poetry of Vidyāpati and his peers have no connexion with the senses—and it is sublimated to something which is above sensual enjoyment, to something pure and elevated...”. In beautiful and convincing language, Bankim Chandra has pursued this contrast, and has given Jayadeva the meed of praise, which within the limits of a poetry that is sensuous, he fully deserves. Besides, as early as 1870, in an English article entitled *A Popular Literature for Bengal*, Bankim Chandra has made the following observations: “From the beginning to the end, it [the *Gīta-govinda*] does not contain a single expression of manly feeling—of womanly feeling there is a great deal—or a single elevated sentiment. The poet has not a single new truth to teach. Generally speaking, it is the poets (religious or profane), who teach us the great moral truths which render man's life a blessing to his kind; but Jayadeva is a poet of another stamp. I do not deny his high poetical merits

in a certain sense, exquisite imagery, tender feeling and unrivalled power of expression, but that does not make him less the poet of an effeminate and sensual race [Bankim chandra does not spare his own Bengali people, and he is a little unjust, and not spare his own Bengali people, and he is a little unjust, and too severe: S.K. Chatterji]. Soft and mellifluous, feelingly tender and as often grossly sensual, his exquisitely sounding but not unfrequently meaningless verse echoed the common sentiments of an inactive and effeminate race.” (*Bankim-Rachanāvalī*, Volume 3-Collection of English works—edited by Jogeshchandra Bagal, published 1969, Sahitya Samsad, Calcutta: page 98)

Another important paper in Bengali on Jayadeva which we cannot omit is that by Pramatha Chaudhuri (1868-1946), the critic, essayist and novelist. His detailed analytical study of Jayadeva’s poetry was first published in Bengali Year 1297=1890 A.D. This gives a most penetrating study of Jayadeva’s treatment of Nature and of Love and submits them to a searching enquiry from both the aspects of the poetic art and of aesthetics. One would say that this paper seeks to free Jayadeva from the false values which have been attached to him by his orthodox admirers. Yet Pramatha Chaudhuri acknowledges the great popularity of Jayadeva, and he has attempted to find out the historic reason for it—the unquestioned sweetness of his lay readers and admirers, combined with the atmosphere of sensuous beauty and of the divine love, a love that we are taught to regard as sacrosanct, sacred and spiritual.

Rabindranath Tagore, as he has himself told us in his Autobiography (*Jīvana-smṛti*), that when a boy of 10 or 12, he fell under spell of the music and beauty of Jayadeva’s verse and his diction, although he could not at that age understand what this poetry was about. Nor in later age he could find anything of outstanding value in Jayadeva. But Jayadeva’s verse cadence in his songs had a very profound impact on his poetry as a metrist, and some of Jayadeva’s verse-forms he could not help imitating in Bengali. The first verse of the *Gīta-govinda* had a special appeal for

him, both in form and content, and he has given striking testimony to his appreciation.

The above gives one point of view. The other is that of the orthodox Vaiṣṇava devotee, who has a deep faith in Viṣṇu (particularly in his incarnation Kṛṣṇa) as a Divinity of Grace and Love, and who is accustomed to look upon the yearning of the human soul for a vision of and then for final rest with the Godhead, through the figure or allegory of the self-forgetting *abandon* of love of the Gōpīs of Vṛndāvana, with Rādhā at their head, for Śrī Kṛṣṇa as the handsome young God who is the World's Desire, the *Purushottama* or the only Supreme Male in the Universe, to whom the love of Humanity as the Bride of God is drawn.

This is what is known as *Kṛṣṇa-Prema*, or approach to the Divinity as Kṛṣṇa by the Way of Love, the all-absorbing self-abnegation of the love of a young women for a young man to whom she has dedicated herself, heart and soul—with her *tan, man, dhan*, in modem Indian parlance, her body, her mind, her all. This is one of the most noteworthy expressions of medieval Hindu *Sādhanā* or Path of Realisation of the Godhead through Love, of Womanly or Conjugal Love. A frank acceptance of earthly love between a couple of Young Lovers forms the symbol of this divine love, the path of mystic love which leads to God. As a medieval Vaiṣṇava verse declares:

“yuvatīnām yatha yūṇi, yūṇāñca yuvatāu yathā,
manō' bhiramatē mityam, manō' bhirarnatārī tvayi”

(Just as the mind of young women always finds joy in a young man. and of young men in a young woman. so may my mind find joy in Thee.)

In ancient India, this concept is found in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad*, IV, 3, 21, for the first time (in a passage which is very well-known:

“yathā priyayā striyā sarnpariṣ-vaktō na bāhyam kiñcana
vēda, na antaram, ēva ayam puruṣaḥ prājñēna Atmanā

*sampariṣvaktō na bāhyaṃ kiñcana vēda na antaraṃ—tad
vā asya ētad āpta-kāmam Atma-kāmam a-kāmam rūpaṃ
śōkāntaram."*

(As a man, who, in the embrace of a beloved wife, knows nothing within or without, so this person, when in the embrace of the intelligent Soul, knows nothing within or without. Verily, that is his (true) form in which his desire is satisfied, in which the Soul is his desire, in which he is without desire and without sorrow.)

Earthly, physical love between man and woman as a symbol of the love that man feels for the Godhead (and as man believes, God also feels for man), is widely prevalent all over the world. We find traces of it in Confucianism and in Taoism in China (e.g. as in the religious-poetical songs known as the *Nine Odes* composed by Chiu Yuan, c. 200 B.C., along the mystic tradition of Taoism). We find it among the Hebrews, as in Solomon's *Song of Songs* (*Shir Shiirim*). In later Christian mysticism, we have (despite the prosaic attempts of the medieval divines to explain the Hebrew *Song of Songs* in a different way) the same concept of the human soul as the replete with this concept in which the Human Soul is looked upon as the Active Lover, the Male, 'Ashiq, and the Divinity is either the Great Sweet-heart, the Bride of the 'Ashiq, as the *Ma'shuq* or the Divinity is also conceived as a young Boy, an Ephebe, who is the male sweetheart of the 'Ashiq.

From this way of looking at the relationship between the human soul and the Divinity, one has to understand and accept the Vaiṣṇava interpretation of physical, or carnal love as a symbol of Divine Love. There is of course quite a 'philosophy' underlying this interpretation, in Sanskrit as well as in Modern Indian Languages. We have in this way a spiritual interpretation of the Love as depicted in the *Gīta-govinda* in one of the recent translations of the poem in English.

14 JAYADEVA—TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS APPROACH AND MODERN FACTUAL APPROACH

THE MOST exhaustive and comprehensive monograph on Jayadeva and his *Gīta-govinda* is written in Bengali by Pandit Harekrishna Mukhopadhyay (Mukherji), Sāhitya-ratna, Ph.D. who is one of the most erudite scholars and writers of Bengal on Vaiṣṇava literature and philosophy (his *Kavi Jayadēva O Śrī Gīta-govinda*, Calcutta, 4th edition, Agrahayana 1372 Bengali Year = 1965 A.D., published by the author from the “Sāradā-Kutīr”, Village and P.O. Kurmitha, District Birbhum: pp. 272+pp. 160=Pages 432). In this learned work there is an Introduction of 272 pages discussing all aspects of both Jayadeva and his work, including a study of the Vaiṣṇava Philosophy of Love, and we get here whatever Vaiṣṇava orthodoxy has thought over the matter. The second part, pp. 1-160, gives a well-edited text of the whole poem, with the Sanskrit commentary of Pujārī Goswāmī named the *Bāla-bōdhinī*, Pujārī Goswāmī was the sobriquet of Caitanya-dāsa, a Bengali Vaiṣṇava scholar and devotee, living in Vṛndāvana during the latter half of the 16th century. He was thus a personality of the great century, the 16th, when the Gauḍīya or Bengali Vaiṣṇava School of Literature and Philosophy was flourishing at its best.

“Profane Love” has been sublimated into “Divine Love” in the *Gīta-govinda*: that is the general view of all students of the poem, whether in India or in the West. Jayadeva has been given fullest recognition as a great poet of Sanskrit by all scholars. In a recent book published on Sanskrit Grammar, University of Alabama, U.S.A., 1972 (in its English translation) by Prof. Manfred Mayrhofer

of Vienna (the author of the most recent *Etymological Dictionary of Sanskrit*), at the end three short specimens of Sanskrit literature have been given, of which the first is from the *Ṛgveda*. the second is from the Story of Nala and Damayantī in the *Mahābhārata*, and the third consists of a few lines from a song from the *Gīta-govinda*. Most European scholars of Sanskrit have spoken in highest terms about the *Gīta-govinda*, some even having nothing but unmixed praise for it, because of its verbal music and its exaltation of woman's beauty and love, and the human soul's yearning for God, with descriptions of Nature.

Apart from Manmohan Chakravarti's paper on Jayadeva mentioned earlier, a very detailed account of Jayadeva, with full bibliographical and other notes, will be found in M. Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature*. Vol. III, Part I (the original German of the first volume of this great work appeared in 1907: the English translations of the complete first and second volumes, which were by a German lady Mrs. S. Ketkar, were published by the University of Calcutta, Vol I, 1927—Introduction, Veda, National Epics, Purāṇas and Tantras; and Vol. II, 1933—Buddhist Literature and Jaina Literature; Vol. III, Part I—Classical Sanskrit Literature—original German edition, published in 1922, English Translation by Dr. Subhadra Jha, published 1963 by Motilal Banarsidas from Delhi, Varanasi and Patna: the relevant portion on Jayadeva appears at pp. 142-148 in Subhadra Jha's English translation. The bibliographical and other references to Jayadeva in Winternitz's *History* are very valuable. Like most European Sanskritists, Winternitz has fallen under the spell of Jayadeva's verbal music, and he has high praise for it. He has given specimens of Jayadeva's mellifluous verse by quoting extracts from the Songs in Roman transcription, with English translation, finding it suitable to omit some verses. Winternitz's final verdict on the *Gīta-govinda* is as follows: "It is true that the poem has a religious character, and that in the opinion of the poet the whole eroticism of the poem is merely a part of the *bhakti*, the religious devotion to God Kṛṣṇa. It is true that Jayadeva belongs to the greatest poetical genii of India. [This opinion is not at all

subscribed to by the most outstanding literary critics and writers of Bengal and India who are not devotees of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in the cult of *Bhakti*: S.K. Chatterji.] It is, however, astonishing that he was able to combine so much passion and sentiment of Love, so much alliteration in Language, that often re-sounds as pure music in our ears, with such an ornate and yet an artificial a form. It is no wonder that in India, the poem enjoys unusual popularity, and has always found admirers even outside India. It is so difficult to bring into translations the brilliance of language that they can reproduce its charms just partially. Even extracts from a defective English translation of the poet by W. Jones engendered feelings of wonder in Goethe”.

More or less along the same line of unstinted appreciation are the observations of A. Berriedale Keith in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford University Press, First Edition 1920 (with six offset reprints. the last being of 1966), pp. 190-198. Keith declares the *Gīta-govinda* to be a “masterpiece”, and he says that the “last great name in Sanskrit poetry” is that of Jayadeva. He gives an analysis and an enthusiastic appreciation of the poem. and gives quotations in the Roman script with English translation from three of the songs in the *Gīta-govinda*.

The most reasonable study of Jayadeva and the *Gīta-govinda* in English. from the modern point of view. as a work of Sanskrit literature. is by the late Professor Sushil Kumar De. in his *History of Sanskrit Literature: Prose, Poetry, Drama*; published by the University of Calcutta, 1947, pp. 388-398. Here we have quite a sensible approach to the whole question. factual yet fully appreciative, with reference to previous work and all ancillary literature, and mention of all the important translations into English. The appraisal is just and appreciative. and not over-enthusiastic.

Of the English translations of the *Gīta-govinda*, we have to mention first the earliest translation. that by Sir William Jones (in the *Asiatick Researches*. Vol. III. 1786). and then that by Sir Edwin

Arnold (*The Indian Song of Songs*. 1861, with several editions). These two renderings are not faithful ones. Two recent translations into English are now available—one by the Ceylon Artist and Writer George Keyt (*ŚrīJayadevo's Gīta-govindo—the Loves of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā*, with illustrations by the Author: Indian Edition, *Kutub*, Bombay 1947). This is fairly literal, and quite satisfactory. The other version is by Monika Varma, Calcutta, 1968, from P. Lal's *Writers' Workshop*. This is a translations with Introductions and Notes, but it is a little expanded. F. Rueckert's German translation has been universally most highly praised (first published in 1829, then in 1837).

15 THE *GĪTA-GOVINDA* AND MEDIEVAL INDIAN PAINTING

THE INFLUENCE of the *Gīta-govinda* on Medieval Indian Painting, in its different schools both in the North and the South of India has been considerable. The erotic sculptures of contemporary North Indian Art, as in Pala and Sena figures, of Eastern India, in Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konarak figures and the sculptures of Khajuraho, as well as the later Rashtrakuta and Chalukya art of the Deccan, form the best plastic representations or illustrations of the *Gīta-govinda* scenes and situations. Themes and situations from the poem have inspired some of the most beautiful pictures in the various schools of Gujarat and Rajasthan, of North India (Vṛndāvana and Banaras), and of the Himalayan regions—Kangra, Charnba, Mandi, Basohli and other areas, as well as Nepal. We have also those of Āndhradeśa, of Karnataka, of Kerala, and of Tamil Nadu. The Lalit Kala Akademi (a sister institution to the Sahitya Akademi) has already published fine monographs with coloured illustrations of some the *Gīta-govinda* and other Kṛṣṇa-Rādhā paintings. The study of the influence of the *Gīta-govinda* on Indian Art in India, from the 14th century A.D. onwards. M.S. Randhawa has done notable work on this subject (particularly Rajput and Himalayan Art), apart from the pioneer studies of Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy.

See also Section XVII at the end, on Hindu Iconography and the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult.

16 TWO SONGS FROM THE *GĪTA-GOVINDA*, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION

WE ARE charmed by the music of Jayadeva's verse, particularly of the 24 songs, and one feels tempted to try even the irypossible—to make the reader have a taste of tlte quality of his verse. But, for the ordinary reader who has not immersed his mind in the atmosphere of orthodox Vaiṣṇava ideas about the spritual or divine character of these poetns, he may not feel very happy with what may be described as frank and free, and full and detailed rendering, in terms of poetry, the erotic sculptures, crude and vigorous, but beautiful withal, of the Khajuraho temples, and of the sculptures in Orissan temples like those of Puri and Konarak. The translations will ordinarily fail to create a universal enthusiasm, as tastes are different in this matter.

I have refrained from attempting an English version of some of the most beautiful poems, with longer metres in the Bhāshā style, particularly as the subject matter will be a little *risquē*. I have given just two of the shorter songs, which I feel will please all types of readers. These two songs from the *Gīta-govinda* are given below in Roman transcription and with English translation.

(I) Song 2, from Canto I. The Second Hymn to Viṣṇu in his various Incarnations.

*śrita-kamalā-kuca-maṇḍala/ dhṛta-kuṇḍala/
kalita-lalita-vanamāla //1//
jaya jaya Dēva Harē (Refrain)”
Thou dost rest upon the round breasts of Kamalā
(Thy Consort Lakṣmī):
Thou wearest ear-rings in Thy ears.*

*Thou wearest beautiful garlands of wild flowers:
Victory. victory to Thee. Hari our Lord God (Refrain).*

“dina-maṇi-maṇḍana/bhava-khaṇḍana/
muni-jana-mānasa-haṁsa//2//”

*Thou art the Adornment of the orb of the Sun, the day’s
jewel.*

Thou destroyest rebirth:

Thou art the Swan sporting in the lake of mind of the sages:

“Kāliya-viṣadhara-gaṅjana/ jana-rañjana/
Yadu-kula-nalina-dinēśa//3//”

Thou didst quell the Poisonous Serpent Kāliya.

Thou makest people happy:

*Thou art a veritable Sun. opening up the Lotus of
the Yadu Clan:*

“Madhu-Mura-Narakk-vināśana/ Garūḍāsana/
Sura-kula-kēli-nidana//4//”

Thou didst destroy the demons Madhu, Mura and Naraka:

Thou ridest on Garuda, the divine Eagle:

Thou art the reason why all the Gods find their joyous sport:

“amala-kamala-da la-locane/ bhava-mōcana/
tribhuvana-bhavana-nidhāna//5//”

Thine eyes are like spotless petals of the lotus.

Thou freest souls from Being;

Thou art the Source of the Three Worlds:

“Janaka-sutā-kṛta-bhūṣaṇa/ jita-Dūṣaṇa/
samara-śamita-Daśa-kaṅṭha//6//”

Janaka’s daughter’s Adornment art Thou (as her husband):

Thou didst conquer the demon Dūṣaṇa:

In bailie Thou didst kill the Ten-headed Rāvaṇa:

“Abhinava-jaladhara-sundara/ dhṛta-Mandara/
Śrī-mukha-candra-cakōrā //7//”

*O, Thou art soothing and handsome like a fresh Cloud.
Thou didst seize the Mandara Hill.
Thou art the Cakora bird. forever gazing on the face of Śrī,
Thy Spouse.*

“tava caraṇē prañatā vayam/ iti bhāvaya/
kuru kuśalam pranatēṣu//8//”
*We are always prostrate at Thy feet,—so Thou must think;
Vouchsafe Thy grace unto us. who lie at Thy feet:*

“Śrī-Jaya-dēva-kavēr idam/ kurutē mudam/
maṅgalam ujjala-gīti//9//”
*May this poem on the loves of Kṛṣṇa, with its songs on
the Bright Sentiment of Love.
bring joy to all—this poem by Poet Jayadēva.*

(2) Song No. 10, Canto V: Kṛṣṇa’s condition described to Rādhā.

“vahati Malaya-samīre Madanarn upanidhāya
sphuṭati kusuma-nikarē virahi-hṛdaya-dalanāya//1//
sakhi, sidati tava virahē Varia-mālī (Refrain)”
*O Friend, yearning for you Kṛṣṇa with his garland of wild
flowers droops and faints (Refrain):
While the soft South Breeze belows. bringing the God of
Love along.
And while the flowers in their rows bloom, they crush
the hearts of those who long for union.*

“dahati śīsira-mayūkhē maraṇarn anukarōti:

Song No 1, in Canto I, is also a Hymn in praise of the Ten Incarnations of Viṣṇu, and it mentions all the Ten Incarnations. The present song, Song No 2, does not give all the incarnations, it has only a random enumeration. One thing may be observed in this connexion, which has been specially brought to our notice by Professor Sarvepalli Rādhākrishnan, ex-President of India, and a great interpreter of Hindu religion and culture. Buddha in orthodox Brahmanical estimation has been honoured as an Incarnation of Viṣṇu. But Brahmanical orthodoxy either did not, or could not understand the greatness of Buddha’s personality—it only could think of Buddha as a *Promulgator of*

Error who did not accept Vedic cults and sacrifices, and Buddha's advent as an Incarnation of Viṣṇu was only to lead the ignorant and foolish people to ideologies which were against Vedism with its fire-ritual and its animal sacrifices, so that on such oppositionists the wrath of God as Supporter of the Vedic religion might fall. But at two places in the *Gīta-govinda*, both of them in Canto I, Jayadeva has only sought to underline the positive aspect of Buddha's character and his doctrine of Non-injury. Buddha was actuated by his love of all creatures, he was not just an anti-Vedic thinker. His spirit of *ahimsā* made him dislike the cruelty involved in Vedic animal sacrifices, and he condemned only those parts of the Vedas which supported *Paśvāmbana*, or the slaughter of animals. This aspect was also pointed out by one at least of the old commentators of the *Gīta-govinda*, as Prof. Rādhākṛishnan has brought to our notice. This gives a new and quite a pleasant aspect of Jayadeva's mind in his understanding of true greatness (even in this idyll of love) of Buddha's personality as the very abode of loving kindness for all life.

patati Madana-viśikhē vilapati vikalatarō'ti//2//”

*Even. the cold-rayed Moon seems to burn him. and he
looks as he is dead:
He wails in greater dejection when flowers fall, as if
these were the flowery arrows of the God of Love.*

“dhvanati madhupa-samūhē śravaṇam api dadhāti:
manasi valita-virahē niśi niśi rujam upayāti//3//”

*Hearing the humming of the swarms of bees, he covers
up his ears:
He feels in his mind pangs of separation, and night after
night he is getting tormented through mental suffering.*

“vasati vipina-vitānē, tyajati lalita-dhāma/

luṭhati dharaṇī-śayanē, bahu vilapati tava nāma//4//”

*He has left his lovely abode, and is now wondering among
the wooded bowers;
he is rolling on the ground, as if it were his bed, and he
only goes on repeating your name.*

“bhaṇati kavi-Jayadēva viraha-vilasitēna/
manasi rabhasa-vibhavē Harir udayutu sukr̥tēṇa//5//”
*With this song, beautiful with its account of the lovers’
separation.*

*When it is sung by Poet Jayadeva. may Hari (Kṛṣṇa)
rise in the heart of him. who is full of good deeds,
with all the glory of the divine love.*

17 RĀDHĀ AND KṚṢṢṆA WORSHIP, AND HINDU ICONOGRAPHY

THE PICTURE of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā reproduced as the frontispiece to this Monograph on Jayadeva is the oldest plastic representation of the Divine Lovers so far discovered. It is from the ruins of the *stūpa* and temple at Pahadpur in Rajshahi District in North-Central Bengal, and belongs to the 6th-7th century A.D. The halos round the heads of the two figures indicate that they are divine beings. This sculpture has been found with a few other similar bas-reliefs dealing with Kṛṣṇa theme. Kṛṣṇa has been represented as a slender handsome Ephebe.

About four to five hundred years earlier than Jayadeva, who wrote the first great poem on the loves of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, this piece of sculpture was executed in Bengal, and it is one of the most beautiful in Indian Art.

Next in age are the heroic figures of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā (in Old Tamil *Kaṇṇan* and *Nappinney*) in that great bas-relief depicting the holding of the Govardhana Hill by Kṛṣṇa—a magnificent piece of sculpture, with the figure of Rādhā to his left, Rādhā being supported by another Gopī. (This is one of the rock reliefs at Mahabalipuram in Tamilnadu, 7th-8th century A.D.)

There are other scenes depicting the Kṛṣṇa legend in some 5th-6th century bas-reliefs of the Gupta period from North India, but we find Rādhā as favourite of Kṛṣṇa appears to have become established rather late. during the closing centuries of the first millennium A.D., although the beginnings of this cult go back to

some centuries earlier. In this connexion, the following observations from Rakhal Das Banerji, the eminent archaeologist and historian, will be *a-propos*, forming also a little chronological commentary on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend in both art and literature (from *Eastern Indian School of Mediaval Sculpture* by R.D. Banerji, M.A., with 96 plates, in “Archaeological Survey of India New Imperial Series”, Vol. XLVII, Government of India, Delhi, Manager of Publications, 1933, p. 127):

While thousands of images of different varieties of the four-armed Viṣṇu, belonging to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, have been discovered in different parts of the province of Bengal and Bihar, only a single specimen of the combined image of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā can safely be assigned to the Eastern School during its long existence. [The Pahadpur Figure as reproduced in this book was still undiscovered in 1933—S.K. Chatterji.] The locality of this specimen is unknown, but it belongs to the [A.M.] Broadley Collection of Bihar and is a specimen of the eleventh century A.D. (*Supplimentary Catalogue* p. 96, no. 3833). The Kṛṣṇa cult was therefore followed by a very minor sect during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Not only do we find a very great scarcity of combined images of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in the Eastern School, but no image of Kṛṣṇa by himself earlier than the 13th century has been discovered anywhere in Bengal or Bihar. The popularity of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult in the North-Eastern provinces of India appears to date from the advent of the great reformer Chaitanya. From the beginning of the fifteenth century, the majority of Brahmanical images in Bengal and Bihar, both in metal and stone, are either *līngas* and images of Durgā or Kālī, or representation of Kṛṣṇa or Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. In this period there is a total dearth of images of Viṣṇu either in stone or metal. There is, thus, a hiatus in the history of the Vaiṣṇava sect in North-Eastern India from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, to fill up which iconography can supply no materials.

18 METRE AND MUSIC IN THE SONGS OF THE 'GĪTA-GOVINDA'

A VERY GOOD analysis by Dr. Sudhibhushan Bhattacharya of the Metres as employed by Jayadeva in the *Gīta-govinda*, in both the narrative elements and the songs, will be found in Dr. Harekrishna Mukherji's Bengali work on Jayadeva as referred to above (p. 53). The narrative portions are in classical Sanskrit metres, but it is clear, as Sudhibhushan Bhattacharya has shown, there are influences from Apabhraṁśa metre on these Sanskrit classical metres.

The *Padas* or Songs are in the Apabhraṁśa (and Avahaṭṭha) as well as Early Bhāshā (New Indo-Aryan) moric metres (*mātrā-vṛitta*), and their full analysis and classification as in the number of *morae* and feet (*mātrā, caraṇa*) will be found in Dr. Harekrishna Mukherji's book. It is not necessary to enter into this rather technical matter in this monograph.

Jayadeva's *Padas* were sung from the very beginning, by his musician friends like Parāsara, as he himself has told us in his poem. From the *Seka-śubhodayā* (p. 8, ante) we know that both Jayadeva and his wife Padmāvatī were accomplished musicians. Jayadeva's songs were evidently sung in the Late Medieval Hindu System of Music as current in Aryan-speaking India a thousand or eight hundred years ago, which we find in a more developed form in the *Dhrubva-pada* or *Dhrūpad* tradition in the Hindusthani or North Indian Music of the time of Emperor Akbar (16th century) as raised to its perfection level by Tanasena, and in the *Padam* or *Kīrttanam* tradition in Karnatak or South Indian Music, the greatest exponents of which were Purandara-dāsa of Karnataka in the 17th century

and Tyagarāja of Andhra, settled in Tamilnadu, who flourished in the 19th century. The Indian system of classifying melodies into the various *Rāgas* and *Rāgiṇīs* (modes) with the *Tālas* (or time-beats) was already well-established. There were the old, i.e. early medieval *Rāgas* and *Tālas* with their well-known names which we find given above each *Pada* by Jayadeva in the *Gīta-govinda*. These are the *Classical Rāgas* of Hindusthani Music, which we find not only in Jayadeva but also in the oldest Sanskrit treatises on Music (Post-11th century A.D.) and in great books like the Sikh *Guru Granth* (first compilation, 1605). Jayadeva's work gives, above the *Padas*, *Rāgas* like the following: *Malava*, *Gurjarī*, *Vasanta*, *Rāmakirī*, *Karnāṭa*, *Deśāga*, *Deśa-varāḍī*, *Goṇḍa-kirī*, *Bhairavī*, *Vibhāsa*, and *Tālas* like *Rūpaka*, *Niḥsāra*, *Yati*, *Eka-tālī* and *Aṣṭa-tālī*. Considering that the *Padas* are only 24 in number, it is only natural that the range of *Rāgas* and *Tālas* in the *Gīta-govinda* is small—as compared with the much wider variety as in that fairly large compilation of devotional hymns and distichs ranging from the 15th to the 18th century as in the Sikh 'Veda'—the *Ādi-Grantha* or the *Guru-Grantha*. The tradition of singing *Padas* in classical *Rāgas* continued in Bengal right down to the *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtana*, the great Middle Bengali poem of Baḍu-Canḍīdasa (14th-15th century?).

It may be presumed that originally the *Padas* of Jayadeva were sung in these *Rāgas* and *Tālas*. But the old tradition was gradually lost to Bengal after the advent of Caitanya, particularly after the great *Melā* or Gathering of Vaiṣṇava teachers and devotees and *kīrtana-singers* at Kheturi in Rajshahi district in 1594 A.D., when Bengali Vaiṣṇava devotional music was organised. Now a new tradition with different styles of singing (e.g. *Manohar-shāhī*, *garān-hātī*, and *Rāṇi-hātī* or *Reṇeṭi*) has grown up in Bengal, and Jayadeva's *Padas* are sung by Bengali *Kīrttanīyas* or *Padas-singers* along that new tradition.

Jayadeva's *Padas* spread all over India, and naturally local variations and local schools developed everywhere. I have heard Jayadeva *Padas* sung by some of the best masters of Bengal; in Orissa

(at Puri, where temple *dēva-dāsīs* still sing the *Padas* in the Orissa style), and also in Manipur (Imphal)—the easternmost outpost of Hinduisim; in Vṛndāvana (a great centre of Bengali and other schools of Vaiṣṇavism); in Poona in Maharashtra (a great centre of Indian classical music) and in Tanjore in Tamil-nadu (from a young Tamil lady who sang Jayadeva *Padas* in Sanskrit in the Karnataka or Classical South Indian tradition). Everywhere now it is different, except in Manipur, where the Modern Bengali tradition is followed.

Attempts were made in Bengal to revive the pristine or Old Classical system in singing Jayadeva's *Padas*. and a good deal was done in this line by the late Mrs. Aparna Ray of the *Braja-mādhurī Saṅgha*, with the help of *Kīrttanīyas* and musicians keeping something of the old tradition at Vṛndāvana; and the accomplished singer Rabindranath Ghosh, a very good singer of Classical Indian *Rāgas*, who has studied the Bengali Vaiṣṇava *Padas* in the old tradition with Harekrishna Mukherji, has succeeded a good deal. But the old late Bengali system still holds the field.

All this shows how important is the place of Jayadeva's *songs* in the history, tradition and present practice of Indian Music. Jayadeva's contribution to Indian Music has indeed been great, as he has undoubtedly been one of the Makers of Indian Literature.

