CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION
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Bhakti Movement in India

Origin and development of Bhakti Movement in India:

The six different sects prevailing in Indian religious tradition such as Ganapatya, Saura, Aagneya, Vaishnava, Shaiva and Shakta have been named after their respective adorable gods namely Ganesh, Surya, Agni, Vishnu, Shiva and Shakti. We get the reference of Surya, Agni, and Vishnu in the ancient book called Rigveda. Of course the thoughts about Pashupati or Shiva have been called from the civilizations of Mahenjodaro and Harappa belonging to the pre-Aryan India. The galaxy of devotees that developed in the name of Vishnu during the age of Rigveda has its trace in the mantra 1/22/20 of the Rigveda. Both Surya and Vishnu in most cases have been conglomerated in the Rigveda.

He (visnu) is called sipivista, i.e. 'clothed with rays of light' ('bald' according to some writers) and his greatness is said to be inconceivable (vii. 99.1; 100.5-6). Visnu is described as enveloping the earth on all sides with his mayukhas, i.e. 'rays of light'. He is believed by scholars to represent the sun in its daily and yearly courses.

It is noticeable that the idea of bhakti has its marriage with that very tradition of Vishnu flowed down from the Rigveda. However, others hold the view that the
idea of bhakti. Subsequently came from the religious idea of the non-Aryan world. As because a vivid reference in this regard is found in the Srimadbhagavata:

उंपन्या द्रविड़े साहं बुद्धिं कपालकेगता।
कृतिं कशिमहाराष्ट्रे गुजरे जीर्णतंगत॥ ४

That is, (bhakti in the form of young girl said) I was born in Dravid and brought up in Karnataka, though I was honoured in some places of Maharashtra, but became feeble in Gujarat.

The basic characteristics of the nine different bhakti, mentioned in the Bhagavata, namely - Sravan, Kritan, Smaran, Padasevan, Archan, Bandan, Dasya, Sakhya and Atmanivedan are noticeable in the Veda. Even the use of the term Bhaktaye is found in the Rigveda. ⁵

The idea of bhakti dressed up with the sense of dispassionate self sacrifice for God, whether originated from non-Aryan culture or from the Aryan one of the Rigveda, failed to remain unpolluted for a long time. The very unblemished bhakti tradition got defiled due to emergence of the feudal class in India and the sudden appearance of the power cult let to the arrival of the horrific and oppressing gods and goddesses in India. Though the practice of worshipping Vishnu and Krishna remained rooted amongst the peasants, the prominence of Shiva and other monstrous goddesses rose up amongst the powerful section of the society. The Brahmin priests at that time naturally leagued with the feudal lords. The appearance of these monstrous gods and goddesses was found in India during the post-Gupta period. It is said in this regard:

At the end of Gupta period goddesses rose to prominence, together with magical cults, religious sexuality and a new form
of animal sacrifice, which increased in importance throughout the early Middle ages. 6

Consequently, we have two different traditions in India—on one hand, that of Vishnu and Krishna and on the other hand of Shiva and Shakti—have a conflict that flows away like the undercurrent of the Phalgoo.

The real underlying struggle is known to have been between the great feudal landlords who worshipped Siva and his consort goddess as against the smaller but more enterprising entrepreneurs who opted for Krishna or Vishnu-Narayan. 7

More is said in this regard:

Siva had then become the god of the great barons, whereas the cowherd boy Krishna remained associated with small producers. 8

As a result the flowing of bhakti, became feeblcer and feeblcer in India. The dignity that was amongst the sentient souls for the dispassionate self surrender rapidly disappeared from the timorous hearts of the subjects for the feudal social system, and men were weakerced owing to promiscuous bondage of desires to the all powerful god. Then bhakti simply means a mere a sense of servitude for desire like a beggar to God. We find the evidence of such deplorable condition of bhakti in one of the descriptions in the Bhagavata. It is cited in the Bhagavata that Bhakti in the form of a young woman along with her two oppressed sons namely Jnan (knowledge) and Bairagya (stoicism) appeared before Narada and said:

अहं भक्तिरिति खाता इमौ मे तनयो मत्तौ।
ज्ञानबौर्गानामामौ कालयोगेन जज्ञर्तौ | । 9

That is, the girl said—My name is Bhakti, and these two males are my sons.
called Jnan and Bairagya and due to evil influence of time they are totally worn-out.

A new class of priestship came into existence in the post-Gupta period, that is, simultaneously during the appearance of the Shakti Devata. Many members of this priest community came from non-Aryan society. It is to be mentioned here that this priest community did not have any parity with the Hrishi of the Vedas. There was a gulf of difference between this ritual priests and the Hrishi-poets of the Vedas:

The character and functions of these new ritual priests were obviously different from those of the poet-priests.

Our devotion for God lost its importance due to the influence of this neopriesthood and worshippers of Shakti and the oppression reached its climax upon the low caste people in the name of this meaningless religious rituals. Right from the period of Samudra Gupta (4th century) extending upto monotheist Sankaracharya (early part of the nineth century) the caste division in India took a violent form owing to the patronage of the priesthood. The scriptural dicta that Sankaracharya followed to harass the Sudras were derived from Gautama Dharma Sutra and many others written during the Gupta Kings. At that time the Smarta Brahmins established a negative idea towards life and world. Albert Schweitzer wrote in this regard:

The Brahmanic world-view is focussed on world and life negation, because it goes back to the magical mysticism of union with the supra-sensuous by withdrawal from the world.

The illusionist Sankaracharya played a significant role in this respect. Even
the new-fangled interpretations of the Vedanta forwarded by Sankaracharya teach that someone need not obey god. Actually, Sankaracharya appeared as a patron of the higher caste of the society. It is said about him, he –

......laid down the dictum that only those who were high-born could realise the non-difference of the atman and Brahman.

Needless to say, the study of the Vedas and the Upanishads remained exclusively the privilege of the 'high-born' upper class, the enlightened few under feudalism.

It is said about the origin of the movement that spread all over India in the Middle Age in full flow –

On the one hand, the old Vedic sacrificial rites as advocated by Sabaraszvamin and Kumarila Bhatta of Mimamsa school, on the other, the monistic Vedanta philosophy of Sankaracharya, which trying to establish impersonal and attributeless monism rejected the spiritual value of love and devotion to god and consequently gave birth to a negativistic outlook on world and life – these were the trends in the background of which the worship, love and devotion to personal God began to crystallise and later in the religio-philosophical and socio-cultural history of India came to known as the famous Bhakti Movement.

This movement in the annals of Indian spiritual philosophy gave birth of a practical spiritual philosophy and that elevated the Naive philosophical mysticism of Upanishad to the status of practical devotional mysticism. The chief objective of this movement was –
Consisted in mixing with the ordinary run of mankind, with sinners, with pariahs, with women, with people who had even mistaken notions about it, with, infact, everyday who wanted, be it every so little, to appropriate the Real. 19

This very bhakti movement was not confined within the circle of religious movement only. This was actually a socio-economic movement all over India. It is said very distinctly in this respect –

.....it was not a purely religious movement. The Vaishnavite doctrines were essentially the idealist manifestations of the socio-economic realities of the times. It expressed itself in the cultural field as a national renaissance. 20

Something more is stated about over-all characteristics of this movement:

.....first, recognition of the unity of the people irrespective of religious considerations; secondly, equality of all before God; thirdly, opposition to the caste system; fourthly, the faith that communion between God and man depended on the virtues of each individual, and not on his wealth or caste; fifthly, emphasis on devotion as the highest from the worship; and finally, denigration of ritualism, idol-worship, pilgrimages and all self-mortifications. 21

This movement as a counter against the hate-sudra ideas of the Smarta Brahmins and Sankaracharya heralded a new age in India embracing people of every caste and community. A radical change blew over the life of the lower rung
of people of that period due to the influence of this movement. It is rightly said in this regard:

"শাক্তি যখন সকলকে পেশণ করিতেছিল, উচ্ছ যখন নীচকে দলন করিতেছিল, তখনই সে প্রেমের কথা বলিয়াছিল।" 

This message of emancipation for one and all opened a new horizon then for literary compositions in the Indian way of life. People from both high and low caste at that time delightfully participated in the composition of the *leela of iswar*. Kabir, Dadu, Meerabai etc. jumped on the bandwagon along with Ramanuja down to Brahmin Jnanadeva, Srirup Goswami, Sanatan Goswami, Srijeeva Goswami and many other poets for literary compositions. The anthology of their devotional literature helped the people of the contemporary and subsequent Indian society with a dose of inspiration to live honourably with their head high.

**Review of Bhakti Movement by Chaitanya Mahaprabhu:**

The advent of Chaitanyadeva (1486 - 1533 AD), a lover of both high and low caste of the society, was an epoch-making event in Bengal hassled at the instructions of *Smarta* Raghunandan. Though Srichaitanya himself being immersed in the ecstasy of *Kirtan* girdled by Sribash, Sri Advaita Mahaprabhu, Nityananda Mahaprabhu, Gadadhar, Murari Gupta etc., yet his advent provided inspiration to liberate Bengal from the grip of scriptural high handedness. His advent was neither unplanned nor for-nothing, rather it bears ample causal relations.
A distinguished researcher remarked while explaining the grounds of the arrival of this great man:

It is said somewhere else about the over-all effect produced by the arrival of this Mahapurusha:

The base of dharma of Srichaitanya, a propagator of neo-Vaishnavism, is prem (love) and bahkti (devotion). Srichaitanya's one and only adorable god is Brajanandana Srikrishna of Vrindabandham. It is rightly said about the ways of Srichaitanya of worshipping god:

On the other hand, we get the reference of the attainment of absolute spiritual love in a book named Srichaitanyacharitamrita by Krishnadas Kaviraj Goswami — purusharth nirmanani prem mahadhan. Srichaitanya Mahaprabhu by means of the lucid
interpretations of the theory of bhakti has conquered the hearts of the people in this Koli Yuga as well as founded a unique ideal of religious belief:

চগুলোহপি বিজ্ঞেয়ং হরিভক্তি প্রাণ। \(^{27}\)

– A Chandal (a lowest caste amongst the Hindus) with a devotional heart for hari (god) is superior to a Dvija (Brahmin). This very message of Mahaprabhu established a great ideal love for beings irrespective of caste, creed, religion and community amongst the Vaishnava of Gauda. Again during the life time of Chaitanyadeva he was received as a prophet in a larger part of Eastern India or a God himself. It was Advaita Acharya who for the first time openly declared at Nilachal that Srichatanya is none other than God himself –

আজি আর কোন অবতার গাওয়া নামি।

সর্ব অবতারময় চৈতন্য গোসাই।! \(^{28}\)

In fact, this avatar personated great man was dead against all sorts of communalism and Varnashram. The concept and knowledge of non-communal democratic and universal nature of dharma that we have in this modern time, is actually established by Mahaprabhu Chaitanyadeva through the propagation of Vaishnavism. His arrival happened to be as a redeemer of the oppressed and as a perfect guide for the low caste people. It is rightly said in this regard:

তিনি সাধারণ মানুষের জীবনের মহত্ত্বমূল্য নির্ধারণ করলেন, ঐক্য এবং প্রতাপের আফলানকে বন্ধুত্ব করে মূলাহীন প্রতিপত্তি করার পথ দেখালেন, সার্থক বুদ্ধিকৌশলে চালিত জীবনযাত্রাকে তিরক্ত করে ভাবলোকে নিমজ্জিত করে পরমানন্দময় নবজীবন দান করলেন।\(^{29}\)

To speak the truth, Chaitanya is the condensed essence of that very nectar made churning the heart and mind of the Bengalees. The influence of Srichaitanya
as well as the expansion of the *Vaishnava* community for a period of three centuries - from 16th to 18th century - have shaped the mental state of Bengalees in a multifaceted way. Not to speak of Bengal only, but nowhere in the entire world such far-reaching influence that Sri Chaitanya left over the society, culture and Bengali literature of the Bengalees is traceable. In this respect the comment by Rabindranath is worth mentioning:

वर्षांतुर मतां मानुष के समाजे एम एकटा समय आसे यখন हाओयार मध्ये 
*भार्ब* बांप प्रचुर परिमाणे बिचरण करिते थाये। चैतन्य के परे बांड़देशेर 
*सेइ अबस्खा आसियाहिङ*। तृत्र नमस्तु अकाल प्रेम के रसे आर्क हियाघिङ। ताइ देशे 
*से समय यखने फट कबिर के मन माथा तुलिया दांड़हियाङ* सकलेके सेই रसे बांपके 
*घन करिया कत अपूर्व भाया एंड नड़न छने कत प्राचुर्ये एंड प्रवरतय लिके लिके 
*भर्मण करियाङङिङ।30*

It is learnt from the source of the history of literature, that at the age twenty two after being initiated in *Krishnamantra* from *Sadhab* Iswarpuri, Sri Chaitanya went on preaching *Naamdharma* as a Sannyasi. Though he spent most of his life in Puridham of Odisha, he toured all over India and dedicated himself for the welfare of the world preaching *Naamdharma* amongst numberless people. Sri Chaitanya emphasised mainly on *Krishna Naam Kirtan*, and his chief aims and objectives was the spread of *Prem bhakti* through congregational *Krishna Naam Kirtan* with the accompaniment of musical instruments such as *Khol-Kartal* etc. This *Premdharma*, indoctrinated and preached by Chaitanya, flooded the then society with sentimental outpourings. The comment of a researcher in this regard is noticeable:

বৈষ্ণবের এই প্রেমধর্ম ও মন্ত্র তদানিত্তন কালের মহামায় অলীক সৃষ্টিকে তত্তা 
*সার্থক কুন্দর করিয়া তুলিয়াছে, বিদ্যুক সিতর মহিমা দান করিয়া মর্ত্যলোকেকে 
অমর্ত্যলোকের মহিমা দান করিয়াছে, অপরদিকে আমাদের ঘরোয়া জীবনের ছোটখাট*
Once the Padavalis painted with the leela of Radha and Krishna by Joydeva and Chandidas deeply impressed and electrified the heart of Srichaitanya with sentiments and emotions. Chaitanyadeva gave much importance towards offering dispassional love and bahkti to Iswar. He believed that prem is such a spiritual awakening factor for an individual for his deliverance and upholding of existence.

A great critic remarked about this awakening of mind of all sections of people of the society of Bengal following the influence of Chaitanya:

The distribution of love irrespective of high or low through Krishna Naam Sankirtan was chief objective of Srichaitanya. He was the initiator and preacher of Platonic Premdharma. He sent the message of fraternity, keeping himself above of the caste-discrimination, to the extreme of the Southern India and he, too, spread the great and unique idealism of brotherhood throughout Bengal and outside of Bengal. His main object was to unite everyone in the Premmantra with a dip in the ocean of bhakti. Besides Bengal, even the lower caste people of the remote South India attained their due status due to the influence of Chaitanya. A great researcher on Chaitanya said:

চেতনা প্রভাবে তীর্থ জাতিদের অধ্যুষিত দক্ষিণ ভারতে তথাকথিত নিমন্ত্রণের ‘দাস’
গায়করা সমাজের সর্বশ্রেষ্ঠীর মানুষের ভক্তির পাত্রে পরিপূর্ণ হয়েছিলেন।
The bhaverbashpa and premerrasa stored up in the mental realm of the contemporary Bengalees being charmed by Srichaitanya's unvarnished attachment for God and to his precise philosophical thought. A lofty model of humanism was gaining its momentum rapidly in the life and society of that time. The path of religious conduct and rituals that Chaitanya taught in order to integrate and consolidate the lives of the ordinary people belonging to the lower rung of the society was very easy and simple. A famous critic wrote about Srichaitanya's advices to the devotees related to religious practices:

श्रीचैतन्य बलितेन, बेदी किछू नय, कलिते हरिनाम नाओ, ताहातेई मुक्ति—
'हरेनाम हरेनाम, हरेनामेब केबलम।' आर बलितेन, 'ग्राम्य बांधा ना शूनिबे, ग्राम्य
कथा ना कहिबे, तुङ हइते सुनीच हइबे, तर हइते सहिष्णु हइबे, अपरके मानदान
करिय निजे मानवाग करिबे।' 34

Srichaitanya actually tried to establish unity and fraternity among all the peoples of India through his commandments to the votaries brushing aside the discrimination prevailing in the then Varnashram system. The people at that time honoured his commandments wholeheartedly. As because such charter of commandments was very easy and simple and moreover, being simple to follow. In addition to that, Srichaitanya advised his followers to maintain आपानि आचरि धर्म (practise thyself first) and as a result the number of his followers went on swelling up by degrees. In actual sense, a push of inspiration lied hidden behind Srichaitanya's preaching of Naammahatya for the people of dalit class so as to live a life of dignity and honour. It is rightly said in this regard:

नाम प्रेममूलक भक्ति निजेआचरण करे अगणित साधारण मानुषके तिनि उलट
धर्मे पथे प्रबन्धकार दियेछ। यादेर मन्दिरे प्रवेश निषिद्ध, बंगाल सेवाय
So it can be said that Sirchaitanya hugged the Harijans to his bosom who were inflicted with indignity by the high caste Hindus. The core message of the Indian culture is to spread unity in diversity. Srichaitanya preached and spread the very essence of this message amongst the followers of the different parts of India. As a result of that, a fissure developed in the wall that portioned the Brahminical and non-Brahminical culture prevailing in the erstwhile Indian society. Moreover, narrow mindedness passed away from the socio-cultural scenario of Bengal as well as due to initiativeness of traveller Chaitanya the mercury of narrowness among the Bengalees came down. Consequently, Nilachal, Vrindavan, Mathura etc. as a heaven of Krishnaleela turned to be pilgrimage for the Bengalees. Not to speak of prembhakti only, but from the view point of historical, social and cultural considerations, the influence of Srichaitanya on the Bengalees in Bengal, is worthy to be accepted as providential benediction for the Bengalees.

It is learnt from the sources of the history of Gauda Banga, that two big social problems developed seriously throughout Bengal during the time of Chaitanyadeva – (i) the spread and expansion of the culture and manner of a different caste and community (Islamic) that dominated the royal court of Gauda and the ever-growing narrowness and strictness of the Brahmins for its prevention. The Bengalees found a new path of life in this hour of social crisis due to advent of Chaitanyadeva. This path is – desireless and selfless devotion to Iswar. The very essence of dharma propagated by Srichaitanya is disinterest to riches, tolerance, politeness, adherence to the name of God, simplicity in life style and showing respect to one and all. 36
Both Harinaam-Kirtan and offering of love among all the beings was the main weapon of translating his ideas for social reformation. He was able to unite the people of erstwhile India through Naam-Sankritan and love among the beings. The Sankirtan Yajna propagated by him then played an important role in enriching the social and literary factors. A critic said in this respect:

The Vaishnava poets composed the voluminous padavali literature at that time painting with the spiritual brush of Harinaam-Sankirtan coupled with its philosophical significance, and the role of Srichaitanya in the creation of their literary work is undeniable. When Srichaitanya went out on the streets being dressed up as sannyasi with his troupe of Harinaamkiritan, even the tune of song in Bengal was changed.

Meanwhile, the traditional solo sporting assembly tune went out of practice, and that place was occupied by heart-maddening chorus of kirtan; and that melody then filled the atmosphere with a resounding voice. The entire world was flooded with that very tune of kirtan fit to madden the world. In this regard an excellent description is found in one of the letters of Rabindranath:

It needs no mention that, this very sound of weeping is delighted with sounds and resounds in initiating mentally the whole of world in the mantra of unity.
Apart from society and culture, even the Bengali literature of the Middle Age bears the seal of Srichaitanya's massive influence. *Vaishnava Padavali* is the chief treasure of the medieval Bengali literature. In order to enjoy the *Madhura rasa* of this literature, particularly to churn out the inner significance of these *padavalis*, one should have knowledge in *Gaudiya Vaishnava* philosophy as well as someone should have an unclouded conception about the enlightened life of Srichaitanya. Srichaitanya had a stupendous contribution towards the medieval Bengali literature for its enrichment. We have an echo of this view in the following lines of a historian of literature:

चैतन्यदেব बिशेष धर्म सम्प्रदाय, साहित्य, समाज ओ संस्कृतिর ওপর যে প্রভাব বিস্তার করে গেছেন, ইতিহাসে তার সমকক্ষ কোন তুলনা খুঁজে পাওয়া যায় না। শ্রীচৈতন্য বুদ্ধি একজন ব্যক্তি না, একটি যুগের প্রতিনিধি — শুধু একটা যুগের প্রতিনিধি না, সর্বযুগের প্রেমভঙ্কর, তার জীবনভঙ্কার একমাত্র প্রতীক বলে ইতিহাসে শ্রীকৃতি লাভ করেছেন। সমাজ-সংস্কৃতির কথা ছেড়ে দিলেও মধ্যযুগীয় বাংলা সাহিত্যের যে বিচিত্র ও বিপুল উৎকর্ষ লাভ হয়েছে, তার মূল কারণ তিনি— সাহিত্যের দিক থেকে এটাই হল সবচেয়ে মূল্যবান তাৎপর্য।

So, it can be said, the *bhakti* movement that rolled on like flood-water in the name of religious, socio-economic and cultural movement in the Indian society in the Middle Age, Srichaitanya like other *Santa-Sadhak* directly took part in it. Not to speak of his participation only, rather intensifying the course of that movement, he helped it spread all over India. The simplest ritual of worshiping *Iswar* got its priority rather than though philosophy in the doctrine of his *dharma*. Above all, making the neglected, oppressed low caste members of the *Dalit* class the part and parcel of his movement, Srichaitanya was able to establish them with due
dignity with the recognition of human status.

In fact, the influence of Srichaitanya led to the crack in the Brahmin-cracy and the oppressed and neglected class of the society got the inspiration to live a life of dignity. The message for emancipation by Chaitanya also opened a new horizon in the field of literary composition in the course of Indian life. Then even the Muslims along with the high and low caste Hindus spontaneously participated in the literary composition related to Radha and Krishna's leela.

**Vaishnava Literature of Bengal and Odisha – a Short Sketch:**

The advent of Srichaitanya at the end of 15th century is an epoch-making incident in the society of Bengal. A current of beneficently spiritual awakening was in motion in the public life of Bengal after his arrival. The vital life-throbs of both Bengali and Odia literatures of the medieval period are latent in the Vaishnava literature. Any thorough deliberation on the Vaishnava literature is not possible without reference to Srichaitanya Mahaprabhu. Though he himself composed no literary work, yet the cultivation of Vaishnava literature seem to be valueless minus using Srichaitanya. As because, the biographies which were written centering the sacred accounts of Srichaitanya's life, bear the worthiness of being branded as the greatest chronicles of literature and culture for all time in addition to that age covered by Chaitanya. Moreover, the poems from both Bengali and Odia literatures written in delineation of Srichaitanya’s leela, which remains absent from his biographies, are also included in the Vaishnava Padavali literature. The inner spiritual rasa of Vaishnava literature and the outer human rasa or earthly rasa has made the said literature enjoyable to the readers. Its is rightly said in this regard:
In fact, Srichaitanya appeared to be like a jewel at the centre of Bengali literature of the Middle Age. The biographies that written on him from the sixteenth century in Bengal that were regarded as his life-story as well as the valuable treasure house of Vaishnavadharma of Bengal. The value of these life stories are immense in filling the gaps of the mediaeval Bengali literature.

Chaitanya-Charit books (write-ups on the life of Chaitanya) has got the recognition as hagiography or the life-story of Santa-Sadhak. The mere facts are not only properties of these hagiographies, rather the miraculous incidents and the mysterious suggestiveness of the spiritual world happened to be considered as the chief elements of these life-stories. The number of Chaitanya-Charit in the literature of Bengal are nine in practice. Out of these, Chaitanya-follower Murari Gupta's Sirkrishnachaitanyachartitamrita (known as Murari Gupter Kadcha), Kabikarnapur Paramananda Sen's Chaitanyacharitamrita, Chaitanya-Chandrodaya, Gaurganoddeshdeepika and Prabodhananda Saraswati's Chaitanyaachandramrita written in Sanskrit about Chaitanya's life story. Besides these, Svarup Damodar's Kadcha in Sanskrit was not traced out. The Chaitanya-Charit written in Bengali are respectively - (a) Vrindavandas's Chaitanya-Bhagavata, (b) Lochandas's Chaitanyamangal, (c) Krishnadas Kaviraj Goswami's Srichaitanyacharitamrita, (d) Govindadas Karmakar's Kadcha and Chudamonidas's Guranga-Vijay or Bhuban-Mangal. Out of these hagiographies, Vrindavandas's Chaitanyabhagabata and Krishndas Kaviraj Goswami's
Srichaitanyacharitamrita are the most popular. A distinguished critic wrote about these two books

In fact, the followers of Srichaitanya considered him as the incarnation of god or the united entity of Radha and Krishna, Vrindavandas while delineating the childhood leela of Gouranga in his Chaitanyabhagavata, he portrayed the childhood leela of Mahaprabhu in the context of the magnificent childhood leela of Srikrishna. Chaitanyabhagavata in three volumes consists of 51 chapters in total. The importance of this life-story being easy, simple, clean cut and interesting is immense. A historian of literature made a pertinent remark about the poetic mastery of the composer of Chaitanyabhagavata:

The delineation of contemporary social, national and cultural picture of Gaudabanga, apart from the portraiture of the wordy picture of the hagiography of Mahaprabhu Srichaitanya has made the book interesting to the readers.

Krishnadas Kaviraj Goswami's Srichaitanya Charitamrita is a unique work of life-story in the realm of Bengali literature. The poet in the book in point not only presented the accounts of the life of Srichaitanya, but also annexed a skilful explanation and analysis of the Vaishnavadharma and its philosophical thoughts.
spread over Gouda, Utkal, Vrindavan and even over an extensive area of far-off Deccan. Here runs a comment from a distinguished pen about the priceless work of Krishnadas.

On the other hand, another great critic wrote about this book which happens to an evidential documents of Vaishnavadharma and Vaishnava philosophy:

Hence it can be said, Chaitanya-Bhagavata and Srichaitanyacharitamrita as a hagiography on Chaitanya's life in the Bengali language is considered the greatest book of facts or data and evidences.

A plethora of Vaishnava poems apart from Chaitanya's life story was composed in the pre-Chaitanya, contemporaneous with Chaitanya and in the post-Chaitanya eras pertaining to Radha and Krishna, Gopi and Krishna, Yashoda and Krishna and Srichaitanya. Here, a brief introduction is advanced about the composers of the three state categories of the Vaishnava Padavali.

The waves of Radha and Krishna's love in the pre-Chaitanya era flooded the entire eastern part of India, Joydeva's Geetagovinda and the padavali by Vidyapati are the greatest indicatives of it. As because Chaitanyadeva himself being immersed in ocean of emotions used to recite the verses from Jaydeva, Vidyapati...
and Chandidas. The expression of Vaishnavite thoughts are noticed in some of the poems of Yashoraj Khan, Baduchandidas's Srikrishna-Kirtan and Maladhar Basu's Snkrishna-Vijay. Chandidas as a Bengalee poet in this age earned much distinction for padavali. Right from the pre-recording period of the history of the Bengalee literature the problem that emerged in different time regarding more than one Chandidas, till day no permanent solution has been possible in this respect. But this much may be said, the songs of Chandidas which charmed Sri Chaitanya and whose spell even today hypnotises the total Bengalee community—he certainly belonged to the pre-Chaitanya period.

Some of the followers of Chaitanya during his life time became famous composing Vaishnava poems. The Bangalee devotees having been stricken with grief for their separation from their master after Mahaprabhu’s departure for Nilachal wrote lyrics in glory of Chaitanya. Some of the Vaishnava poets of this period wrote different songs on Chaitanya’s childhood - adolescent - youthful and ascetic accounts and some others, too, composed poems about the leela of Radha and Krishna. We must make a mention of Murari Gupta first out of the Vaishnava poets of this time who besides composing Chaitanya’s life-story in Sanskrit, also did write some Vaishnava poems in Bangali and Brajabuli. Narahari Sarkar, an elderly follower of Sri Chaitanya, was a pioneering composer of verses on Gauranga. In addition to that, the names of Narahari Sarkar, Shivananda Sen, Bangshibadan Chattopadhyay, Govinda Ghosh, Madhab Ghosh, Basudev Ghosh, Ramananda Basu, Yadunandan, Govinda Acharya and Basudev Dutta as Vaishnava poets are remarkable. Out of them, Narahari Sarkar wrote poems of medium class about Radha and Krishna’s leela. Moreover, the historical as well
as literary significance of Basudev Ghosh's write-ups on Chaitanya's ascetic tenure have got recognition in the *Vaishnava* literature. The *padavali* of Yadunandan and Banshibadan in the contemporary period and in the later time have earned popularity to some extent. Though the compositions by the poets of the present age produced a negligible poetical attractiveness, but their historical importance from the point of contemporaneous works with Chaitanya's time has been taken into account.

In fact, there appeared after the demise of Chaitanya the greatest *Vaishnava* poets from the second part of the sixteenth century till the end of it. Balaramdas, Jnanadas, Roysekhar and Govindadas Kaviraj are the greatest poets of this age and they are the helm of the *Vaishnava* poetics. Though there comes the mention of more than one Balaramdas as a *Vaishnava* poet, but Balaramdas of the earlier time was a man of unique talent. His poems on *Batsalyaleela* are the valuable treasures of the *Vaishnava* literature of Bengal and his poems of grievous feelings are his excellent works.

The three pens, who have occupied a coveted position in the literature of the *Vaishnava padavali* of Bengal, are Chandidas, Jnanadas and Govindadas. Jnanadas followed the foot prints of Vidyapati in his *Brajabuli* poems and Chandidas in Bengali poems. The greatness of Jnanadas in composing on Radha's *rupanurag* is admitted on all hands. He wrote—

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{তোমার গরবে গরবিনী হাম/} \\
& \text{রূপপী তোমার রূপে।} \\
\end{align*}
\]

49 or রূপের পাখায় আঁধি ডুবিয়া রহিল। 50— the poems for their form and concept are the glaring examples of the works of a poet of first rank.

Poet Govindadas, famed as *Kaviraj*, is the greatest amongst the *Vaishnava* poets of the post-Chaitanya era. He was ecstatic follower of Vidyapati. The
greatness of Govindadas, a unique poet of the Abhisar genre, lies in the following words of a critic:

The new horizon of bhakti was opened before Srîchaitanya, born in Gaudabanga, only after his meeting and discussion with the then ruler of south Odisha and a devout Vaishnava Roy Ramananda at Rajmahendree of the Deccan. Srîchaitanya spent his life through religious practices, Naam-Sankritan, the propagation of love for beings for a brief period at Vrindavan and for a longer period at Puri of Odisha. In fact, the full bloom of his love and bhakti was possible remaining away from the unfavourable political atmosphere of the erstwhile Gaudabanga and staying in Odisha which happened to be officially secured,
peaceful and socially congenial. The religious movement of Srichaitanya is generally referred to as Gaudiya. But some of the historians could not take the fact as granted. So they called it erroneous (অমৃতা). On the other hand, some of the critics call the Vaishnavas of Odisha Utkaliya Vaishnava Sampraday (Vaishnava community of Utkal). But this declaration is not yet supported by scriptural facts and figures. That the Vaishnava community has two factions as Gaudiya or Utkaliya outside of Odisha seemed to be unknown. Though there is the reference of some of Odisha's Vaishnava communities under the title of Bindudhari, Aatibadi, Kaviraji, Kalindi in Sri Akshay Kumar Dutta's Bharat Varishya Upashak Sampradaya (1882), but there is no such remarkable reference about Odishvi Vaishnava community. As because, most of the sources stating the division between Gaudiya and Odishi appear to be erroneous. It is rightly said in this regard:

গুড়িশী ও গৌড়ীয়— এ দুই মতের বৈষ্ণব নাম লেখক প্রচলিত কথা, মাত্র এপরি নামর সিদ্ধান্ত যেনি প্রমাণ অভাব।

However, once a plethora of Vaishnava literary works came into existence in the Odia language side by side with that of the Bengali. The Odia poets with equal uniqueness composed poems about Sri Krishna's childhood leela, heavenly leela, Madhuraleela and the delineation of the playful life story of Srichaitanya.

As Chaitanyadeva was associated with the renaissance of the sixteenth century of Bengal, so he was the focal point of the renaissance of Utkal. Therefore, one should read the accounts of Chaitanya's life written in Sanskrit and Bengali along with those in the Odia language in order to familiar with the last phase of his life fully. As because the hagiographies in the Odia language carry the extensive
delineation of Srichaitanya's life as well as the detailed description of Pancha Sakha and their activities. The influence of Pancha Sakha is immense on the Odia literature and public life of the sixteenth century. It is rightly said about this Pancha Sakha:

Achyutnanda writes that the five associates, Jagannatha, Balarama, Achyutananda, Yasovanta and Ananta participated in the Kirtan processions of Chaitanya.  

Although there is a very little reference of Balaramdas and Jagannathdas, belonging to the Pancha Sakha, but there is no such trace of reference in the Gaudiya Vaishnava literature about Achyutananda, Yasovanta and Anantadas. But there lies the stamp of mentions about Pancha Sakha in Iswardas's Chaitanya Bhagavata and Sudarshandas's Yasovanta Dashanka Chourashi Aajnaa composed in the Odia language. It is said in this regard:

The word 'Pancha Sakha' implies comradeship of five persons. But apart from Achyutananda and Ananta other three, namely Balarama, Jagannatha and Yasovanta, donot refer to the connotation 'Pancha Sakha' or to their comradeship in their writings. Only in two other works the Chaitanya Bhagavata Chaurasi Ajna, there are references to 'Pancha Sakha'.

However, these Pancha Sakhas (five companions) were the close girdle to the leela of Srichaitanya Bhagavan Sri Hari came from above in this world with a view to enjoying his own leela in the pretext of washing away the pains from the heart of the devotees, for the end of sins and for the redemption of the pious souls. The factor that led to the creation of tremors and sounds of the pleasant
Premaleela in the holy land of Utkal was due to Srichaitanya and his aggregate of companions. That collection of companions is divided into two parts, namely - Antaranga and Bahiranga Pancha Sakha, that is five branches—Balarama, Jagannatha Yashovanta, Ananta, Achyutananda. According to Achyut, they are the Antaranga Sakha (intimate circle) of the Lord (Srichaitanya).

The references of glorifying Chaitanya, the doctrine of love and bhakti propagated by Chaitanya and other accounts are available in different books written by the closest Pancha Sakha of Srichaitanya. The following compositions in the Odia language are remarkable, such as by the Pancha Sakha, Balaramdas's Vedanta Saar - Gupta Geeta, Jnana Ujjvalamoni geeta, Jagamohan Ramayana; Jagannathdas's Bhagavata, Padmapadsudhanidhi, Neelgrindhyan, Nityaneeladri Bilash, Vaishnava Acharan, Gurupranali; Yosavantadas's Prembhakti Brahma Geeta, Svarodaya; Ananta's Padmabanaraasa, Thulsunyaraasa and Achyutananda's Gurubhakti Geeta, Sunya Samhita, Anakar Samhita, Nityaraahasa, Gopalanka Ogaal. 58

It is needless to say, the above said books by the Pancha Sakha brought about tidal waves of renaissance in the masses of Utkal, and a latent Vaishnavabkhati feeling was there in these write-ups. It is mentioned in Odia poet Iswardas's Chitanyabhagavata, that the Pancha Sakha got the inspiration from Srichaitanya to write their books. 59 But according to learned Odia critic Dr. Natabar Samanta Roy found in his Sakhaheena Pancha Sakha, that a big chunk of compositions was done by Pancha Sakha quite before the arrival of Srichaitanya at Puridham. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chattapaddhy too sang in same tune:

Most of these writers had already been engaged in their literary labours before they met Chaitanya. 60
It must be said in this regard, when Srîchaitanya went to Puridham, it was these Pancha Sakha who accepted Mahaprabhu wholeheartedly. A critic has rightly commented about the attachment and inclination of this Pancha Sakha of Odisha towards Srîchaitanya:

The above stated comment has a support in the following remark of another critic:

In Chaitanya, religious devotion saw its extreme limits of rapturous expression, both physically and psychologically, which is perhaps unparalleled in the history of the world. 62

So, it can be said easily, although the Pancha Sakha had allegiance to Srîchaitanya, by they were by no means influenced by him. The cult of Radha and Krishna was already there in Odisha before the coming of Chaitanya, and that cult was on a dynamic wheel of more progression right from the time of Chaitanya's coming at Odisha. During the time of Chaitanya's roll of religious thoughts, even then the prevailing dharama of Odisha was Vaishnava dharma. Then—

The historians of both Bengal and Odisha supported this view. A famous Odia historian wrote in this respect:

To the masses of Orissa, he (= Chaitanya) proved to be a
veritable fountain - head of unprecedented spiritual enthusiasm.

Even today to millions in Orissa Chaitanya is the only God. 64

The sum and substance is this, Srichaitanya established such a unique Vaishnava society in Banga and Utkal that the wall of casteism was razed to the ground and a storm of protest was created in the society against the prevalent prejudices that prevent inter caste marriage and the widow-marriage. The reformative wakefulness that emerged in Bengal and Odisha, nay, over the whole of India, at that time, was primarily from the flow of inspirations of Srichaitanya and his Pancha Sakha. So, it can be said that the renaissance started in Odisha in the sixteenth century revolved centering round Srichaitanya himself and the Pancha Sakha deluged the heart of all and sundry with the indocrination of Chaitanya and his positive thoughts about social reformatons.

It is learnt from the life-story of Chaitanya, he used to enjoy most delightfully Joydeva's Geet Govinda, Roy Ramananda's Natyageeti Bilva Mangal's Srikrishna-Kamamrita and Vaishnava Padavali on the leela of Radha and Krishna by Vidyapati and Chandidas. 65 Besides Joydeva, the number of padavali in Sanskrit by other poets is very few. But, of course, a great number of padavali was written at that time in the Brajabuli. 66 Even the Maithilee language used by Vidyapati was at last taken as Brajabuli. An Odia critic said in this regard:

मिथिलार कवि विद्यापतिक प्राचीन मैथिली भाषारे रचित सूलित कोककोलामुक
गीत कालक्रमे ब्रजभूमिर भाषा वा 'ब्रजबोलि' रूपे गृहीत बोहियाहिलिया। 67

It is to be mentioned here, the poet, who was the forerunner of composing poems in the Brajabuli language, was none other than Yashoraj Khan, to whose credit belongs the composition of the poem एक पयोहर चन्दन लेपित, आरे सहजेगी गोर। 68
Therefore Govindadas Kaviraj and other poets, too earned name and fame writing poems in the Brajabuli. In fact, the Odia poets were more or less influenced by the Vaishnava Padas written in Brajabuli and Bengali language. An Odia critic supported this view with the few line quoted below:

"রাজবোলি তথা বঙলা ভাষার বৈষ্ণব পদাবলী, ওড়িয়া ভাষায় পদাবলী রচনা পাই নিঃসন্দেহের গোরুণা ও পৃষ্ঠাত্মক যোগাই দেওয়া।" 69

An unceasing flow of Vaishnava Padavali literature in the Odia language is noticed from the very start of the sixteenth century right up to the first phase of the twentieth century for almost a period of four hundred years. From that very time great poets of the Odia literature wrote poems pertaining to the leela of Krishna, examples read– Gopi Bhasha (Danai Das), Rukmini Bibha (Kartik Das), Rahashya Manjari (Dev Durlobh Das), Kala Kautuk and Chanda Bhusan (Upendra Bhanja), Prem Panchamrita, (Bhupati Pandit), Purnatama Chandrodaya (Vrindabati Das), Rasa Kallol, (Dina Krishna Das), Yugal Rasamrita Lahari (Sadananda Kavi Surya Brahma), Bidagdha Chintamani (Abhimanyu Samanta Singhar), Shyam Raasotsava (Brajanath Badjena), Mathura Mangal (Bhaktacharan Das), Kishore Chandrananda Champoo, (Kavi Surya Baladev). During this time in a parallel way many Vaishnava padavali were written in the Odia language. A great number of Odia poets of this particular age, such as, Upendra Bhanja, Dinakrishna Das, Sadananda Kavi Surya Brahma, Brajanath Badjena, Kavi Surya Baladev composed Vaishnava Padavali of higher philosophical level. Moreover, Banamali Das (16th century), Saalbeg, Dinabandhuraj Harichandan, Phakir Bhanja, Braja Bihari Raj Singh, Shyam Sundar Bhanja, Banamali Das (18th century), Ramkrishna Pattanayak,
Gaurcharan Adhikari, Gaurhari Paricha, Haribandhu Bebartta Pattanayak and above all, Gopalkishna Pattanayak composed mindcaptivating padavali literature pregnant with independent feelings and sensations.\textsuperscript{70}

The Viashnava Padavali in the last four hundred years of the middle age left an unerasable influence in the mind of the people of Odisha. That's why, the modern poets in the early part of twentieth century were involved in the service of mental pleasure for themselves as well as for the readers. Amongst the poets of this age, Krishnamohan Pattanayak (1877-1940), Govindachandra Surdeo (1887-1939), Kantakavi Laxmikanta Mahapatra (1888 - 1953), Krishna Prasad Basu (1894-1968), Kavichandra Kalicharan Pattanayak (1897-1978), Babaji Padmacaran Das, alias Parvaticharan (1869-1940), Babaji Vaishnavacharan Das, alias Benudhar Pattanayak (1890-1969) are worth mentioning. Their works full of literary sentiments and juice were considered popular amongst the readers of Odisha upto the modern age.

The Bhaktakavi Gopalkrishna Pattanayak may be marked as the focal point of Reeti Yuga (Middle age) or Poetic Age of the Odia literature. His entrance in the literary career began through the door of romantic love poems. But Gopal Krishna reached the pinnacle of enrichment and glory by means of purely Vaishnava Padavali. He like an able boatman had to move forward the boat of Odia literature dashing aside the unfavourable political and cultural atmosphere. Once the language, literature and culture of Odisha were in peril due to mis-rule of the Britishers and the oppression by the rules of Marhatta. The evil designs of Britishers placed Telegu in lieu of Odia after 1766 AD in the South Odisha and the Odia language was forced out from north Andhra Pradesh. Most of the Odia-
speaking people suffered a heavy loss owing to introduction of Telugu in place of Odia in the courts and educational institutions.

The poets and writers of Odisha during those rainy days of the Odia-speaking people came forward to rescue the nearly endangered mother tongue. The razor-like pen, that they used in order to arouse nationalism in the mind of the indigenous people as well as for allegiance to mother tongue, worked indirectly for a sword. Standing against all odds with a stable bent of mind, a group of race-conscious poets like Kavisurya Baladev Rath or Gopalkrishna Pttanayak, shouldered the moral responsibility of upholding the status and dignity of the mother tongue by means of poetic practices in the Odia language and its propagation amongst the people.

Of course, evidences are on record that quite before the introduction of the British rule in Odisha, that is, right from the sixteenth century, the composition of Vaishnava literature was already there in tradition. The Odia poets of those days wrote some poems on Gauranga and books on holy life and activities of Srichaitanya along with the Vaishnava poems on the leela of Radha and Krishna. The poets of that time whole heartedly accepted the Guru parampara (a serial succession of Gurus) and the Synthetical religious ideals. As a result of that, a collection of life stories on Chaitanya was composed by the untiring efforts of the Odia poets in the 16th-17th centuries. These hagiographies on the leela of Srichaitanya include (1) Kanhai Khuntia’s Mahabhab Prakash, (2) Madhab Rath’s Chaitanyabilas, (3) Iswardas’s Chaitanyabhagavata, and (4) Dibakar Das’s Jagannathcharitamrita. The first three books were written completely in Odia and the last one Jagannathcharitamrita first seven chapters in Odia only. On the other
hand, Odia-speaking poet Govinda Kavi's *Gaura Krishnodaya* was written in Sanskrit. These hagiographies then influenced equally both the *Vaishnava* and non-*Vaishnava* readers.

On the other hand, the preaching and propagation of Srichaitanya's *premadhārma* brought the people of South Odisha into the touch of *Vaishnava dharma*. A distinguished Odia critic wrote in this respect:

> যোড়শ শতাব্দীতে শ্রীচৈতন্য মধ্য দক্ষিণ ওড়িশা বাটরে দক্ষিণাত্য যাইবিলে।
> গোবাবরী নদী তটে রাজমহেশ্বরী নগরঠাণী রায় রামানন্দ সহিত তাঙ্কর ভক্তিভাব সম্প্রদায় আলোচনা বৈষ্ণব ধর্মম ইতিহাস এক উল্লেখনীয় ঘটনা। এই ফলে দক্ষিণ ওড়িশার জনতার উপর বৈষ্ণব ধর্মমর্যাদা গ্রহণ পদ্ধতিতে।

Poet Gopalkrishna in the later period tried his best through the composition of *Vaishnava Padavali* on the strength of his own poetic talent to make the *Vaishnava* sentiments of the religious minded people of Odisha more blazing. The *Vaishnava* way of worship attained the royal patronage and a dignified position in the South Odisha, particularly in Parala Khemundi region upto the middle of the nineteenth century due to tireless efforts of Gopalkrishna.

According to T. S. Eliot, a great western poet-critic, religious poem is a variety of minor poetry. Like all other literature of the world, religious literature or literature coloured with religious feelings have, too been composed in the Odia language and that is of superior class though very minimum in numbers. It is for a long five hundred years stretching the period from 15th to 19th centuries literature in Odisha came into existence primarily pertaining to *dharma*. But certain creations like Balaram Das's *Brahmanda Bhugol*, Dvarika Das's *Parche Geeta*, or Sadananda Kavi Surya Brahma's *Nistha Neelamani* were regarded of inferior class. But the
number of popular and superior literature in Odisha is much higher than that of religiously-coloured inferior literature.

The enhancement of enrichment and beauty is found in the Odia Vaishnava poems in the 18th and 19th centuries. There is a striking similarity between the love poems in the English literature written from the seventh century up to the fifteenth century and the Vaishnava poems of Odisha. Both religious and secular thoughts are well co-ordinated in both the literatures. A thought-picture was in excellent picture accepting Jesus in the western world and Srikrishna in Odisha as the beloved for captivating the spiritual feelings lying in the heart of the devoting with the embrace of love. A western critic said in this regard:

*All the forms of medieval love poetry are turned, as all over Europe, to the service of religion. The concept of courtesy, of chivalry and of chivalric love, are employed to illuminate the Christian message of divine love, and to give to the figures of the Christian story the grace of contemporary ideals. The praises of the virgin echo the praises of the lady of country love.*

Poet Gopalkrishna glorified Kanta Srikrishna as friend or beloved in a number of poems. The poet expressed his desire in many poems for the attainment of contentment leaving aside all the worldly pleasures through *Kirtan* and *bhajans* of Krishna's.

It is to be marked here, while the flood-tide of Vaishnava literature in the 18th and 19th centuries hit Odisha, simultaneously the Vaishnava literature of Bengal started experiencing an ebb-tide. In fact, the distinguished critic Biman Bihari Mazumdar identified the Vaishnava literature of Bengal of the 18th century
as the age of aberration. Both the tremendous rise of the Gaumagarbad and the influence of tantra destroying the serenity of the Vaishnava literature of Bengal started to corrupt it. Besides this, the neo-babus, that emerged in the last part of the 18th century with the foundation of Kolkata city, are in the words of Rabindranath:

It is observed from this marathon course of discussion that the commencement of the hefty literature creations throughout India in regional language defying the authoritarianism of the Devabhasha (the Sanskrit language) due to the bhakti movement all over India, Bengal and Odisha, too, in their full capacity took part in it. As a result, in both the regions, the composition of huge volume of Padavali literature was carried forward along with the hagiographies. As Chaitanya's bhava movement helped the dormant talent of greater Bengal surfaced up, so was the same in the land of Odisha. Many a hagiography was written in both the parts regarding the bhava life of Chaitanya. The poets of Bengal and Odisha out of their respective poetic geniusness created an ocean of Padavali literature churning their theme from the leela of Radha and Krishna. Though the poets of both the provinces have the common subject matter, nevertheless, they differ so far their respective exploration of talent, language and style of expression are concerned. The name of Vaishnava minded and well celebrated poet Gopalkrishna of Odisha deserves special significance.

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5. ইন হিন উপজাতিমিদার বামস্থ ভক্তি। *Rigveda*, 8/27/11.


10. Ramsharan Sarma: *Prachin Bharater Samajik O Arthanaitic Itihas*, (Bengali Tr. Anjan Goswami), P-45


12. ভারতবর্ষের উচ্চ শ্রেণীর মানুষদের মধ্যে প্রাচীনকালে যে তিনটি প্রধান ধর্মমণ্ডল বিকাশ ঘটেছিল— যথা, ব্রাহ্মণধর্ম, বৌদ্ধধর্ম ও জৈন ধর্ম সেই তিনটি ধর্ম ব্যবস্থাতেই ঈশ্বরের স্থান গৌর। বৌদ্ধ ও জৈন ধর্ম ঈশ্বরের অতিক্রম হীনার করে না। ব্রাহ্মণ ধর্মের ক্ষেত্রে দেখা যায় যে সাংখ্য ও মীমাংসা এই দুই প্রধান ধর্ম ঈশ্বর বিরোধী। Dr. Narendranath Bhattacharya; Dr. Nirmalprabha Bordaloi (ed.) *Devi*, Preface P-ka.25
15. Dr. Narendranath Bhattacharya; Dr. Nirmalprabha Bordaloi (ed.): *Devi*, Preface P-ka.25
17. Dr. Amalendu Chakraborty (ed.): *Prachya Prajna*, P-Editorial.
35. Dr. Kshudiram Das: *Vaishnava-Rasa-Prakash*, P-146.
37. Anuradha Bandyopadhyay: *Purba Bharatiya Vaishnava Andolan O Sahitya*, P-65
44. Asit Kumar Bandyopadhyay: *Bangla Sahityer Sampurna Itibritta*, P-88
46. Anuradha Bandyopadhyay: *Purba Bharatiya Vaishnava Andolan O Sahitya*, P-70
47. Asit Kumar Bandyopadhyay: *Bangla Sahityer Sampurna Itibritta*, P-100.
48. Ibid, P-106
50. Ibid, P-394
52. Dr. Krishnacharan Behera (ed.): *Gopalkrishna Padavali Parikrama*, P-29.

53. "The term Bengal or Gaudiya is commonly, but to some extent incorrectly applied to the religious movement which Chaitanya started." - Prabhat Mukherjee: *History of Chaitanya Faith in Orissa*, P-Preface part.


56. Prabhat Mukherjee: *History of Chaitanya Faith in Orissa*, P-62

57. Ibid, P-62


59. Ibid, P-77


63. Anuradha Bandyopadhyay: *Purba Bharatiya Vaishnava Andolan O Sahitya*, P-181


65. Dr. Krishnacharan Behera (ed.): *Gopalkrishna Padavali Parikrama*, P-90

66. Dr. Krishnacharan Behera (ed.): *Gopalkrishna Padavali Parikrama*, P-88
67. Dr. Janakiballabh Mohanti (ed.): *Vaishnava Padavali*, Preface P-5.


70. Ibid, P-93


72. Dr. Krishnacharan Behera (ed.): *Gopalkrishna Padavali Parikrama*, P-64

73. Ibid, P-95


75. Dr. Biman Bihari Mazumdar: *Panchshata Batsarer Padavali*, P-216


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